Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/unitedstates02garniala

THE HISTORY OF NATIONS

THE UNITED STATES

Theodore Roosevelt

THE HISTORY OF NATIONS

HENRY CABOT LODGE, Ph.D., LL.D. EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

THE UNITED STATES

(Volume Two)

By

JAMES WILFORD GARNER, Ph.D.

AND

HENRY CABOT LODGE, Ph.D., L L.D.

With a Historical Review

By

JOHN BACH McMASTER, Ph.D., Litt.D., LL.D.

Volume XXIV

Illustrated

The H. W. Snow and Son Company

Chicago

Copyright, 1907, by
JOHN D. MORRIS & COMPANY

Copyright, 1910
THE H. W. SNOW & SON COMPANY

THE HISTORY OF NATIONS

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

HENRY CABOT LODGE, Ph.D., L.L.D.

Associate Editors and Authors

ARCHIBALD HENRY SAYCE, LL.D.,
Professor of Assyriology, Oxford University

CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON, M.D., Ph.D.,
Associate Professor of Oriental History and Archaeology, Johns Hopkins University

C. W. C. OMAN, LL.D.,
Professor of History, Oxford University

THEODOR MOMMSEN,
Late Professor of Ancient History, University of Berlin

ARTHUR C. HOWLAND, Ph.D.,
Department of History, University of Pennsylvania

CHARLES MERIVALE, LL.D.,
Late Dean of Ely, formerly Lecturer in History, Cambridge University

J HIGGINSON CABOT, Ph.D.,
Department of History, Wellesley College

SIR WILLIAM W. HUNTER, F.R.S.,
Late Director-General of Statistics in India

GEORGE M. DUTCHER, Ph.D.,
Professor of History, Wesleyan University

SIR ROBERT K. DOUGLAS,
Professor of Chinese, King's College, London

JEREMIAH WHIPPLE JENKS, Ph.D., LL.D.,
Professor of Political Economy and Politics, Cornell University

KANICHI ASAKAWA, Ph.D.,
Instructor in the History of Japanese Civilization, Yale University

WILFRED HAROLD MUNRO, Ph.D.,
Professor of European History, Brown University

G. MERCER ADAM,
Historian and Editor

FRED MORROW FLING, Ph.D.,
Professor of European History, University of Nebraska

FRANÇOIS AUGUSTE MARIE MIGNET,
Late Member of the French Academy

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON, Ph.D.,
Department of History, University of Chicago

SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER, LL.D.,
Professor of Modern History, King's College, London

R. W. JOYCE, LL.D.,
Commissioner for the Publication of the Ancient Laws of Ireland

ASSOCIATE EDITORS AND AUTHORS—Continued

JUSTIN McCARTHY, LL.D.,
Author and Historian

AUGUSTUS HUNT SHEARER, Ph.D.,
Instructor in History, Trinity College, Hartford

W. HAROLD CLAFLIN, B.A.,
Department of History, Harvard University

CHARLES DANDLIKER, LL.D.,
President of Zurich University

ELBERT JAY BENTON, Ph.D.,
Department of History, Western Reserve University

SIR EDWARD S. CREASY,
Late Professor of History, University College, London

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE, Ph.D.,
Assistant Professor of History, Harvard University

WILLIAM RICHARD MORFILL, M.A.,
Professor of Russian and other Slavonic Languages, Oxford University

CHARLES EDMUND FRYER, Ph.D.,
Department of History, McGill University

E. C. OTTE,
Specialist on Scandinavian History

EDWARD S. CORWIN, Ph.D.,
Instructor in History, Princeton University

PAUL LOUIS LEGER,
Professor of the Slav Languages, Collège de France

WILLIAM E. LINGLEBACH, Ph.D.,
Assistant Professor of European History, University of Pennsylvania

BAYARD TAYLOR,
Former United States Minister to Germany

SIDNEY B. FAY, Ph.D.,
Professor of History, Dartmouth College

J. SCOTT KELTIE, LL.D.,
President Royal Geographical Society

ALBERT GALLOWAY KELLER, Ph.D.,
Assistant Professor of the Science of Society, Yale University

EDWARD JAMES PAYNE, M.A.,
Fellow of University College, Oxford

PHILIP PATTERSON WELLS, Ph.D.,
Lecturer in History and Librarian of the Law School, Yale University

FREDERICK ALBION OBER,
Historian, Author and Traveler

JAMES WILFORD GARNER, Ph.D.,
Professor of Political Science, University of Illinois

JOHN BACH McMASTER, Litt.D., LL.D.,
Professor of History, University of Pennsylvania

JAMES LAMONT PERKINS, Managing Editor

The editors and publishers desire to express their appreciation for valuable advice and suggestions received from the following: Hon. Andrew D. White, LL.D., Alfred Thayer Mahan, D.C.L., LL.D., Hon. Charles Emory Smith, LL.D., Professor Edward Gaylord Bourne, Ph.D., Charles F. Thwing, LL.D., Dr. Emil Reich, William Elliot Griffis, LL.D., Professor John Martin Vincent, Ph.D., LL.D., Melvil Dewey, LL.D., Alston Ellis, LL.D., Professor Charles H. McCarthy, Ph.D., Professor Herman V. Ames, Ph.D., Professor Walter L. Fleming, Ph.D., Professor David Y. Thomas, Ph.D., Mr. Otto Reich and Mr. O. M. Dickerson.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER XXII

THE WHIG ASCENDENCY. 1841–1845

SECTION		PAGE
I.	William Henry Harrison Elected President	519
II.	Accession of John Tyler and the Defeat of the Whig Programme	526
III.	Annexation of Texas	531

CHAPTER XXIII

POLK'S ADMINISTRATION AND THE WAR WITH MEXICO 1845–1849

I.	Polk's Inauguration and the Northwest Boundary Dispute	540
II.	The Texan Boundary and the Mexican War	544
III.	Political Consequence of the War	550

CHAPTER XXIV

THE RISE OF THE SLAVERY CONTROVERSY

I.	Early History of Slavery in the United States	561
II.	The Abolition Movement	571
III.	Legal, Economic and Moral Aspects of Slavery	580

CHAPTER XXV

TAYLOR-FILLMORE ADMINISTRATION. 1849–1852

I.	Inauguration of Taylor; Discovery of Gold in California	592
II.	The Compromise Measure of 1850	600
III.	The Fugitive Slave Law; the "Underground Railway"; Presidential Election of 1852	613

CHAPTER XXVI

PIERCE'S ADMINISTRATION AND THE RENEWAL OF THE SLAVERY CONTROVERSY. 1853–1857

SECTION PAGE
I. Inauguration of Pierce, and the Ostend Manifesto 623
II. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill 629
III. Foreign Affairs; Reorganization of Political Parties 639
IV. The Struggle for Kansas 646
V. Presidential Election of 1856 652

CHAPTER XXVII

ADMINISTRATION OF BUCHANAN. 1857–1861

I. The Dred Scott Decision 657
II. Kansas Again 661
III. The Lincoln-Douglas Debates 664
IV. The Oberlin-Wellington Rescue and the John Brown Raid 672
V. Election of Abraham Lincoln as President . . 676

CHAPTER XXVIII

SECESSION OF SOUTHERN STATES. 1860–1861 684

CHAPTER XXIX

THE OUTBREAK OF THE CIVIL WAR. 1861

I. Northern and Southern Sentiment . . . 714
II. Comparative Strength and Resources . . . 724
III. The Beginning of the Conflict 728
IV. The Battle of Bull Run or Manassas . . . 734

CHAPTER XXX

THE WAR IN THE WEST. 1861–1862

I. The Second Uprising of the North . . . 738
II. The Struggle for Missouri; Capture of Forts Henry and Donelson 740

SECTION PAGE
III. Shiloh; Island Number Ten; Corinth and Memphis 746
IV. Fall of New Orleans and the Opening of the Lower Mississippi. 1862 750

CHAPTER XXXI

OPERATIONS IN THE EAST. 1861–1863

I. Battle of the Ironclads 754
II. The Peninsular Campaign 757
III. From the Peninsula to Antietam . . . 794
IV. The Emancipation Proclamation . . . 766
V. Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville . . 769

CHAPTER XXXII

VICKSBURG AND GETTYSBURG. 1863

I. Operations in Tennessee and North Mississippi . 773
II. Campaign Against Vicksburg. 1862–1863 . . 775
III. Gettysburg 778
IV. The Campaign of 1863 in Tennessee . . . 783

CHAPTER XXXIII

LAST YEAR OF THE WAR. 1864–1865

I. Grant and Lee in the Wilderness . . . 786
II. Sheridan in the Shenandoah 791
III. The Capture of Atlanta; Farragut's Victory in Mobile Bay; Reëlection of Lincoln . . 794
IV. Sherman's March through Georgia; Battles of Franklin and Nashville 802
V. March Through the Carolinas 806
VI. End of the War 808

CHAPTER XXXIV

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE WAR

I. Northern Opposition to the War . . . 815
II. Federal and Confederate Finances; Sacrifices and Sufferings; Cost of the War in Men and Money 810
III. The Assassination of Lincoln 826

CHAPTER XXXV

ANDREW JOHNSON AND RECONSTRUCTION. 1865–1869

SECTION PAGE
I. Early Efforts at Reconstruction; Views of Lincoln and Johnson 830
II. The Attitude of Congress; Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments; Civil and Political Rights for Freedmen 842
III. The Reconstruction Acts; the Freedmen's Bureau 845
IV. The Impeachment of President Johnson . . . 850

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT GRANT AND THE RESULTS OF RECONSTRUCTION. 1869–1873

I. Election and Inauguration 857
II. "Carpet-Bag" and Negro Rule in the South; the Ku-Klux-Klan; the Negro Problem . . 863
III. Foreign Relations, 1867–1873; the French in Mexico; Purchase of Alaska; Settlement of the "Alabama" Claims Controversy . . . 875

CHAPTER XXXVII

GRANT'S SECOND TERM. 1873–1877

I. Presidential Election of 1872 889
II. The Inauguration; Frauds in the Public Service; Financial Panic of 1873 894
III. Resumption of Specie Payments; Refunding of the National Debt; the Greenback Movement; Legal Tender Decisions 897
IV. Industrial Conditions; the Centennial Exposition; Indian Troubles in the West 901

CHAPTER XXXVIII

HAYES AND THE END OF THE SOUTHERN QUESTION. 1877–1881

I. The Tilden-Hayes Contest; the Electoral Commission 906

SECTION PAGE

II. Beginning of a New Era; the Railroad Strike of 1877; anti-Chinese Agitation; Monetary Legislation 914

CHAPTER XXXIX

GARFIELD AND ARTHUR. 1881–1885

I. Presidential Election of 1880; the "Grant Movement"; Triumph of Garfield 925
II. Controversy Between Garfield and Conkling; Assassination of the President . . . 932
III. Accession of Arthur; Civil Service Reform; Star Route Fraud; New Tariff Law; Industrial Progress 935

CHAPTER XL

THE ADMINISTRATION OF GROVER CLEVELAND. 1884–1888

I. Contest Between Blaine and Cleveland. 1884 . 94?
II. The Democrats in Power 949
III. Presidential Succession Law; Electoral Count Law; Interstate Commerce Act . . . 953
IV. Foreign Affairs: Chinese Exclusion and Northeastern Fisheries; Anarchist Riots in Chicago 957

CHAPTER XLI

THE ADMINISTRATION OF BENJAMIN HARRISON. 1888–1892

I. Defeat of Cleveland 963
II. The McKinley Tariff Law; the Sherman Anti-Trust and Silver Acts; the Democratic Landslide of 1890 968
III. Foreign Affairs; Lynching of Italians; the Samoan Dispute; Relations with Chili; Settlement of Behring Sea Dispute 975
IV. The Mormons; Admission of New States; Industrial Progress 981

CHAPTER XLII

CLEVELAND'S SECOND TERM. 1893–1897

SECTION PAGE
I. The Defeat of Harrison 988
II. Financial and Tariff Legislation 993
III. Hawaii and Venezuela 997
IV. Industrial and Financial Depression 1002
V. Civil Service Reform; the New Navy; the World's Fair 1007

CHAPTER XLIII

WILLIAM McKINLEY — THE WAR WITH SPAIN. 1897–1901

I. Election of 1896 1011
II. The Dingley Tariff; Financial Legislation; Relations with Great Britain 1018
III. The War with Spain 1021
IV. The Insular Possessions 1035

CHAPTER XLIV

ADMINISTRATION OF ROOSEVELT. 1901-1909

I. Assassination of President McKinley 1049
II. The Panama Canal 1055
III. Presidential Election of 1904 1062
IV. Closing Years of Roosevelt's Administration, 1906-1909 1085

CHAPTER XLV

ADMINISTRATION OF TAFT, 1909-

CHAPTER XLVI

PROGRESS OF A CENTURY 1086

Bibliography 1101
Index 1115

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

THEODORE ROOSEVELT (Photogravure) *Frontispiece*

FACING PAGE

DANIEL WEBSTER 528
THE STORMING OF CHAPULTEPEC 550
"JUDGE LYNCH" 596
HENRY CLAY ADDRESSES THE SENATE 602
ABRAHAM LINCOLN 680
THE "MERRIMAC" SINKS THE "CONGRESS" 754
SIEGE OF VICKSBURG 776
BATTLE OF SPOTTSYLVANIA 788
BATTLE OF WINCHESTER 794
THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D. C. 826
MAXIMILIAN GOING TO EXECUTION 876
THE SINKING OF THE "ALABAMA" 882
INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT GARFIELD 932
BOOMERS ENTERING OKLAHOMA TERRITORY 986
THE DEFEAT OF CERVERA AT SANTIAGO 1030
THE RUSSO-JAPANESE PEACE ENVOYS ON BOARD THE "MAYFLOWER" 1078

TEXT MAPS

PAGE

THE WEST, 1840 533
THE MEXICAN WAR 553
CHARLESTON HARBOR 712
THE NORTH AND SOUTH 722
OPERATIONS IN THE WEST 743
OPERATIONS IN THE EAST 759
OPERATIONS IN THE SOUTHEAST 796
RECONSTRUCTION 868
ACQUISITION OF TERRITORY 986
WEST INDIES 1027

PAGE
The Philippines 1037
Territorial Possessions of the United States. 1906 . 1047
Panama Canal 1061

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

Chapter XXII

THE WHIG ASCENDENCY. 1841–1845

I

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON ELECTED PRESIDENT

FOR the first time since the dissolution of the Federalist and Republican parties twenty years before, a real party struggle for possession of the government now ensued. It is true that at the last presidential election something of a party contest between the Democrats and Whigs had occurred, but neither had perfected its organization, and in fact the masses of the voters had not yet fully aligned themselves according to strict party divisions. It will be remembered that after the disintegration of political parties during Monroe's administration the issues which divided the voters were personal rather than political. Thus in the presidential campaign of 1824 adherents of both the old parties were to be found voting for the same candidate, their choice being determined mainly by their opinion of the personal fitness of the various nominees. So far as the political views of the candidates who stood for the Presidency were concerned, only a shade of difference was discoverable. Federalists were no longer to be found.

The remnant of that party had been assimilated by the Democratic-Republican party, which contained a larger contingent of high tariff men and advocates of internal improvements. This element was commonly designated as the national wing of the Republican party, Adams and Clay being its most conspicuous leaders. The election of Jackson and the launching of his programme soon afforded the occasion and the need for party reorganization. Those who sympathized with his principles of government and supported his policies came to be called Democrats, while his opponents continued to be known as National Republicans. The events of his second term, particularly those which related to his attitude toward the bank and the national finances, alienated many

Democrats who had previously supported him, and these, together with the National Republican element, assumed the name of Whigs about 1834, in indication of their hostility to executive prerogative.

At the election of 1836 the Whigs put forward a candidate in opposition to the Democratic nominee; but the various elements of the party were not sufficiently consolidated to prosecute a vigorous campaign, and, besides, the results of the financial disorders did not come to a head until after the presidential election. By 1840, however, the Whig party had perfected its organization, and it had the advantage of going before the country in opposition to a party which the masses held responsible for the most disastrous financial depression in the history of the Republic. Moreover, as a result of the spoils system, the civil service was demoralized, if not corrupt. Congress had expended the public funds with a lavish hand, and the accounts of individual members for "contingencies" were startling. Jackson's collector of the port of New York, one Swartwout, was a defaulter for over a million dollars; the United States attorney for New York was $75,000 behind, and most of the land officers, some sixty odd in number, were in a similar predicament; and although Van Buren was not directly responsible, the fact that he was in a way Jackson's choice made him in the eyes of the unthinking masses hardly less responsible. Finally, when the country had been thrown into a financial panic, mainly as a result of the policies of his former chief, Van Buren could not be induced to do anything that would bring relief to his distressed countrymen: he would only recommend half-way measures from which no good could come.

The Whig convention for the nomination of a presidential candidate was held at Harrisburg, December 4, 1839. The popular belief was that Henry Clay would receive the nomination without opposition, but the politicians had planned otherwise. In New York the Whig leaders, the chief of whom was Thurlow Weed, aided by the rising young editor, Horace Greeley, and William H. Seward, then Governor of New York, came to the conclusion that Clay could not be elected if nominated, since he could not carry New York, and probably other normally Whig States.[1] He was a Free Mason, and hence the Anti-Masonic element, particularly strong in New York, was against him, as were also the Abolitionists, whose numbers were rapidly increasing.

[1] Schurz, "Life of Henry Clay," vol. ii. p. 176.

1841

Besides, he had been in public life thirty years, during which time he had made many political enemies. Finally, Southern Whigs did not like his views on the tariff and internal improvements. The Whig leaders, therefore, by various contrivances — such as the so-called "triangular correspondence," by which pretended friends of Clay in different parts of the State would write to one another saying: "Do all you can in your district for Clay, for I am sorry to say that he has no strength in our part of the State," which letters were handed around for public perusal — secured the election of anti-Clay delegates to the national convention, it being understood that General Scott was their first choice.[2]

The meetings of the convention were held in an old Lutheran church, and it is probably safe to say that never was a house of God made the scene of so much political intrigue and maneuvering. When the convention assembled it was evident that a plurality of the delegates favored Clay; but in order to circumvent his nomination the Whig leaders secured the adoption of the unit rule, by which the majority of each delegation cast the full vote of the State. This done, a committee of three from each State delegation was appointed to report to the whole committee the choice of the State, thus avoiding the possibility of a stampede to Clay as the result of a stirring nominating speech. The State delegations were to vote separately and in secret and report to the committee. This ingenious device of voting and comparing results was to be kept up until a choice was made, after which the convention was to ratify what had thus been done by a select body of men.[3]

On the first ballot Clay had a plurality, William Henry Harrison came next, and Winfield Scott followed. After three days of balloting and comparing results, Harrison was nominated. The nomination for the Vice Presidency was offered to several persons in succession, among them Webster, but they all declined, and finally it went to John Tyler, a political hybrid, partly Democratic and partly Whig, but who was a member of the convention and an ardent supporter of Clay. He was nominated, says Weed, "because we could get nobody else to accept." Tyler is said to have wept at Clay's defeat, and it was therefore thought good politics to nominate him for second place, as it would have the effect of conciliating in a measure the friends of Clay who were

[2] H. A. Wise, "Seven Decades of the Union," p. 172.
[3] Weed, "Autobiography," vol. i. p. 467.

not only "disappointed and grieved to tears," but were filled with indignation.

Clay was at Washington when he received the news of his defeat, and had been drinking heavily in expectation of the result. He was greatly disappointed and could not understand why he had been sacrificed for an inconspicuous frontier Indian fighter whose services to the Whig party as compared to his own were insignificant. His feelings of chagrin overcame his dignity and restraint, and threw him into paroxysms of rage. Striding back and forth in his room, he denounced his friends bitterly, declared that he had been betrayed by a diabolical intrigue, and asserted that if there were two Henry Clays one of them would make the other President of the United States. "I am," he said, "the most unfortunate man in the history of parties; always run by my friends when sure to be defeated, and now betrayed for a nomination when I or anyone else would be sure of an election."[4] It must be confessed that the Whig party was not true to itself when it rejected Clay. He was the acknowledged leader of the party, the most eloquent champion of its principles, and the idol of the masses. He was one of its founders; had always fought its battles, and had by his genius for organization made the party strong and powerful. If ever any great political party owed its existence and endurance mainly to one man, it was certainly the Whig party.[5] Now he found himself set aside for a man who in ability and leadership could not be compared with himself, and by methods unscrupulous, crafty and without precedent in the history of American politics.[6]

The convention for the nomination of Democratic candidates met at Baltimore, May 5, 1840, and renominated Van Buren unanimously. It adopted a platform declaring in favor of strict construction of the Constitution, sounded a note of opposition to internal improvements under Federal auspices, declared against a recharter of the United States Bank, and urged non-interference with slavery and economy in the administration of the government.[7] The platform was followed up with an elaborate address to the people, defending Van Buren's administration, denouncing abolition fanaticism, charging Harrison with being a Federalist and

[4] Wise, "Seven Decades," p. 468.
[5] Peck, "The Jacksonian Epoch," p. 418.
[6] Schurz, "Life of Henry Clay," vol. ii. p. 181.
[7] Stanwood, "History of the Presidency," p. 201

1841

contrasting "the costly and stately pageants" of the Whigs with the simplicity and common sense of the Democrats. The Whig party had refused to commit itself on these questions and had therefore declined to adopt a platform. It was well understood, however, that all good Whigs favored the recharter of the bank, a protective tariff and a general system of internal improvements by the national government.

The most picturesque and exciting presidential campaign in the history of the country ensued — "a canvass," says Carl Schurz, which contained "more enthusiasm and less thought than any other since the organization of political parties."[8] The Whigs from the first seemed to have the advantage. Van Buren's alleged responsibility for the financial crisis, the large number of defalcations among Federal officers, the frauds discovered in several of the government departments, were subjects of popular discussion among the Whig orators and greatly injured the prospects of the Democrats. Moreover, Van Buren's aristocratic style of living was contrasted with that of the Whig candidate, greatly to the advantage of the latter. Van Buren, it was said, enjoyed the luxuries of gold spoons, silver plate, fine linen, expensive china, costly carriages and rare wines, while the Whig candidate was a plain farmer who lived in the manner befitting the citizen of a democratic Republic, and had been "called, like Cincinnatus, from his plow." "Give Harrison a barrel of hard cider and a pension of two thousand dollars," said a Democratic newspaper, "and our word for it he will sit the remainder of his days contented in a log cabin." This reference to a log cabin was taken up by the Whig journals, and soon "log cabin and hard cider" were the Whig symbols in a campaign of tremendous enthusiasm. Log cabins built according to the true frontier fashion, with a latch string hanging out, bedecked with coon skins and supplied with barrels of cider, were erected in hundreds of villages and towns, and frequently drawn on wheels about the country followed by tumultuous crowds of enthusiastic Whigs. "The whole nation," said Clay, "was like the ocean when convulsed by some terrible storm." All sorts of devices, transparencies, caricatures, flaming banners, and the like were made to do duty. Immense meetings and barbecues were held everywhere, and the throngs who attended were harangued by Whig orators, such as Clay, Webster, Prentiss,

[8] "Life of Clay," vol. ii. p. 180.

Corwin, Everett and Choate. Harrison was popularly referred to as "Tippecanoe," in reference to his great military victory. Huge processions and rollicking campaign songs, such as "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," added interest and enthusiasm to the campaign. Some of them ran as follows:

"Farewell, dear Van, you're not our man;
To guard the ship, we'll try Old Tip."

"With Tip and Tyler, we'll burst Van's biler."

"Old Tip he wears a homespun suit.
He has no ruffled shirt wirt-wirt,
But Mat he has the golden plate,
And he's a little squirt-wirt-wirt."

When the result of the September elections were known, the following bit of doggerel was widely sung at Whig meetings:

"What has caused this great commotion, motion, motion,
Our country through?
It is the ball a-rolling on, for Tippecanoe and Tyler too,
For Tippecanoe and Tyler too!

And with them we'll beat little Van, Van;
Van is a used up man.
Oh, have you heard the news from Maine, Maine, Maine,
All honest and true?
One thousand for Kent, and seven thousand gain
For Tippecanoe," etc.

Against all this Whig enthusiasm the Democrats made but little headway. Their orators never succeeded in arousing any hearty enthusiasm, and what little was aroused did not seem to be contagious. The election resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Whigs. They carried all but seven States, and received 234 electoral votes as against 60 for Van Buren, while Harrison's popular plurality exceeded 150,000. In both houses of Congress the Whigs were to have a majority. Great was the rejoicing in the Whig camps. They regarded their success as a real deliverance, the greatest event of their time.[9]

The President-elect was in his sixty-eighth year, having been born in Virginia in 1773, and was the son of Benjamin Harrison, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Educated at Hampden-Sydney College, he joined the army in 1791 and served

[9] Schurz, "Life of Clay," vol. ii. p. 188.

against the Indians in the Northwest. He was the delegate of the Indiana Territory in Congress, afterward its governor, and defeated the Indians at the battle of Tippecanoe in 1811, after which he was promoted successively to be brigadier general and major general. He defeated the British at the battle of the Thames in the war of 1812, and in May of the year 1814 resigned from the army and was elected to Congress. Appointed minister to Colombia by President Adams in 1828, he was recalled by Jackson shortly after his arrival at Bogota, and at the time of his election was living the quiet life of a farmer near Cincinnati, Ohio. Although his military services had been long and distinguished, his experience in civil affairs had been quite brief. He frankly admitted that his claims to statesmanship were not very exalted, and soon after his nomination wrote to Clay, saying: "My position in relation to yourself is to me distressing and embarrassing. . . . A few years ago I could not have believed in the possibility of my being placed in a position of apparent rivalry to you, particularly in relation to the Presidency, an office which I never dreamed of attaining, and which I had ardently desired to see you occupy."

The exultation of the Whigs at his election was, however, destined to be short lived. Throngs flocked to Washington ostensibly to attend the inauguration, but in reality to get office. During the late campaign the Whig orators had been loud in their denunciation of the spoils system introduced by Jackson and continued by Van Buren, and asserted that if successful at the election it should be done away with. But now that they were in power the work of proscription was begun. The pressure for office was tremendous, and the President found himself overwhelmed with applicants. Filled with gratitude to those who had supported him, he threw open his house to the army of applicants and listened to their pleadings for recognition from early morn to late at night. This was more than the strength of the venerable President could bear, and a month after the inauguration he sickened and died, his end probably being hastened by exposure to the severe weather on the day of the inauguration. He had chosen an able Cabinet, with Daniel Webster as chief, had summoned Congress to meet in extra session on May 31, and the prospects for carrying out the Whig programme were flattering.

The Whig leaders could hardly have wished for more, but now all this was to be changed. For the first time in the history

of the Republic a chief magistrate had died in office and the Vice President had succeeded to the vacancy. For the first time, too, the dominant party was brought to a realization of the blunder it had committed in choosing a Vice President whose political principles were at variance with its own.

II

ACCESSION OF JOHN TYLER AND THE DEFEAT OF THE WHIG PROGRAMME

The new President was a member of an old and distinguished Virginia family, and had been long in public life. He was educated at William and Mary College, had served as Governor of Virginia and in both houses of Congress. In politics he had been an extreme States rights Democrat, but had revolted against some of Jackson's measures, particularly his attitude toward nullification and the removal of the deposits, and as United States Senator had resigned his seat in the Senate rather than obey the instructions of the Virginia legislature to vote for the resolution to expunge from the journals the censure against Jackson — a censure which he himself had been instrumental in passing.[10] He was with Jackson, however, on the bank question, the tariff and internal improvements, a fact which the Whigs did not seem to have taken into consideration at the time of Tyler's nomination. As a strict constructionist member of Congress he had opposed protective tariffs and internal improvements, and had voted against Clay's bill for the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands, all of which the Whigs must have known. His only claim in fact to a standing among the Whigs was that he had coöperated with them in the Senate in opposition to some of Jackson's measures. With Tyler's record before them, therefore, it is somewhat strange that the party should have nominated him for the Vice Presidency, especially in view of the advanced age of their presidential nominee. Considering Tyler's political views, it is equally strange that he should have agreed to a nomination at the hands of the Whigs, whose political principles were so different from his own; but apparently he had no scruples on this point and his acceptance was prompt and decisive. In justice to Tyler, however, it should be

[10] See his letter in "Niles' Register," vol. i. pp. 25–27.

1841

said that after his nomination and previous to the election he reaffirmed his opposition to the bank and internal improvements, although he concurred with the Whigs on the subject of the tariff and the distribution of the proceeds of the sales of public lands.[11]

At first the shock of Harrison's death rather disconcerted the Whigs, but on April 9 the new President issued a public address to the people of the United States, in which he outlined his views in a manner which was fairly satisfactory to the party which had elected him. With regard to the bank he declared that he would promptly give his sanction to any constitutional measure which should have for its object the restoration of a sound circulating medium. When the Congress met in May the Whig leaders were ready with their programme. This had been drawn up by Clay, the real leader of the party, who is said to have declared imperiously that "Should the President resist, I will drive him before me."[12] This programme included the repeal of the law for the establishment of the independent treasury system, the creation of a new national bank, the enactment of a new tariff law, and the distribution among the States of the proceeds from the sale of public lands. The repeal of the independent treasury law was speedily accomplished, with the approval of the President, but on the question of the bank the programme was destined to miscarry.

On the subject of the bank the President's message had been distressingly vague and ambiguous, but it was generally believed that he would approve any bill which should receive the sanction of a majority of both houses of Congress, for he practically had so declared in his address to the people. In deference to the wishes of the President, Congress called upon the Secretary of the Treasury to report a plan for a bank. Thereupon the Secretary drew up a bill for the incorporation of "The Fiscal Bank of the United States," and in doing so he endeavored to free it from the constitutional objections which the President had urged against the old bank. In the first place, it was to be incorporated in the District of Columbia, and in the second place, branches were to be established within the States only with their assent. Besides, numerous provisions were made to guard against the abuses which were said to have characterized the management of the old bank. In this form the plan was unanimously approved by the Cabinet, and a

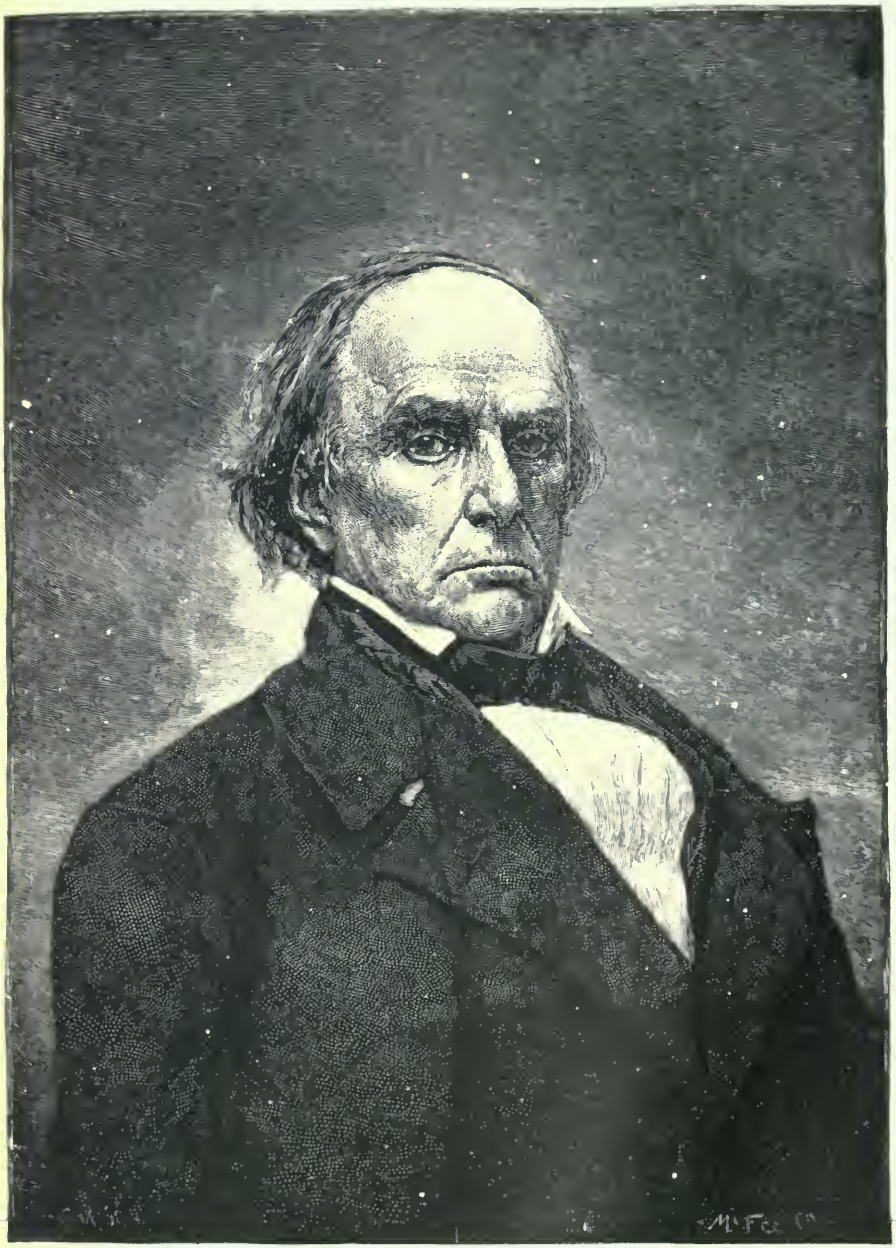
[11] "Statesman's Manual," vol. iii. p. 1414.
[12] Schurz, "Life of Clay," vol. ii. p. 204.

bill embodying all its essential features, except that relating to the establishment of branches with the assent of the States, was introduced by Mr. Clay, and was passed by both houses by a substantial majority. The President retained the bill for more than a week for consideration, during which period the greatest anxiety prevailed among the Whigs as to its probable fate. Delegation after delegation waited on him and urged him to sign the measure. He hesitated, complained that the bill contained objectionable features, wept, promised to pray for guidance and asked by way of remonstrance why the Secretary's bill was not sent him.[13] On August 16 he returned the bill without his approval.

Great was the consternation among the Whigs. But a hope yet remained. Tyler had told an Ohio delegation on August 15 that he would sign the bill drawn by the Secretary of the Treasury if it were sent to him. Moreover, he stated in his veto message the rough outlines of a bill which he said was dear to him. To remove all possibility of doubt on this point, a joint committee was deputed to ascertain from him what kind of a bank he favored. They were informed that the President desired a "fiscal agency" divested of the power of making discounts and limited to dealing in bills of exchange. Thereupon, a bill embodying these features was prepared with the approval of the President and the Cabinet, passed both houses without alteration or amendment and sent to the President for his signature. He retained it six days, and on September 9 returned it to the house in which it originated, but without his approval. The friends of the bill were unable to command a two-thirds majority in order to pass it over the executive veto, and hence it failed.

The indignation among the Whigs now knew no bounds. To them Tyler's conduct seemed to be an act of the most deliberate bad faith. In the first instance, having attended the Harrisburg convention as a Whig and having accepted a Whig nomination, he was under strong moral obligations to support Whig policies. Finally, having given his word that he would approve the bank bill if drawn in conformity with his wishes, his disapproval under the circumstances seemed to be without justification. It has been suggested that he was moved to veto the bill by a severe attack made upon him through the press by a prominent Whig while the bill was under consideration. It is no doubt true that he was greatly

[13] "Statesman's Manual," vol. ii. p. 1406.



exasperated by the reproaches which the Whig members heaped upon him, and that may have influenced his action. But the two main reasons usually assigned for the President's course were, first, his constitutional scruples, with the accompanying desire to maintain his character for consistency; and, second, his wish to secure the support of the Democratic party and become its candidate for the Presidency at the next election.

Whatever the motive, the veto had the effect of alienating the Whigs from Tyler, while on the other hand it greatly pleased the Democrats, a body of whom called upon him at the White House and congratulated him on the courage he had shown. Three days after the return of the bill the entire Cabinet, except Mr. Webster, resigned, and Webster remained until the following year only in order to complete the very important negotiations which he had begun with Great Britain for the settlement of the Northwest boundary dispute, as well as the complications arising on account of the recent insurrection in Canada — but not, however, without strong criticism and abuse from many quarters. Simultaneously with the resignation of the Cabinet the Whig members of Congress held a meeting and issued a manifesto declaring that the President had betrayed the party for selfish purposes, and was unworthy of its confidence, and proclaimed that henceforth all political connection between them and John Tyler was at an end. After this, Whig indignation meetings and burnings in effigy were the order of the day.[14] The dissolution, however, was not entire, for the President was still able to find enough distinguished men to fill up the five Cabinet vacancies among those who, like himself, had once been Jackson Democrats, and who had left the Democratic party for the same reason as himself.

Aside from the bank project, the Whig programme was carried through with little difficulty. As has been said, the independent treasury scheme was done away with. This was followed by the enactment of a bankruptcy law and the adoption of Clay's pet scheme for distributing among the States the proceeds from the sales of public lands, although the latter never went into effect. A still more important measure was the enactment in 1842 of a new tariff law. It will be remembered that by the compromise of 1833 all rates in excess of twenty per cent. *ad valorem* were to be reduced by a sliding scale until June 1, 1842, after which a twenty per

[14] Schurz, "Life of Clay," vol. ii. p. 210.

cent. schedule was to be maintained. This large reduction, however, threatened to bring about a deficit in the treasury. Accordingly the Whig Congress resolved to forestall such a contingency by raising the duties, and four years later this act was superseded by the Democratic tariff of 1846.

The domestic tranquillity of Tyler's administration was unbroken, except that in Rhode Island a disturbance of more than local interest occurred as a result of an effort to extend the suffrage in that State. Until 1842 the fundamental law of Rhode Island was embodied in the old charter granted by Charles II. nearly two hundred years before, and which had been altered only so far as was made necessary by the displacement of British sovereignty. It contained several archaic features, among which was a provision restricting the suffrage within narrow limits. In 1841 a popular movement was set on foot to extend the suffrage, and a rival government was established under the leadership of one Dorr. In the course of time a conflict occurred and each government appealed to the President for support. The President recognized the old government and the "rebellion" soon collapsed; but a new constitution was adopted and the suffrage was widely extended.[15]

With regard to the foreign relations of the United States during Tyler's administration, the chief incidents of note were the settlement of the long standing boundary dispute with Great Britain, and the annexation of the Republic of Texas. On account of the employment of loose and ambiguous language in the Treaty of 1783 with Great Britain, a dispute had arisen between the two governments as to the boundary line between Canada and Maine. There was likewise some disagreement as to the St. Croix River, which was described in the treaty as the boundary from its mouth to its source. Article V. of the Treaty of Ghent provided for the appointment of a mixed commission to determine the true boundary; but, as has been stated in a previous chapter, the commissioners were unable to reach an agreement. By the same article it was provided that in the event of the failure of the commissioners to agree, the question should be referred to the arbitration of some friendly sovereign or state. Meantime there occurred between the settlers of Maine and New Brunswick a collision, which is locally known as the "Aroostook War," and to which reference was made in the

[15] See the case of Luther vs. Borden, "U. S. Supreme Court Reports," vii. Howard, p. 1.

preceding chapter. After a good deal of diplomatic wrangling the dispute was referred in 1827 to the King of the Netherlands for arbitration. Instead of awarding the disputed territory to one or the other of the claimants, he proposed a compromise line, which it was contended he had no authority to do. His decision was therefore rejected and efforts were again made to settle the controversy by diplomacy.[16]

This was one of the problems which Webster, when he became Secretary of State in 1841, took up with great earnestness, remaining in the Cabinet after his colleagues had all resigned in order to bring to a successful close the negotiations which he had begun. Finally he reached an agreement with Lord Ashburton, the British minister, and embodied it in a treaty which was promptly ratified by the Senate. It adopted a compromise line by which seven-twelfths of the territory in dispute was assigned to the United States, and $250,000 was to be paid to the States of Maine and Massachusetts by the United States Government as compensation for their losses.[17] The St. John's River was to be free and open to both parties. The treaty also contained an agreement upon the part of both the United States and Great Britain to use their joint efforts to suppress the slave trade, and for the mutual extradition of criminals, seven distinct offenses being recognized. Other questions were considered, but no conclusion arrived at.[18] In the United States the treaty was severely denounced, but in spite of all criticism the Senate gave its approval by the large vote of thirty-nine to nine, and by those best informed it was considered a great diplomatic triumph which brought credit to the administration. Likewise in Great Britain it was criticised as the "Ashburton Capitulation," and Lord Palmerston went so far as to say that Lord Ashburton was influenced in the negotiations by the fact that he had an American wife.

III

ANNEXATION OF TEXAS

By the Treaty of 1819 with Spain it will be remembered that the United States relinquished whatever claim she had to Texas.

[16] Moore, "International Arbitrations," vol. i. p. 138.
[17] *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 157.
[18] Foster, "Century of American Diplomacy," pp. 286–289.

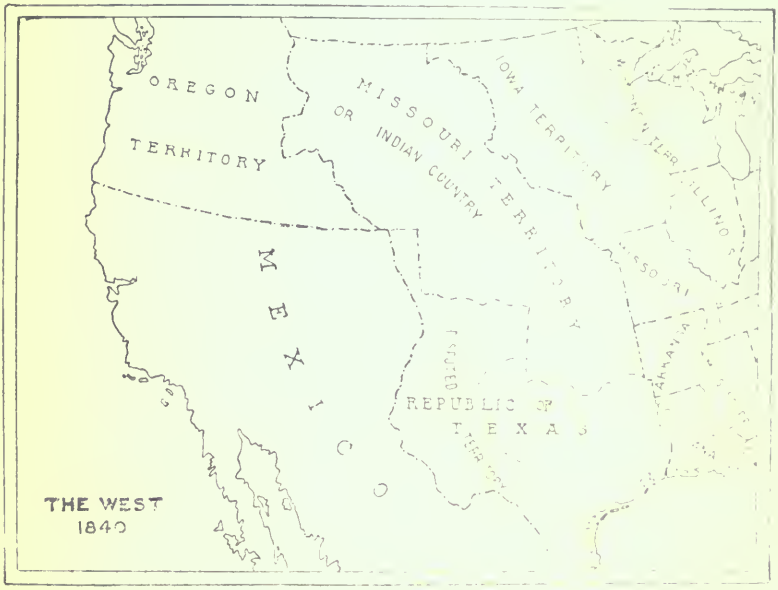
then a part of Mexico. The only basis of such a claim was that Texas had been included in the Louisiana Purchase. This claim was not generally regarded as being of sufficient weight to insist upon, and when it was relinquished in 1819 there was no general objection. There were a few, however, among them Henry Clay, who maintained that the United States had a clear title to Texas and strenuously denied the right of the President to cede it away by treaty. Whatever may have been the right of the United States to Texas before the Treaty of 1819 with Spain, it is certain that it had no claim thereafter. In 1821 Mexico, together with the other Spanish-American colonies, revolted and established her independence under a republican form of government. In 1824 two of the leading Mexican states, Texas and Coahuila, were united into a single commonwealth, much to the disgust of Texas. Already, as the result of a large land grant to Moses Austin, a far-seeing colonizer from Connecticut, a considerable influx of families from the United States had begun. In fact the rush of settlers with their slaves from the States to the fertile lands of Texas was now so rapid that they soon outnumbered the native population.[19] The Mexican authorities came to look upon this movement with jealousy, and by successive decrees slavery was abolished in Mexico, the importation of slaves into Texas from foreign countries was prohibited, and the immigration of all persons from the United States was forbidden. Little or no attention was paid to any of these decrees, and the Mexican Government found itself powerless to enforce them.

In the meantime the government of the United States was making efforts to purchase Texas. In 1827 the Adams administration offered one million dollars for Texas, and in 1829 Jackson proposed to increase the amount to five millions; but Mexico refused to sell. Finally, in 1835, Santa Anna, the President of the Republic of Mexico, undertook to displace the federal form of government and substitute a centralized system by which the States were to be reduced to the status of provinces. Thereupon the inhabitants of Texas rose in revolt, and entered upon their struggle for independence — a struggle which for heroism, determination and thrilling interest is unsurpassed in American history. In October, 1835, a body of Texans defeated a detachment of Mexicans at Gonzales and put them to flight. They soon followed up

[19] See Garrison, "History of Texas," pp. 137–153.

this victory with an energetic campaign against the frontier posts held by the Mexicans. In the same month a small detachment under Colonel Bowie and Captain Fannin defeated a much larger force of Mexicans near Mission Conception. The capture of the Mexican army at Béjar in December left not a man in arms against the Texans north of the Rio Grande.

In March, 1836, a detachment of Texans under command of Fannin was captured near Goliad, and 370 of them were marched out under guards and shot down by their captors, the Mexicans



justifying their conduct on the ground that their victims were filibusters from the United States. The Mexicans had already laid siege to the Alamo, an old Spanish mission building at San Antonio, held as a fort by Colonel Travis, and threatened to put the garrison to the sword if they did not surrender immediately. In spite of the fact that Travis had only a handful of men, and only a few bushels of corn, he answered the demand with a cannon shot, and in a letter "to the people of Texas and all the world," declared that he would never surrender or retreat. On March 6 the Alamo was taken by storm, a desperate hand-to-hand struggle ensued, and all but about

a half dozen of the Texans fell, bravely fighting, Colonel Bowie and Davy Crockett among the rest.[20] The others, except three women, were shot by order of Santa Anna. American history contains no chapter of greater heroism and devotion than the defense of the Alamo.

While the siege of the Alamo was in progress a convention of the people of Texas was assembling at the town of Washington on the Brazos River. Texas sentiment was now unanimous in favor of separation from Mexico, and the convention promptly adopted a declaration of independence, established the Republic of Texas, put into force a constitution, elected David G. Burnett provisional president, and Sam Houston commander-in-chief of the Texas army. Finally, on April 21, 1836, the drama was ended by the utter rout of the Mexicans under Santa Anna at San Jacinto by a force commanded by General Houston. The Texans charged to the war cry "Remember the Alamo!" Burning with indignation and filled with vengeance, they flew at the Mexicans and sent them flying over the prairies. Over six hundred were shot down on the field, and nearly three hundred wounded, while the American loss was two killed and twenty-three wounded.[21] Santa Anna while trying to escape was captured and compelled to sign a treaty agreeing to cease hostilities against Texas, send the Mexican troops out of the country, and use his influence to secure the recognition of the independence of Texas. What Yorktown was to the Americans in the Revolution against England, San Jacinto was to the Texans in their struggle against Mexican misrule. A general outburst of rejoicing followed, and the hero of San Jacinto was elected president of the republic in September, 1836, and M. B. Lamar vice president. At the same time the people voted almost unanimously in favor of annexation to the United States. For years, however, Mexico did not abandon her claim to Texas, and made several ineffectual attempts to reconquer her lost province. In March, 1837, the United States recognized the independence of the Texas republic; France did likewise in 1839; Holland and Belgium in 1840, and Great Britain in 1842.

The people of Texas had no desire to remain an independent republic, and at once made overtures to the United States for annexation; but for the present the United States did nothing but

[20] Garrison, "History of Texas," p. 208.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 226.

recognize Texan independence, and sent an agent to Texas to investigate and report on the condition of affairs. Besides the question of defense, there were ethnical and geographical reasons why Texas should be annexed to the United States. Nearly ninety per cent. of the population was Anglo-American, and there were no well-defined natural boundaries between the two republics. Many people of the North, however, objected to annexation on account of the fact that it would mean an enormous extension of slavery. Here was a territory that could easily be erected into half a dozen States of the average area. If this should be done, it would destroy the equilibrium between the slavery and anti-slavery sections of the country, which it had been the policy of Congress to maintain ever since the opening of the slavery controversy. In view of this, President Van Buren, when the formal offer was made to him by the agent of Texas, promptly and firmly refused to consider a proposition looking toward annexation.

With the accession of Tyler, however, the situation changed. He had no such scruples on the subject of slavery extension, and was eager to signalize his administration by the peaceful acquisition of so vast and valuable a domain. He remembered that it was an act of this kind which had immortalized Jefferson's administration, and he could not understand why the addition of the resources of Texas without the expenditure of a dollar from the national treasury would not add immensely to the power of the nation and incidentally increase his own popularity. He believed, with most Southerners, that as the greater part of the Louisiana cession would probably be erected into free States, the acquisition of additional Southern territory would be necessary to preserve the balance of power between the North and the South, and consequently the perpetuity of the Union. President Tyler, therefore, after the retirement of Webster in 1842, began negotiations with the Texas authorities, in spite of the threat of Mexico to go to war with the United States in the event of annexation. These plans had little result, until early in 1844, when John C. Calhoun was made Secretary of State for the special purpose of acquiring Texas.[22] Up to this time they had been impeded on account of the refusal of the administration to promise the Texans protection from the threatened invasion of Mexico during the progress of the negotiations, as such interference might lead to war with Mexico. Soon after the accession of Mr.

[22] Von Holst, "Life of Calhoun," p. 227.

Calhoun the Texas agent was informed, April, 1844, that the President had ordered war vessels to the Gulf of Mexico and troops to the Southwest, and that all the means placed within his power by the Constitution would be employed to protect Texas against foreign invasion pending the conclusion of a treaty.[23] Calhoun believed, or professed to believe, that certain European nations, notably Great Britain and France, were making overtures to Texas with a view of securing its exceptional commercial advantages, and possibly extending their dominion to this hemisphere, to the peril of both the safety and the prosperity of the United States. This belief led him to redouble his efforts, and the promise of protection from Mexican aggression soon resulted in the conclusion of a treaty of annexation (April 12, 1844).

For the most part the negotiations had been conducted in secret and the Senate was therefore somewhat surprised when the President laid before it a treaty asking for its advice and consent. The President was equally surprised when on June 8 he was informed that the treaty had been rejected by the large vote of thirty-five to sixteen. The Northern senators voted against it because of their opposition to the extension of slavery, some of the Southern senators opposed it for fear that it would embroil the country in war with Mexico, while a few who favored the acquisition of Texas opposed annexation by treaty on the ground that foreign territory could not be admitted to the Union as a State without an act of Congress. For the time the plans of the annexationists were thwarted, and before further action was taken the two parties were to go before the country to secure the popular verdict at the presidential election.[24]

While the treaty was before the Senate the national conventions of the Democratic and Whig parties met at Baltimore for the purpose of nominating candidates for the Presidency. Tyler being out of the race, Van Buren and Clay were recognized as the leading candidates of their respective parties. Clay had resigned from the Senate in 1841, and was now living in retirement on his estate in Ashland. But he was still the most popular man in America. All over the country he was nominated by Whig meetings, State legislatures, and various other public and private bodies. The en-

[23] Burgess, "Middle Period," p. 307; Von Holst, "Life of Calhoun," p. 231.

[24] See Von Holst, "Constitutional History of the United States," vol. iii. pp. 61–85.

thusiasm for him was irresistible; he was invited to visit every town and county in the East and in the West; his journeys were like triumphal marches, and distinguished guests from all parts of America and Europe sought him at his Kentucky home.[25] Van Buren, likewise, had been living for the last four years in honorable retirement. Before the meeting of the convention both announced that they were opposed to the immediate annexation of Texas — a concerted scheme, it would seem, to prevent the question from being made an issue in the presidential campaign, for in May, 1842, Van Buren had visited Ashland and enjoyed for several days the hospitality of his old adversary. During the visit there was "a great deal of agreeable conversation, but not much of politics."

The Whig convention met first, and with one voice gave Clay the nomination which his friends claimed he should have had four years before. Theodore Frelinghuysen of New Jersey was nominated for Vice President. The proceedings of the Democratic convention were not marked with the same unanimity. Van Buren's declaration against annexation lost him the support of many Southern Democrats, and, although he was still the choice of a majority of the delegates, he was defeated by the operation of the rule which required a two-thirds majority to nominate, and which had now come to be a permanent feature of Democratic convention procedure. On the ninth ballot James K. Polk, the first "dark horse" in the history of the Presidency, received the nomination for President, and George M. Dallas for Vice President. The convention adopted a platform declaring in favor of the "reoccupation of Oregon" and the "reannexation of Texas at the earliest possible moment," though it was conveniently vague on the subject of the tariff.

The Whig platform contained no reference to Texas or Oregon, but offered its usual platitudes on the tariff, the bank and internal improvements. Another convention was held at Baltimore at the same time, and it nominated John Tyler for President, who promptly accepted. But before very long Tyler, convinced that he had but a feeble following, withdrew in favor of Polk. During the progress of the campaign Polk maintained a dignified silence on the slavery question; but Clay, being persuaded that annexation sentiment was on the increase, wrote a letter to a friend in Alabama in explanation of a letter which he had written to the *National Intelligencer* before the meeting of the convention, saying that he

[25] Schurz, "Life of Clay," vol. ii, p. 242.

would be glad to see Texas annexed on fair and just terms, if it could be done without war and without dishonor. This appeared to many of his supporters as trimming, and served to alienate enough anti-slavery Whigs in New York and Michigan to turn those States in favor of Polk. Later attempts to explain these letters only made matters worse. Moreover, by a skillfully worded letter to a Philadelphia gentleman named Kane, Polk gave the impression that he was a "better tariff man" than Clay, and the cry was raised, "Polk, Dallas, and the tariff of 1842." Thus Polk and the Democrats were paraded as the special champions of protection, while Clay, the father of the "American system," was held up as the enemy of protection. It was, says Schurz, one of the most audacious political frauds in history.[26] That the people of Pennsylvania should have been deceived by it seems strange; yet they went for Polk, and when two years later the Whig tariff of 1842 was repealed, their disappointment, not to say indignation, was great. The abolitionists, also refusing to support Clay, nominated a candidate of their own, and the 16,000 votes he received in New York helped to defeat the Whig candidate. The result was the election of Polk by an electoral majority of sixty-five, the Democrats carrying fifteen States and the Whigs eleven. The sorrow among the Whigs was pathetic. "It was," says Sargeant in his reminiscences, "as if the first-born of every family had been stricken down." Business was well-nigh suspended in many towns, while the people gathered together to discuss the result; not a few felt that the party would go to pieces; all were stunned and all felt that a great wrong had been done. Clay's feelings can be better imagined than described. "The late blow that has fallen upon our country," he wrote to a friend, "is very heavy. . . . I hope that she may recover from it, but I confess that the prospect ahead is dark, and discouraging. I am afraid that it will be a long time, if ever, before the people recover from the corrupting influence and effects of Jacksonism. I pray God to give them a happy deliverance." [27]

Tyler interpreted the results of the election as a popular verdict in favor of annexation, and he made haste to recommend that Texas be annexed by act of Congress, or by joint resolution, through the treaty-making power. The latter was a convenient

[26] Schurz, "Life of Clay," vol. ii. p. 257.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 267.

1845

method, and this should not be overlooked, of overcoming the obstacle of a two-thirds majority of the Senate, since a joint resolution requires the assent of only a bare majority of each House. Finally, in the last days of February, 1845, Congress passed a joint resolution for the annexation of Texas; but in deference to several senators, who had constitutional scruples as to the rightfulness of the government to acquire foreign territory except through the treaty-making power, it was also provided that the President might, at his discretion, proceed by treaty, if he thought proper, instead of the method of direct annexation, as contemplated by the resolution. It was believed by many that, as less than a week of his term remained, Tyler would not take action, and that the new President would, after his inauguration, proceed to negotiate a new treaty. But Tyler was not to be cheated out of the honor of adding Texas to his crown, and on the last day of his term he forestalled the action of his successor by choosing the first alternative of the joint resolution, and dispatched a messenger to Texas with the joint resolution for annexation. It was promptly approved by a convention of delegates called for the purpose of framing a State constitution, and on July 4, 1845, the Republic of Texas became a commonwealth of the United States. Shortly after the adoption of the joint resolution looking to the annexation of Texas the Mexican minister at Washington demanded his passports and left the United States, and a little later the United States minister to Mexico left that country. It was now evident that while we had acquired Texas, we should have to fight Mexico, and the government entered at once upon preparations for the coming conflict.

Chapter XXIII

POLK'S ADMINISTRATION AND THE WAR WITH MEXICO. 1845–1849

I

POLK'S INAUGURATION AND THE NORTHWEST BOUNDARY DISPUTE

PRESIDENT POLK was the third of our chief magistrates to be drawn from the growing West, and was, in a sense, the heir of that other distinguished Tennesseean, who, sixteen years before, had reached the Presidency. Like Jackson, he was born of Irish ancestry, in the uplands of Carolina; and like him, had, in early life, emigrated to Tennessee, where, as was the case with many Southerners, he studied law only to drift into politics. Unlike his great patron and political oracle, however, Polk was a college graduate and enjoyed more than a local reputation for ripe scholarship, especially as a mathematician and a linguist. After serving several terms as a member of the Tennessee legislature, he was elected to Congress, in his thirtieth year, where he served without interruption for seven consecutive terms. During several terms he was Speaker of the House of Representatives, and discharged the duties of this position with only fair ability, but with reasonable impartiality and dignity. As a member of Congress he was noted for his readiness in debate and his unceasing application to routine business. It was related of him that he was absent from the daily sessions of Congress but once during his fourteen years' service. In his politics, Mr. Polk was a strict constructionist Democrat, and through all the vicissitudes of the Jacksonian régime his course was marked by unwavering allegiance to his chief. In 1839 he retired from Congress and was elected governor of Tennessee, but was twice subsequently defeated by his Whig opponent, after which he remained in retirement from 1841 until his election to the Presidency in 1845. In religion he was a strict Presbyterian of the old school. His private character was above reproach, his manner plain and unassum-

ing, while in action he was resolute and determined, although his mind was open to conviction.

President Polk entered upon his administration with a definite programme, and in all but one particular it was carried out as planned. Perhaps no President ever had at the outset of his administration so clear and positive a perception of what he meant to do, or urged its accomplishment with such dispatch.[1] His ambitions included the "reoccupation" of Oregon, the acquisition of California, the reëstablishment of the independent treasury system, which had been created during Van Buren's term, but afterwards repealed by the Whigs, and a reduction of the tariff. It is also probable that he had expected to take advantage of the second alternative of the Texas joint resolution and proceed to negotiate with the republic for annexation by treaty, had not Tyler, as has been said, forestalled his action.

It was in the settlement of the Oregon controversy that Polk's programme broke down. Oregon was the name applied to a vast undefined area of territory lying along the North Pacific Ocean from the forty-second parallel of latitude to that of fifty-four degrees and forty minutes, and extending eastward to the Rocky Mountains. Originally it was claimed by Russia, Great Britain and Spain on the ground of discovery and settlement; but by treaties with the United States and Great Britain, made in 1824 and 1825, Russia gave up her claims to that part of the territory lying south of fifty-four degrees and forty minutes north latitude. In the meantime the United States had become a claimant, partly on the ground of the Louisiana Purchase, a claim now admitted to have been worthless, and the Spanish cession of 1819, in which by treaty Spain ceded to the United States all her claims of territory lying north of the forty-second parallel and west of the Rocky Mountains. What her rights to this territory were it is difficult to ascertain. By the Nootka Sound Convention of 1790 she seemed to recognize Great Britain's claim to a joint share of the disputed territory, so that when we acquired Spain's claims in 1819 we took them with this encumbrance. Thus the Treaty of 1819 left Great Britain and the United States in the field as the only disputants. The United States now put forward other claims, particularly the claim that Captain Gray's discovery and exploration of the Columbia River in 1792 antedated that of the British navigator, Vancouver. The

[1] Schouler, "History of the United States," vol. iv. p. 408.

United States also relied upon the argument of contiguity, the Lewis and Clarke expedition, and the planting of actual settlements in the Territory, the most important of which was Astoria, founded by John Jacob Astor in 1811.[2] All these claims taken together, it was said, constituted a better title than that of Great Britain and was, besides, more thorough in character. As early as 1818 negotiations were begun between the two countries for a division of the disputed territory, but the only result was a *modus vivendi* for the joint occupation of the country for a period of ten years. In 1828 the agreement was renewed and was to continue for an indefinite period; but each party reserved the right to terminate the agreement at any time by giving twelve months' notice to the other.

Throughout Jackson's stormy administration the question slumbered, but American settlements were being slowly made on the Willamette. Webster, while Secretary of State under Tyler, had endeavored to settle the controversy with Great Britain when the negotiations for the settlement of the Northeast boundary dispute were in progress; but Lord Ashburton had declined to treat on the ground that he had no instructions. The United States then pursued a policy of masterly inactivity and did not press the matter. In fact, so little was known of the resources and possibilities of this far-away country, that the government was probably quite ready to accept the Columbia River as a compromise boundary.

Until recently it was believed that Oregon was saved by the arrival at Washington in March, 1843, of Dr. Marcus Whitman, a missionary who had gone to Oregon years before, and who, having learned that the government was on the point of surrendering a large part of the Territory, had traveled all the way across the continent in order to lay before the President information concerning the region which he had explored.[3] The information which he brought was printed and largely distributed throughout the country, and resulted, so it was generally believed, in the crystallization of a strong public opinion in favor of acquiring Oregon by negotiation, if possible, by force, if necessary. But recent historical investigation has thrown discredit to this story and it now seems

[2] Read Von Holst, "Constitutional History of the United States," vol. iii. pp. 29–49.

[3] Barrows, "History of Oregon," ch. xviii.

worthy to be treated as a mere myth.[4] In the presidential campaign which now ensued the Democratic party took up the question as an issue and declared in favor of the "reoccupation of Oregon," and with such slogans as "Fifty-four forty or fight," "All of Oregon or none," they marched to the polls and carried the elections.

Polk was not a whit behind his supporters in their belief that Oregon by right belonged to the United States, and in his inaugural address he asserted that "our title to the whole of Oregon is clear and unquestionable," a "blustering announcement," as Lord John Russell called it, and one which many asserted lacked the essential element of unquestioned truth.[5] As President, however, he dropped "fifty-four forty or fight," and proposed to accept the forty-ninth parallel to the Pacific as a compromise. To his surprise this proposition was rejected by Mr. Pakenham, the British plenipotentiary at Washington, who allowed the negotiations to drop with the tart suggestion that something else "more consistent with fairness and equity" should be offered. The President, half-indignant, half-delighted, thereupon directed that the compromise proposition be withdrawn and the rightful claim of the United States to the whole of Oregon be reasserted. Furthermore, upon his recommendation Congress passed, after a prolonged and spirited discussion, a resolution authorizing the executive to give notice of the intention of the United States to terminate the joint occupancy of the Territory at the expiration of one year, and the notice was promptly given.

In the meantime Pakenham, who had received fresh instructions, opened negotiations and offered to accept the forty ninth parallel, reserving Vancouver's Island to Great Britain. Polk refused to shoulder the entire responsibility for accepting a compromise which he had once proposed to the British Government, and which had been rejected, and adopted the rather unusual course of asking the Senate for its advice in the premises, saying that his own opinions on the question were unchanged, and that if he were not advised to accept the proposition, he would reject it.[6] The Senate, much perplexed, advised acceptance, the Whigs voting

[4] See Bourne, "The Whitman Legend," *American Historical Review* for January, 1901.

[5] Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," vol. iv, p. 381.

[6] Foster, "Century of American Diplomacy," p. 368.

in the negative; the treaty was concluded by the President and ratified by the Senate in June, 1846. Thus the Democrats gave up "fifty-four forty," and without "fighting." "And this was the end," said Senator Benton, "of that great line! All gone — vanished, evaporated into thin air — and the place where it was not to be found. O Mountain that was delivered of a mouse, thy name shall henceforth be fifty-four forty." [7] The conclusion of this treaty removed the last source of controversy between the two countries and established amicable relations between them which were not again disturbed for a long time. It was, on the whole, a fair and equitable division of the territory in dispute, for our claims were at many points uncertain, if not unsound.[8] It gave the United States a straight boundary line from the Rocky Mountains to the sea, entire control of the Columbia River, and established her sovereignty on the Pacific coast from the forty-second to the forty-ninth parallel of latitude. The domain thus acquired was imperial in extent, being more than twice as large as Great Britain and Ireland, much larger than France, Germany or Austria, and larger than the Middle and New England States combined. Few dreamed at this time that the sovereignty of the United States would within two years be extended far below the forty-second parellel. But such was the manifest destiny of the Republic.

II

THE TEXAS BOUNDARY AND THE MEXICAN WAR

Shortly after Polk's inauguration the government of Mexico declared by proclamation that it would regard the annexation of Texas by the United States as an act of hostility, and at once entered upon preparation for war. It began to look, therefore, as if the President's boast that Texas had been acquired as a "bloodless achievement" would prove to be premature. Polk now sent a special minister, John Slidell, of Louisiana, to Mexico to make an effort to bring about a renewal of diplomatic relations between the two countries, but the Mexican Government refused to receive him, whereupon he returned to the United States. War was now inevitable. The crisis was hastened by a dispute concerning the

[7] Benton, "Thirty Years' View," vol. ii. p. 676.
[8] Winsor, "Narrative and Critical History," vol. vii. p. 555.

boundary between Mexico and Texas, each nation claiming the territory between the Rio Grande and the Nueces Rivers. Texas had, by an act of Congress passed in December, 1836, fixed the Rio Grande as the boundary between the two countries, and when Texas was annexed to the United States she brought with her this controversy. But it seems clear that the Texas Congress had acted beyond its rights when it undertook to make the Rio Grande the boundary, for the boundary of Texas as a Mexican province was far remote from this river. Even if it could be assumed that Texas was a part of the Louisiana purchase, certainly the United States could not claim the Rio Grande as the boundary after the Treaty of 1819 with Spain.[9] But whatever the merits of the case may have been, the United States decided to support Texas in her claim to the disputed territory.

One of the first acts of Polk's administration before annexation had been completed, but after the adoption of the joint resolution, was to send an "army of occupation," consisting of about 1,500 men, later increased to 4,000, in fulfillment of Calhoun's promise to protect the Texans from invasion during negotiations. In July, 1845, under command of General Zachary Taylor, the army established itself at Corpus Christi, on the west bank of the Nueces River, within the disputed territory. General Taylor was instructed to avoid, if possible, any act of hostility, but to defend and protect the territory from the encroachment of the Mexicans.

But beside the dispute over the boundary of Texas, there was the older question of American claims against Mexico for depredations upon commerce and the confiscation of the property of American citizens, growing chiefly out of the various civil dissensions which had distracted the Mexican state. The United States had remonstrated against these insults to the American flag, and promises of redress had been as often made, only to be postponed or evaded.

Finally, in the closing months of Jackson's second term, a demand was made upon the Mexican Government for the settlement of all claims, both for public and private injuries to the United States or its citizens. The result was the conclusion in 1839 of a convention providing for a mixed commission, with the King of Prussia as umpire, which eventually passed upon claims aggregating two million dollars, but left four millions still un-

[9] Garrison, "History of Texas," p. 263

decided at the date of expiration, in February, 1842.[10] In November of the following year another convention was concluded between the United States and Mexico, by which it was agreed that all claims undisposed of under the convention of 1839 should be again referred to a mixed commission. But the Mexican Government withheld its ratification and at the same time ceased paying installments due under the previous convention. President Polk, in his message of May 11, 1846, declared that "the grievous wrongs perpetrated by Mexico upon our citizens throughout a long period of years, remained unredressed, and solemn treaties, pledging her faith for this redress, have been disregarded." The Mexican Government, he said, had "interposed evasions, difficulties, and delays of every kind," and that additional claims had been presented till they together reached the enormous aggregate of $8,491,603.[11] The claims controversy, however, can hardly be considered one of the main causes of the war, and it is almost certain that apart from the Texas question it could have been settled without an appeal to arms.

The movement of General Taylor to the west bank of the Nueces in July, 1845, was soon followed by the mobilization of Mexican troops at Matamoras, on the west bank of the Rio Grande. In these positions, the two armies remained until early in 1846, when General Taylor was instructed to advance across the disputed territory to a point on the left bank of the Rio Grande opposite Matamoras, with the design, it was charged by the Whigs, of provoking the Mexicans into hostilities and thus putting upon them the onus of shedding the first blood. This he did in March, 1846, and when his withdrawal from the disputed territory was demanded by the Mexican authorities, he promptly refused. Thereupon the Mexican general, Arista, informed General Taylor on April 24 that he "considered hostilities commenced and that he should prosecute them." On the same day a small detachment of American dragoons, while out reconnoitering, were attacked by a large body of Mexican troops that had crossed the river above Matamoras, and the affair resulted in the killing of a dozen or more of the American soldiers, and the capture of the remainder.

The war had begun. Two weeks later, while General Taylor was returning from Port Isabel to the Rio Grande, his force,

[10] Moore, "International Arbitrations," vol. ii. p. 1232.

[11] Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," vol. iv. p. 437.

numbering about three thousand well-drilled men, was attacked at Palo Alto by a Mexican army three times as large, but the Mexicans were badly defeated in an artillery battle of singular character. On the next day the two armies met again at Resaca de la Palma and the Americans inflicted another crushing defeat upon the Mexicans, driving them with great loss to the Rio Grande, into which many of them plunged, panic-stricken in their efforts to escape, and were drowned while attempting to swim across the stream. In this engagement the Mexicans lost all their artillery and baggage, and the indignation against Arista was so great that he was court-martialed and deprived of his command.

As soon as news of these battles reached the United States President Polk sent a message to Congress declaring that the Mexicans "had passed the boundary of the United States, invaded our territory and shed American blood upon American soil."[12] Of course, in saying this, the President assumed that Mexico had no rightful claim to the territory in dispute, which was hardly a fair and dignified position for a powerful nation like the United States to assume in relation to a less powerful sister republic which was contending for its national integrity. It would have been more nearly in harmony with the facts if he had said that American blood had been shed on territory to which the United States had asserted a claim, but which had not yet been determined either by peaceful methods or by appeal to arms. His assertion that "war exists, notwithstanding all our efforts to avoid it, and exists by the act of Mexico herself," was further evidence of the desire to place the whole responsibility for the affair upon Mexico, although to an impartial mind it would appear that the armed occupation of territory in dispute, by one of the parties, was an act of provocation which clearly justified the other party in taking measures of resistance. Nevertheless, on May 11, the same day on which the President had informed Congress that war existed by act of Mexico, Congress formally "recognized" its existence by a large majority of both houses, there being only sixteen opposition votes, two in the Senate and fourteen in the House of Representatives. The President was authorized to accept the services of not more than fifty thousand volunteers, and $10,000,000 were appropriated to defray the expenses. To this was added $50,000,000 more before the end of the session. The majority of

[12] Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," vol. [illegible]

the Whigs opposed the war from the first to the last as unjustifiable and unnecessary, but only a few of them voted against furnishing the means of its prosecution. A few of the Democrats also opposed the war, among them Calhoun, who said he could "not agree to make war on Mexico by making war on the Constitution,"[13] while the large and increasing body of Abolitionists in the North condemned it because it appeared to them to be a movement for the further extension of slavery.

After the passage of the act for the prosecution of the war the President issued a call to the Southern and some of the Western States for 23,000 men. The response was prompt and enthusiastic, for the South was warmly in favor of the war, and the disposition of superfluous volunteers soon became one of the problems of the day. In the meantime General Taylor, with the regular army, had resumed operations. Before May 18 he had crossed the Rio Grande, occupied the town of Matamoras, which he placed under military government, and after a delay of several months moved his army forward in three divisions in the direction of Monterey. He was reënforced during the advance by about 3,000 volunteers, who had been sent forward by the Southern States. Another detachment of volunteers, under the command of General Wool, assembled at San Antonio for an advance upon Chihuahua, another under General Kearny at Leavenworth for an expedition into New Mexico, while Commodores Sloat and Stockton of the navy were instructed to seize the Mexican province of California. In September Taylor marched upon the strongly fortified city of Monterey, nestled in the beautiful Sierra Madre Valley, and after three days' siege, following some hard fighting, captured it, together with large quantities of arms and ammunition and other valuable stores. At Buena Vista, in February, 1847, with an army but one-fourth as strong as that of the enemy, he routed the forces of Santa Anna, the new Mexican commander, capturing or killing about 1,500 of his men. The American loss was about one-half that of the enemy, among the killed being a son of Henry Clay. The result of this victory, the most brilliant of the war, created a profound impression throughout the country and made General Taylor a popular hero and incidentally the foremost presidential candidate, although it practically closed his military career.

The detachment under General Wool, which had started from

[13] Von Holst, "Life of Calhoun," p. 278.

San Antonia, penetrated Coahuila and Chihuahua and subsequently joined General Taylor's army near Saltillo, without having accomplished any military results of note. General Kearny's detachment proceeded from Leavenworth to Santa Fé, which town it occupied in August, 1846. After taking formal possession of New Mexico, declaring it annexed to the United States, establishing a temporary civil government, and ordering an election for a delegate to Congress, Kearny started with part of his force for California, only to be met by a courier who brought the information that Sloat, Stockton and Frémont had already taken possession of that territory. This magnificent empire of "bright fertility and treasures happily hidden" had been acquired without hardly so much as the loss of a single life, and as the culmination of events characterized by deeds both daring and romantic. Thus, in a period of about seven months the United States had defeated the Mexican armies in several important battles, had overrun several Mexican provinces and had displaced Mexican authority in New Mexico and the Californias, and in every instance where there had been a trial at arms the Americans had won, although largely outnumbered.

But Mexico still refused to abandon the contest, in consequence of which the President determined to send an army by way of Vera Cruz into the very heart of the Mexican republic, and, if possible, dictate terms of peace at the capital itself. To conduct this campaign the President, to the great mortification of Taylor, selected General Scott, the senior officer of the army, who had become restive under the brilliant victories which his subordinate was winning while he was kept doing routine duty at Washington. Early in March, 1847, Scott landed a force of 12,000 men at Vera Cruz, the gateway to the heart of Mexico and its chief seaport. After bombarding the city for several days and nights with terrific effect, throwing hundreds of shells into the streets, and causing great loss of life and property, the Americans compelled the city to surrender on March 29, the Mexicans being allowed to lay down their arms and march out with the honors of war. The city was then placed under military government, and the customs revenues turned into the treasury of the United States.

Scott then took up his march for the Mexican capital, some 200 miles to the northwest. At the mountain pass of Cerro Gordo his advance was opposed by Santa Anna with a force of about 12,000 Mexicans, who were strongly intrenched behind earthworks

overlooking the pass. The Mexican general's position had been chosen with admirable skill and he had every advantage. After dragging his batteries up the heights with great difficulty, Scott engaged the Mexicans in a sanguinary battle and completely routed them, killing or wounding a thousand of their number, and capturing 3,000 more, with a loss of 431, including 61 killed, of his own men. Santa Anna barely escaped capture, leaving behind his wooden leg. After resting a few weeks, the Americans resumed their march toward the capital, fighting their way as they marched, after the manner of Cortes, over 300 years before, and capturing place after place. Both at Contreras and Cherubusco the Americans were confronted by armies largely outnumbering their own forces; but in both engagements the Mexicans were routed after desperate fighting and after losing some four thousand of their men in killed, wounded, or captured. Cherubusco was within four miles of the City of Mexico, and was defended by a powerful stone fortress. After a terrific bombardment by the Americans, in the course of which they lost a thousand men, the place was taken and the way lay open to the capital city. In the hope of saving their capital, the Mexicans agreed to an amistice for the purpose of negotiating a treaty of peace; but the terms proposed by the United States were unacceptable to the Mexican commissioners, and military operations were resumed. There could be but one termination to this struggle, in spite of the desperate, almost heroic efforts of the Mexicans to save their capital from falling into the hands of the invader. On September 8 they suffered another crushing defeat at Molino del Rey, and on the 13th Scott successfully stormed the fortress of Chapultepec, the gateway of the capital, compelling the Mexicans to flee panic-stricken down the precipices. On the following day the Americans entered the City of Mexico, their flag soon floated from the fortress castle, and the war was at an end. Further resistance to so powerful an adversary was useless and the Mexicans were forced to accept such terms as the United States was ready to dictate.

III

POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE WAR

As early as August, 1846, when only the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma had yet been fought, the President recom-

THE STORMING OF CHAPULTEPEC

mended to Congress an appropriation of $2,000,000 for negotiating a treaty of peace with Mexico. As Mexico had paid but a small fraction of the large private claims awarded under the convention of 1840, besides the many millions unadjudicated, and would undoubtedly be called upon to pay a war indemnity, Polk's request seemed to indicate that it was his purpose to exact a large cession of territory from Mexico.[14] This was what the anti-slavery advocates of the North had feared all along, since the acquisition of more territory in the Southwest would mean the extension of negro slavery, to the great political advantage of the South. When, therefore, a bill was introduced in Congress making the appropriation for which Polk asked, David Wilmot, a member from Pennsylvania, offered an amendment providing that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude should exist in any territory that might be acquired from Mexico. The bill passed the House with the Wilmot Proviso attached, the Southern members voting almost solidly against it; but in the Senate it never came to a vote. At the next session a similar bill, embodying the Wilmot Proviso, again passed the House, but with a reduced majority. In the Senate the bill passed, but with the amendment stricken out. The rejection of the slavery restriction clause was due chiefly to the opposition of Senator Cass of Michigan, who was persuaded to believe that it would lead to dissension in the government at a time when dissension might prove embarrassing if not dangerous to the progress of negotiations.

Already, after the fall of Vera Cruz, the American arms being victorious everywhere and Scott's army on the march toward the capital, President Polk decided to offer to negotiate with Mexico for a cessation of hostilities. With this end in view, he selected Nicholas P. Trist, a clerk in the Department of State, to proceed to Mexico and initiate negotiations with the Mexican governor. He was authorized among other things to demand the cession of New Mexico and upper and lower California, and to offer in payment therefore not over $25,000,000. Arriving at Vera Cruz early in May, Trist was delayed for a month through the interposition of obstacles in his way by General Scott, who entertained suspicions of the government at Washington and denied the right of the commissioner to order a suspension of hostilities, notwithstanding his instructions to that effect. Late in August an armistice was

[14] Burgess, "Middle Period," p. 334.

effected and Trist entered upon negotiations with Santa Anna's commissioners. The Mexicans refused the American demands, and, Santa Anna having in the meantime violated the armistice, Scott ordered a renewal of hostilities and resumed his march toward the capital. Meantime Trist was recalled by order of the President, but, instead of returning to the United States, he lingered in the neighborhood of Mexico, and after the fall of the capital proceeded to negotiate again with the Mexican commissioners on the basis of his original instructions. On February 2, 1848, he concluded a treaty at Guadalupe Hidalgo, "a spot," said Trist, "which, agreeable to the creed of this country, is the most sacred on earth, as being the scene of the miraculous appearance of the Virgin, for the purpose of declaring that Mexico was taken under her special protection." By this treaty the Rio Grande was acknowledged to be the boundary between Texas and Mexico, New Mexico and Upper California, including Nevada, Arizona, Utah and a part of Colorado, were ceded to the United States in consideration of the payment to Mexico of $15,000,000. The United States assumed the American claims against Mexico to an amount not exceeding $3,250,000, releasing Mexico from further obligations on account of these claims. Mexico, of course, abandoned her claim to Texas. The treaty was duly submitted to the Senate by the President in spite of the irregular manner of its negotiation, and notwithstanding Polk's intense indignation at Trist's disrespectful treatment of himself. After three weeks of discussion, in which senators from both parties opposed it, the treaty was ratified on March 16, 1848, by a vote of thirty-eight to fourteen.[15]

Up to the present time historians have been divided in opinion as to the righteousness of the war with Mexico. Most of them have considered it as an unjustifiable aggression upon a weaker nation, undertaken primarily by the South for the purpose of extending the slave power.[16] This thought was expressed by Senator Benton of Missouri, who, in the course of a speech in opposition to the war, said: "Why not march up to fifty-four forty as we march upon the Rio Grande? Because Great Britain is strong

[15] See an article by J. S. Reeves on "The Treaty of Gaudalupe Hidalgo," in the *American Historical Review*, vol. x. p. 309; see also an article by E. G. Bourne on "The United States and Mexico," in the *American Historical Review*, vol. v. p. 491.

[16] For this view see Von Holst, "Constitutional History of the United States," vol. iii. ch. iv.

and Mexico is weak."[17] Others have regarded it, not as a war of conquest, but as a defensive war, forced upon the United States by provocations which a self-respecting nation could not ignore. The historians of the latter class hold that the slavery interest were unconnected with it, and that the extension of slavery which

resulted therefrom was a mere incident and not an original purpose of the war.[18] Those who disapprove the war contend that it could have been avoided by judicious measures upon the part of the administration, and that whatever advantages were gained were offset by the sacrifice of thousands of lives of American citizens in battle, by sickness or other casualties, as well as the expenditure of more than a hundred million dollars in prosecuting the war: such views were held by Clay, Webster, Benton and Calhoun. On the

[17] "Thirty Years' View," vol. ii. p. 700.

[18] For this view see Burgess, "The Middle Period," ch. xv.

other hand, those who attempt to justify the war assert that besides defending American territory from Mexican invasion, the United States compelled Mexico to make a settlement of claims then long standing, to make reparation for public injuries to the United States, and insured the early development and civilization of lands which, under Mexican dominion, had lain waste and unoccupied. One of the noteworthy incidental results of the war was the training which it afforded to many American soldiers who were destined to become leaders in the great Civil War, which came fifteen years later. Besides Scott and Taylor, Grant, Lee, Thomas, Pillow, Jefferson Davis and Franklin Pierce were among the soldiers of the Mexican War who afterward rose to fame.

The remainder of the Democratic programme was carried out according to the original plans. A law reëstablishing the independent treasury was promptly reënacted in 1846, and the same year Congress passed a new Tariff Act, based upon the recommendations of Robert J. Walker, Secretary of the Treasury. This law substituted the revenue principle for that of protection, and made all duties *ad valorem*. Under it all dutiable articles were grouped under four schedules, A, B, C and D. The first group included woolen goods, paying a duty of thirty per cent; the second, twenty-five per cent., and so on through the list.[19] This law, although its administration was characterized by gross frauds, as any tariff based on the *ad valorem* principle must, remained in force until 1857. It was very unpopular in the East, and loud were the denunciations in Pennsylvania especially, a State which Polk had carried in 1845 as a result of his professed sympathy with the principle of protective tariffs. Dallas, the Vice President, a native of Pennsylvania, was hanged in effigy for giving his casting vote in favor of the new law.[20]

The time had now come for the people to pronounce their verdict upon the record of the administration for the last four years. Already at the congressional elections of 1846 the Whigs, in consequence of the repeal of the protective tariff of 1842, and the unpopularity of the Mexican War in certain parts of the country, had made large gains, causing the Democrats to lose their control of the House of Representatives, although in the Senate

[19] Taussig, "Tariff History of the United States," p. 114.

[20] Read Stanwood, "American Tariff Controversies in the Nineteenth Century," vol. ii, p. 80 *et seq.*

they still retained a small majority.[21] The national convention for the nomination of Democratic candidates for President and Vice President met at Baltimore in May, 1848. As a consequence of the growing dissension among Northern Democrats over the slavery question, it is worthy of note that two rival delegations appeared from New York. One of these represented the conservative wing of the Democracy, the "Hunkers," as they were called; the other, the radicals, or "Barnburners." The former faction preferred not to insist upon the exclusion of slavery from the new Territories, or at least they were inclined to pursue a conservative, non-committal policy; the latter were compared to the Dutchman who burned his barn to get rid of the rats — they were pledged to the Wilmot Proviso, and wanted the Democrats to take a positive stand against the extension of slavery into the Territories, notwithstanding such a policy might result in the defeat of the party at the approaching election. In the New York election of 1840 many of the "Hunkers" voted for the Whig candidate for governor, rather than support Silas Wright, the candidate of the "Barnburner" faction, and thus insured his defeat.[22] The national convention finally decided to admit both delegations to seats, thus dividing the vote of the State; whereupon both declined to take part under such circumstances, and accordingly withdrew, leaving New York unrepresented in the convention. On the fourth ballot the convention nominated General Lewis Cass, an able, wealthy and conservative citizen of Michigan, many years governor of the Michigan Territory and at the time one of the United States senators from that State. A platform substantially the same as that of 1844 was adopted. On the burning question of the hour, however, the extension of slavery to the Territories, the platform was non-committal. General Cass at first pronounced himself in favor of the Wilmot Proviso, but in the course of the campaign he wrote a letter to a Mr. Nicholson of Tennessee, intended for circulation in the South, intimating that in his opinion non intervention by Congress with slavery in the Territories was the true doctrine.[23] This was regarded as a bid for Southern support — a trimming attitude which served to alienate from him many Northern Democrats, who now regarded him as a Northern man with Southern principles.

[21] Schouler, "History of the United States," vol. v, p. 540.
[22] Shepard, "Life of Van Buren," p. 377.
[23] McLaughlin, "Life of Lewis Cass," p. 230.

and which at the same time shook the confidence of Southern Democrats and ultimately caused his defeat.

It was a sore disappointment to the Democrats that the Mexican War had produced no great military heroes of Democratic faith, from among whom they could select their candidate. Taylor and Scott, the two chief military commanders of the war, were both Whigs, and it was practically certain that one of these would receive the Whig nomination. There were several brigadiers of Democratic traditions who had distinguished themselves for gallantry during the war, but as popular heroes they could not compare with the two Whig major generals who had conducted the leading campaigns. Very early in the war Polk and his friends foresaw the probable danger of the Democratic party of making the war a nursery of Whig generals, concerning themselves with devising some means of preventing it. Scott, the senior officer of the army, had been kept at Washington performing routine duty in the war office and was not allowed to go to the front until it had grown clear that Taylor was likely to become a presidential candidate. Then it was that Scott was sent out, not to supersede Taylor, but to take from him the greater part of his command and leave him to act upon the defensive. Some historians have inclined to the opinion that it was the purpose of the administration to set the two generals against each other, in hope of injuring the reputation of both, and thus preventing either from being a formidable presidential candidate in 1848.[24] But this was dangerous business, and it is fair to assume that no President who is carrying the heavy responsibility of a foreign war would trifle with his chief military commanders in that manner. It is true, however, that the President, at the very time Scott was embarking for Vera Cruz, recommended to Congress the creation of the rank of lieutenant general with the intention, it was asserted, of filling the place with a Democrat, probably Senator Benton of Missouri; but the scheme fell through and the Whig generals came out of the war with reputations far outshining those of any of their subordinates of Democratic principle.

The Whig national convention met at Philadelphia, June 1, 1848. The leading candidates were General Taylor, Henry Clay, General Scott and Daniel Webster. Soon after the battle of Buena

[24] See Schouler, "History of the United States," vol. iv. p. 541; also Von Holst, "Constitutional History," vol. iii. p. 365.

Vista. Thurlow Weed, the great Whig chief and President maker, having heard that General Taylor was a strong admirer of Henry Clay, and preferred home-made goods to foreign importations, decided to put forward Taylor as a candidate, and announced that all other candidates might as well stand aside. He is reported to have sent the general word to keep his eye to the front and maintain complete silence, and that he would be the next President. As early as April, 1847, the New York *Courier and Enquirer*, published by James Watson Webb, hoisted his name for President. Other papers soon fell into line, "rough and ready" almanac portraits and biographies began to appear, and it soon became evident that Taylor would, as a Western admirer put it, be nominated by "spontaneous combustion." When the proposition was first broached to Taylor he promptly pronounced it too absurd to be thought of, but was soon persuaded to change his opinion and become an active candidate.[25]

Remembering the Whig triumphs of 1840, when the party went before the country with a plain, honest, simple-minded chieftain unencumbered with an embarrassing political record, the leaders decided that with Taylor, who was in many respects a character of the type of Harrison, the success of 1840 could easily be repeated. Accordingly he was nominated on the third ballot. There were some, however, who still clung with a romantic devotion to their old chieftain, Clay, now living in retirement upon his estate at Ashland, and who, though in his seventieth year, still coveted the great prize as in his younger days when he was the idol of all good Whigs. But the majority of those who loved him were tired of being beaten with him, and they knew that his chances of being elected in 1848 were far less than in 1844. On the first ballot he received 97 votes, as against 111 for Taylor. Again Clay was deeply mortified; again he felt that as eight years before he had been abandoned by his friends and thrown aside by his party for a frontier military chieftain, who had only recently proclaimed himself a Whig, and who did not profess to know anything of Whig principles. "I think," he said, "my friends ought to leave me quiet and undisturbed in my retirement. I have served the country faithfully and to the utmost of my poor ability. If I have not done more, it has not been for want of heart and inclination. My race is run. During the short time which remains to me in this world, I desire to preserve unstained that character

[25] Schurz, "Life of Clay," vol. ii, p. 293.

which so many have done me the honor to respect and esteem.[26] Webster, like Clay, now far in the evening of life, felt that this was his last chance, and was eager for the nomination. The delegates from his devoted State supported him earnestly, but he was far outdistanced by all the other candidates, even Scott receiving three times as many votes in the convention. He was approached by influential Whigs and asked to accept the nomination for Vice President, but he rejected the proposition with disdain, spurned it as a personal indignity, in fact, and thus again lost his only chance of becoming President. He was greatly mortified by the result, pronounced Taylor's nomination as one unfit to be made, but later advised his friends to vote for the Whig nominee, and himself went on the stump to aid the election.[27] Millard Fillmore, of New York, was nominated for Vice President. The Whigs pursued the tactics of 1840 and adopted no platform of principles — in fact, every resolution intended to commit the party on slavery or any other question was voted down by overwhelming majorities.

A third party, representing eighteen States, and made up partly of Whigs, who were disgusted at the nomination of a Southern slaveholder, and also at the refusal of the Whig convention to declare itself against the further extension of slavery, together with those Northern Democrats who disliked the trimming attitude of Cass, held a convention at Buffalo, in August. The convention was presided over by Charles Francis Adams, a son of John Quincy Adams, and contained among its delegates Salmon P. Chase, John A. Dix, Henry Wilson and Joshua R. Giddings. It nominated ex-President Van Buren for President, and adopted a platform denying the power of Congress to establish slavery in the territories, demanded that it be prohibited in those where it already existed, declared that Congress had "no more power to make a slave than to make a king," and asserted that there must be "no more slave States and no more slave territory."[28] Those who subscribed to these principles took the name of the Free Soil party from the declaration in favor of "free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men," — a banner "under which," they said, "we will fight on and fight ever until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions."[29] The

[26] Schurz, "Life of Clay," vol. ii. p. 308.
[27] Lodge, "Life of Webster," p. 274.
[28] Shepard, "Life of Van Buren," p. 365.
[29] Read Smith, "History of the Free Soil Party," ch. viii.

Liberty or Abolitionist party, made up of radical anti-slavery men, which, as we have seen, had nominated James G. Birney of Kentucky for President in 1840, and again in 1844, now nominated John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, but he withdrew in favor of Van Buren, and the Liberty party and Free Soil party were merged. In New York the "Barnburner" faction of the Democracy, after their withdrawal from the Baltimore Convention, had held a convention of their own at Utica, in connection with delegates from several other States, and had nominated Van Buren.

Van Buren was therefore the nominee of all the anti-slavery elements of the country, and this element, in the pivotal State of New York, determined the result of the presidential election. The defection of the "Barnburners" from Cass in that State threw the thirty-six electoral votes of New York to Taylor and elected him by exactly that majority, the total vote standing 103 for Taylor and 127 for Cass. Van Buren, the Free Soil candidate, received no electoral votes, but his aggregate popular vote exceeded 290,000, and in New York, Massachusetts and Vermont he outran Cass.[30] It was rather curious to find in the ranks of the Van Buren supporters many of his old political adversaries, who ten years before would scarcely have dreamed that the exigencies of politics would so soon throw them into his company. "It is not," said the eloquent Sumner, "for the Van Buren of 1838 that we vote; but for the Van Buren of to-day — the veteran statesman, sagacious, determined, experienced, who at an age when most men are rejoicing to put off their armor, girds himself anew and enters the lists as champion of Freedom."

The growing strength of the Free Soil party afforded material for reflection. Under another name it first nominated a Presidential candidate in 1840; but so unpopular was the anti-slavery movement that it polled but 4,000 votes. In ten years its strength had now increased more than seventy-fold. Evidently it contained the elements that were soon to make it the dominant party of the Republic, and only ten years more were needed to bring about this result. As evidence of the disintegration of political parties along sectional lines, it is worthy of note that in the election of 1848 six Southern States voted for the Whig candidate, a Southerner and a slaveholder, rather than support Cass, a Democrat, but a Northerner; while, on the other hand, many Democrats of the North

[30] Stanwood, "History of the Presidency," p. 243.

thought Taylor a greater enemy to slavery than Cass, and consequently voted for him. This, with other features of the presidential campaign, gave evidence that the slavery controversy was fast becoming the overshadowing question, that it would be the determining factor in the reorganization of political parties which now seemed inevitable, and that the political repose of the nation would never be securely established until the slavery question was put where it would no longer, as Lincoln said, be a disturbing element. Unfortunately that repose was sooner to be disturbed than was expected. It was another aspect of the slavery question, raised by the results of the war with Mexico.

Chapter XXIV

RISE OF THE SLAVERY CONTROVERSY

I

EARLY HISTORY OF SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES

HAVING now reached that point in our narrative where the question of negro slavery in one form or another assumed the paramount place in the domestic politics of the Republic — a question which continued to agitate the public mind with increasing bitterness until it was swept away in the most gigantic civil war of modern times — we must turn aside for a brief review of the rise and growth of the slavery controversy in its various bearings from the time of the Revolution down to the election of General Taylor.

At the time of the outbreak of the Revolution negro slavery existed in all the thirteen colonies; but in those of the North the number of slaves was comparatively few as compared with those of the southern section of the country. This was due chiefly to the difference of climatic conditions, and to some extent to the diversity of the industries of the two sections. The natural habitat of the negro is in the tropics; there he thrives in spite of malaria, and there is capable of his best service.[1] He is ill adapted to the rigors of the Northern climate, as well as to the industries which usually prevail in such regions. In the Northern colonies at this time agriculture, although the chief industry as in the South, was pursued in a very different manner. The farms were small and the crops produced were such as required more intelligent labor than the average slave was capable of giving. In the South, on the other hand, the country was covered with large plantations, the land was level and fertile, while the staple crops, tobacco, rice and indigo, were well adapted to negro labor. In the North slave labor was less profitable, and consequently was not generally employed ex-

[1] Burgess, "Middle Period," p. 42.

cept for domestic services. With the rise of the manufacturing industries in the North, requiring as they did even more intelligent service, slave labor fell into still greater disfavor in that part of the country. On the other hand, the increase of cotton and sugar plantations in the South, made it immensely profitable in this section, and in fact it soon became an economic necessity, as the Southerners asserted.

The Revolutionary War, with its accompanying doctrines concerning the rights of man, had the effect of turning the attention of many benevolently disposed persons to the inconsistency of human slavery with those principles, and aroused the conviction in the minds of not a few that slavery was a moral wrong and ought therefore to be restricted, with a view to ultimate abolition. Those who were waging a life and death struggle against oppression, it was said, ought not to oppress others. The first public manifestation of this outburst of humanitarianism was the action of the Continental Congress of 1774 in recommending the non-importation of slaves into the thirteen colonies, an act which received the unanimous approval of all the colonies, both North and South, and which was observed by all until near the end of the Revolution. It was estimated at this time that already 300,000 slaves had been imported into the colonies, constituting one-fifth of the population. Long before the Revolution the colonies wished to prohibit the importation of negro slaves, but had been prevented by the greed of English merchants, as well as by the avarice of British sovereigns themselves, who derived large profits from the traffic, and some of whom were personal stockholders in the Royal African Company, which enjoyed a monopoly of supplying the American colonies. It is noteworthy that even Southern colonies had passed laws forbidding the importation of negro slaves, or imposing a duty upon such importation, but in each case their governors had received instructions from the king to interpose a veto on all such laws. In 1760 a circular was addressed to all the colonial governors warning them against presuming to countenance such legislation. As late as 1775 the British Colonial Secretary said, in answer to a remonstrance from the agent of the colonies: "We cannot allow the colonies to check or discourage in any degree a traffic so beneficial to the nation." [2]

In the first draft of the Declaration of Independence we are

not surprised, therefore, to find as one of the counts of Jefferson's indictment of the British king, that he had "prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce," and that in so doing he had "waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights in the person of a distant people who had never offended him." This eloquent denunciation, however, was stricken from the final draft out of deference to the wishes of some of the Southern members, particularly those from South Carolina and Georgia, who had never attempted to restrain the importation of slaves and who, on the contrary, still wished to continue it. Jefferson also added that "our Northern brethren felt a little tender under these censures, for, though their people had very few slaves themselves, yet they had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others."[3] With the achievement of independence the royal veto was no longer an obstacle, and the States were left free to legislate as they wished with regard to the institution of negro slavery within their limits. Accordingly acts were passed by all the States except Georgia and South Carolina, either prohibiting absolutely the further importation of negroes or discouraging the traffic by the imposition of a heavy duty.

The States of the North went even further than this and adopted measures either for the prompt abolition or the gradual extinction of slavery. Of these, the first to act was the revolutionary State of Vermont. The mountaineers of this region, in 1777, without the consent of either New York or New Hampshire, both of which States laid claim to the Vermont territory, adopted a constitution declaring that no person ought to be held as a slave after reaching the age of maturity. A few years later this tentative step was followed by the outright abolition of slavery in Vermont. In 1780 Pennsylvania, by her constitution, enacted that all children of slaves born after that date should be free, while the Massachusetts constitution of the same year declared that "all men are born free and have an equal and indienable right to defend their lives and liberties." The supreme court of the State presently interpreted this provision to mean the abolition of slavery, as a result of which Massachusetts became the first free State of the Confederation.[4] The negro population of the State

[3] "Jefferson's Works," vol. i. p. 170.

[4] Wilson, "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power," vol. i. p. 22.

at this time did not exceed six thousand, and upon receiving their freedom they were admitted to the right of suffrage on an equality with white citizens. New Hampshire, in 1783, and Connecticut and Rhode Island, in 1784, all adopted measures looking to the gradual emancipation of their negro slaves.[5]

The result of these measures was that at the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution slavery had either been abolished or put in a process of extinction in all the States north of Mason and Dixon's line except New York and New Jersey, and these two States followed in a few years with measures for gradual emancipation. None of the Southern States, where the great mass of slaves were held, took measures looking to emancipation, although there was a strong sentiment in favor of it among many benevolently minded persons. This was especially true in Virginia and North Carolina, where rice and indigo were not the chief staples, as in Georgia and South Carolina. We have the testimony of such men as Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Mason, Randolph, Henry Lee and others that slavery was regarded with great disfavor in Virginia, Jefferson saying in 1774 that the "abolition of slavery is the great object of desire in the colonies," and again in 1787 that "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just and that His justice can not sleep forever." Washington, writing to Lafayette in 1783 congratulating him on purchasing an estate in Cayenne with a view to emancipating the slaves on it, said: "Would to God a like spirit might diffuse itself in the minds of the people of this country."[6] George Mason, another distinguished Virginian who had helped to make the Federal Constitution, and who was still more famous for his authorship of the Virginia Declaration of Rights, declared that "slavery discouraged arts and manufactures, led the poor to despise labor, prevented immigration of white persons to the State, turned slave masters into petty tyrants, and brought the judgment of Heaven upon the country." "The friends to the rights of human nature," he continued, "will in the end prevail." Similar testimony was given by Henry Laurens of South Carolina, and many others.

It is highly probable that in a few years the Southern States would have followed their sisters of the North in adopting meas-

[5] Greeley, "The American Conflict," vol. ii. p. 108.
[6] Sparks, "Life of Washington," vol. ix. p. 163.

ures for the gradual emancipation of the slaves had not the invention of the cotton gin created an industrial revolution in the South, and made negro slavery immensely profitable, if not an economic necessity. At a bound the capacity of the slave was increased more than a hundred-fold; within ten years the amount of cotton exported increased from a few thousand pounds to thirty-five million pounds. The raising of cotton now became the chief industry of the South. For this the use of negro labor was at that time indispensable, and it was universally held that negro labor to be profitable must be slave labor. Suddenly there was a demand for more negroes, while all thought of emancipation was forgotten. Thenceforward the perpetuation of slavery was indissolubly bound up with the economic system of the South; in other words, the question of emancipation became not only a moral but an economic one.

From the first it was generally conceded that slavery was a domestic institution, and that wherever it existed in a particular State it was beyond the power of the national government to interfere with it under any circumstances. But the question which was destined to lead to civil war related to the right of Congress over slavery in the Territories. Already, before the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the United States had acquired a large domain of territory in the northwest as a result of cessions from the States which had laid claim thereto. When Congress came to organize a government for the new territory it was almost unanimously agreed that negro slavery should not be permitted therein, the Southern members joining with their Northern brethren in placing this important restriction upon the further extension of an institution which all parties were then ready to acknowledge as an evil. In fact, the ordinance reported by Jefferson, himself a Southern slaveholder, in 1784, provided for the prohibition of slavery in all the western territory north of the 31st parallel of latitude, which, if it had been adopted, would have made Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama and Kentucky free States.[7] The ordinance was defeated, most probably on account of the absence of the delegates from Delaware and Georgia. Unfortunately for the emancipation movement, Southern statesmen in later years refused to admit the right of Congress to exclude

[7] Greeley, "The American Conflict," vol. i. p. 40; Wilson, "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power," vol. i. p. 32.

slavery from the Territories, but insisted that slaveholders should be left free to emigrate thereto with their negroes and receive the protection of the United States.

At the time Congress was organizing the Northwest Territory with an interdiction upon slavery therein, the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia was wrestling with the question of the recognition which should be given the institution of slavery in the organic law of the Republic. Long and bitter were the debates on this, in some respects the most vexatious problem of the convention, and Madison uttered the simple truth when he declared on the floor of the convention that it was not the issue between the large States and the small States that threatened to break up the assembly, but the differences between the free States and the slave States. The most important of these differences related to the political status which should be accorded to the slave under the new Constitution. Southern and Northern members alike were a unit in the opinion that the slave should not be accorded any political rights whatever, but the Southern members insisted that the slave should nevertheless be counted in determining the distribution of representatives in Congress. The arguments for and against this proposition, as well as the compromise finally agreed upon, have already received attention in a preceding chapter, and need not be repeated. It is sufficient to say here that the compromise finally adopted gave the Southern States a substantial political advantage in the form of increased representation based on slavery — a privilege which the calmer judgment of history will probably condemn as illogical but which was then necessary.

Another concession which the nation made to the slaveholders was an immunity from the power of Congress to interfere, before the year 1808, with the importation of negroes intended to be held as slaves; still a third provision of the Federal Constitution gave slavery the stamp of a property right by requiring that persons "held to labor or service" in any State escaping from their masters into another State, should upon demand be delivered up to the person from whom they escaped. This guarantee was not unreasonable; in fact, it followed as a logical result of the legal relation between master and slave and from the obligations of interstate comity. Besides, it had precedent, both in the articles of the New England Confederation and in the Ordinance of 1787. Apparently there was no difference of opinion among the mem-

bers of the convention as to the propriety and justice of inserting this guarantee in the Constitution, and one of the early acts of Congress provided the necessary legislation for making it effective. This act, the so-called Fugitive Slave Law, of 1793, provided that any slaveholder might pursue his escaping slave into any State, and upon making satisfactory proof of ownership, reclaim and transport him to the State from which he had fled. As has been well said, these constitutional guarantees secured and increased the slave property and made slavery a vast political power in the hands of slaveholders.[8]

With these constitutional recognitions of slavery the Republic, in 1789, entered upon the beginning of its national existence. At the time, the population was somewhat less than four million persons. Of these about seven hundred thousand belonged to the class described in the Constitution as persons "held to service or to labor." Hardly more than fifty thousand of this class were to be found in the Northern States, although in all except Massachusetts slavery was still legal, the process of gradual extinction not yet having been completed. From the very start the slavery question, in one form or another, claimed the attention of Congress; but that feature of the question which had to do with the status of the negro in the Territories, and the admission of new States with restrictions upon slavery, was the one of constant recurrence which eventually led to the crisis of 1861. The year after the Constitution went into effect Congress accepted from the State of North Carolina the cession of the territory now embraced in the State of Tennessee, upon the express assurance that slavery should not be forbidden therein by Congress, and in 1802 it accepted a cession, embracing a large part of what is now Mississippi and Alabama, from Georgia under similar conditions. In due time governments were organized in these Territories with no restrictions whatever upon the right of the inhabitants to hold negro slaves, and eventually the said Territories were admitted into the Union as States, with constitutions permitting slavery. Vermont, the first State admitted to the Union after the adoption of the Constitution came in with a constitution forbidding slavery, and it was followed by the admission in the following year of Kentucky, with a constitution permitting slavery. The practice of admitting free States and slave States alternately was adopted by

[8] Burgess, "The Middle Period," p. 50.

Congress as a means of maintaining a sort of balance between the two sections, and it was followed without serious interruption until the Civil War.

A disturbing element was introduced several times by the acquisition of foreign territory, which threatened to give the South a preponderance in the Union. This first happened in 1803, when Louisiana was acquired from France, an acquisition which doubled the area of the Republic. Slavery existed in the inhabited portion of this vast territory, by custom if not by law, and the United States was under treaty obligations to France to protect the inhabitants of the ceded territory in the enjoyment of their property rights. When, therefore, the United States organized a territorial government for the southern portion of Louisiana, it legalized slavery therein, and in 1812 admitted this territory to the Union as a State, with a constitution allowing slavery. The extension of slavery as a result of the acquisition of Louisiana had been foreseen by the anti-slavery advocates of New England, and some of them had opposed the cession, but without avail. When Louisiana applied for admission to the Union as a slave State in 1811, the anti-slavery advocates redoubled their efforts to prevent its admission as a slave commonwealth. It was during the debate on the bill to admit Louisiana that Josiah Quincy, one of the more radical Federalists, declared that if the bill passed it would be the duty of some of the States, as well as the privilege of all, to prepare for separation from the Union.[9] It may be said that the controversy over the admission of Louisiana was the initial battle over slavery between the sections concerning the powers of Congress in the admission of new States. It was, as already stated, this form of the slavery question which was destined to bring the two parts of the country to civil war.

When the upper part of Louisiana was organized as the Territory of Missouri, Congress also legalized slavery therein, so that when the Territory applied for admission to the Union as a State in 1818, it did so with a constitution allowing slavery. The bitter and protracted debate which ensued between those who favored the admission of the State as a slave commonwealth and those who favored its admission with a prohibition upon slavery has already been described in another connection. The compromise finally agreed upon, by which all the territory of the Louis-

[9] McMaster, "History of the People of the United States," vol. iii. p. 377.

iana Purchase lying to the north of 36° 30′, except Missouri, was given over to freedom, probably gave the preponderance of advantage to the North; but the time was to come when the compromise was to be disturbed and the controversy over the formation of States from the remaining part of the Louisiana Purchase was to be reopened in all its fury. Finally, the question was to be very much complicated by the acquisition of territory from Mexico. Had there been no accession of foreign territory, it is probable that the other disputes which arose concerning the institution of slavery could have been settled peacefully. But the Southerners feared that unless slavery was extended to the Territories and new slave States organized therefrom, the South would in time be left in the minority, and consequently at the mercy of the North, which was already showing a disposition to encroach upon the rights of the slaveholders, as they were understood in the South.

The people of the North, on the other hand, were gradually coming to the conviction that slavery was a national evil and should be restricted instead of extended, and that the most effective way of restricting it was to prevent its introduction into the Territories, thereby insuring the erection of free States therein. Before 1820, at least, it was generally conceded that the plenary power of Congress to make rules and regulations for the government of the Territories also included the power to define what should be considered as private property within any Territory; but after the great struggle over the admission of Missouri the Southerners began to take the view that Congress had no power to determine what should constitute private property in those regions belonging to the United States. On the other hand, they asserted that it was the duty of Congress to protect slavery therein; that is, it was the duty of Congress to protect as property anything which was treated as property in any State, and which might be taken into the Territory by a citizen of such State. The Territories, they contended, were the common possession of the people of all the States, acquired by common sacrifices and common burdens, and if the people of the Southern States were denied the right to emigrate thereto with their slave property, it could be said that they were deprived of equal participation with their brethren of the North in the territorial benefits.

In the meantime other phases of the general slavery controversy were claiming the attention of Congress and of the

people. During the session of the first Congress under the Constitution, that of 1789, a bitter and protracted debate took place on the proposition of a Virginia slaveholder that a tax of ten dollars per head should be levied on every slave imported into the country, as a means of discouraging an "infamous traffic." The members from the far South opposed the motion, on the ground that, unlike those of Virginia, their plantations were not sufficiently stocked with slaves, and that consequently the foreign supply ought not to be cut off by heavy taxation. The measure was therefore dropped. In 1807 Congress passed an act to prohibit the importation of slaves into the United States after January 1, 1808, the earliest date allowed by the Constitution. The act, however, was not sufficient to accomplish its purposes, since the penalty imposed for violation of the law was too light, in view of the profits, to deter smugglers from carrying on their traffic.[10] The prohibition was made more effective by an act of Congress in 1820, which declared the foreign slave-trade to be piracy, and consequently punishable with death.

The domestic slave-trade, however, was not interfered with, and it soon came to be an active industry in certain communities. This, together with the cutting off of the importation of slaves from Africa, made the domestic slave-trade very profitable. The rapid growth in population of the Southwest, and the tremendous development of the cotton industry in this section, enormously increased the demand for slave labor. In consequence, many people in Virginia and Maryland, which were already well-stocked with slaves, turned their attention to raising negroes for the market, and the slave-trader drove a thriving business with the growing Southwest. The slave-trade was looked upon as a rather dishonorable business, and the slave-trader was usually a despised and ostracized person; but the traffic was justified as a necessity for effecting the economic distribution of the slaves, and hence was of mutual benefit to both master and slave. A cause of general regret, not to say of national shame, was the fact that the District of Columbia was the chief center of the domestic slave-trade; and members of Congress complained that while sitting in their seats in the national Capitol they could see from their windows the auction block, and hear the cry of the slave-trader as he offered for sale his wares of human flesh. Even John Randolph,

[10] See Du Bois, "Suppression of the Slave Trade," pp. 94–130.

himself a slave-holder, could not restrain his indignation that Congress should permit a "depot for this nefarious traffic" to exist in the streets of the nation's capital city. For the purpose of encouraging the emancipation movement in America, there was organized at Washington, in 1817, the American Colonization Society, with a view to settling on the western coast of Africa all free negroes who would voluntarily consent to be removed thereto. During the next forty years more than 8,000 emancipated blacks emigrated thither. Among the presidents of the society were Bushrod Washington, Charles Carroll, James Madison and Henry Clay, all Southern men. The success of the movement, however, was not what its founders and supporters expected of it, and it declined rather than flourished.[11]

II

THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT

Another aspect of the anti-slavery question was the rise and growth of abolition societies and the controversy over the right to petition Congress for the enactment of legislation for the restriction of slavery. During and immediately after the Revolution abolition societies were formed in Pennsylvania, New York, Rhode Island, Maryland, Connecticut, New Jersey and even in Virginia and North Carolina.[12] These early societies contained among their members some of the most distinguished and philanthropic citizens of the country, not a few of whom were slaveholders. They usually held annual meetings and undertook by legitimate means to create a sentiment in their respective communities, which it was hoped would lead to a gradual emancipation of the unfortunate blacks who were held in bondage.[13]

Almost from the time of the foundation of the government they sent petitions to Congress praying that it would exercise whatever power it had to restrict the growth and extension of slavery. The first of these was submitted to Congress on February

[11] Greeley, "The American Conflict," vol. i. p. [illegible]; Schurz, "Life of Henry Clay," vol. i. p. 303.

[12] For an account of the work of the abolition societies, see [illegible], Greeley, "The American Conflict," vol. [illegible] pp. [illegible].

[13] Wilson, "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power," vol. i. ch. ii.

11, 1790, by the Pennsylvania Society, and was signed by the president, the venerable Benjamin Franklin. It asked that Congress would "countenance the restoration of liberty to those unhappy men, who alone in this land of freedom were degraded into perpetual bondage; that it would devise means for removing this inconsistency from the character of the American people, that it would promote mercy and justice to this distressed race, and that it would step to the very verge of its power for discouraging every species of traffic in the persons of our fellow men." A protracted, and at times excited, discussion then ensued upon the question of referring this petition to a committee. Tucker, of South Carolina, declared that the request was unconstitutional and the petition should therefore be thrown aside, that discussion of the subject would only serve to inspire the slaves with false hopes, fill their minds with the spirit of insurrection, and cause their masters to adopt measures of greater severity in dealing with them. Smith, another member from South Carolina, declared that the Southern States would never have entered the "confederacy" unless their property had been guaranteed, and that industrial conditions were such in the South that without slavery agriculture must be abandoned. He taunted the Philadelphians with attempting to seduce the servants of Southern members into leaving them, and asserted that the petition was nothing more than an "attack upon the palladium of the property of our country." Finally the petition, along with a memorial from the Quakers of the Middle States, was referred to a committee by a vote of 43 to 11.

In due time the committee reported that Congress had no authority to interpose, since the matter of emancipation lay within the jurisdiction of the States concerned. Nothing was said as to the power of Congress to interfere with slavery in the Territories or in the District of Columbia. Two years later a memorial of somewhat the same tenor, signed by a Pennsylvania Quaker, was presented to the House, and after a spirited debate, in the course of which the author was denounced by a North Carolina member as a fanatic, and his conduct as indecent, the House ordered the petition to be returned to him. In January, 1797, a Pennsylvania member asked for permission to present to the House a petition from four fugitives slaves from North Carolina, who were then held in a Philadelphia jail for rendition, though claiming to have

been emancipated in pursuance of a North Carolina statute. [illegible] a prolonged debate, during which the Northern members defended the right of petition and the Southerners opposed it, the petition was rejected by a large majority. During the ensuing thirty-five years many petitions were presented by the Quakers, some praying for the abolition of the domestic slave-trade, others for the prohibition of slavery in the new Territories or in the District of Columbia; still others for the amelioration of the condition of the slaves in any way that Congress might devise. Most of these petitions were received and referred either to the Committee on the District of Columbia or to a select committee, and in the majority of cases a formal report was made. Wherever this happened the constitutional guarantee of the right of petition was complied with, although no favorable report was ever made on any anti-slavery petition.[14]

By 1835, however, matters were beginning to take a new turn, and another method was devised for disposing of the great flood of petitions that now poured into Congress from all sections of the North. This change was due to several causes, the most important of which was the rise of a party in the North which advocated the abolition of slavery, not only in the Territories, but in the States as well, where it still existed. The boldest exponent, if not the leader of this new movement, was William Lloyd Garrison, who, in 1831, began publishing the *Liberator* at Boston, although it is worth mentioning that the first abolition paper in the country was published, in the South, by Elihu Embree of Tennessee. Garrison, in language which was then regarded as violent and incendiary, attacked the slaveholders, denounced them as criminals and demanded the immediate and unconditional emancipation of the slaves everywhere in the United States. He declared that the Constitution, in affording protection to slavery, was a "covenant with death and a league with hell," and his slogan was "no union with slaveholders." With terrible earnestness he said, "I will not equivocate; I will not excuse; I will not retreat a single inch; and I will be heard."[15] He was regarded at the North as a fanatic, while in the South his methods were denounced as libelous and inflammatory. Slaveholders

[14] For a full account of the proceedings of [illegible] and [illegible] petition [illegible]

[15] Wilson, "Rise and Fall of the Slave P[illegible] p. 18[illegible]

feared the seditious effect of Garrison's teachings upon their slaves, and the *Liberator* was excluded from circulation in the Southern States. The Georgia legislature went so far as to offer a reward of $50,000 for the arrest of any person found distributing it. At first Garrison found his position a very uncomfortable one. Before starting the *Liberator* he had been associated with Benjamin Lundy, a veteran abolitionist of West Virginia, in the publication, at Baltimore, of a paper called the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. In this capacity Garrison had been prosecuted, fined and imprisoned for publishing a signed article advocating immediate and unconditional emancipation. In Boston he fared but little better. In October, 1835, while attempting to address a woman's anti-slavery meeting at the City Hall, he was pulled from the building and dragged through the streets with a rope about his body and finally lodged in jail for protection against the fury of the mob.[16]

While the mass of the people opposed Garrison's teachings and methods, he had a small following of courageous and determined men, and one of the surprising developments of the next twenty years was the rapid increase of this following, and the growing esteem in which the hitherto despised abolitionists came to be held. One of the results of Garrison's agitation was the organization throughout the North of new anti-slavery societies on the basis of immediate and unconditional abolition. The first of these, the "New England Anti-Slavery Society," was organized in a negro church at Boston, toward the end of the year 1831. At first its total membership included but twelve persons, but the number increased with phenomenal rapidity. In December, 1833, the "American Anti-Slavery Society," a national organization, was formed in Philadelphia, with Beriah Green as president, and Lewis Tappan and John G. Whittier as secretaries. It soon contained among its membership many prominent men, including Wendell Phillips, Samuel J. May, Gerrit Smith, and later Ralph Waldo Emerson, Dr. Channing, Theodore Parker, Henry Ward Beecher and others. Some of its members, acting as agents of the national society, traveled throughout the North, lectured on abolition and organized State branches. But public opinion in the North still regarded the methods of the abolitionists as dangerous to the public welfare. The followers of Garrison were

[16] Garrison, "Life of William Lloyd Garrison," vol. i. ch. xiv.

still subjected to all the embarrassments of social ostracism, and their meetings were frequently broken up by mob violence. The legislature of Connecticut prohibited the opening of schools to negroes, and when Prudence Crandall, a young abolitionist school teacher, opened her school to negro girls, she was thrown into prison, and finally her school was broken up by mob violence. A similar occurrence took place at Canaan, New Hampshire, in 1835. In 1834 George Thompson, a British abolitionist, while traveling and lecturing on abolition in the North, was mobbed in Boston and compelled to flee from the city in disguise.[17] For several years abolition riots were frequent in the North, and they did not entirely cease until the outbreak of the Civil War. One of the most notable of these occurred at Alton, Illinois, in 1837, in the course of which the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, the editor of an abolition paper, was killed by a pro-slavery mob.[18] Another occurred at Philadelphia the following year, as a result of which a new building just dedicated to the cause of abolition was burned to the ground.

If this was the treatment accorded to abolitionists in the North, it can readily be imagined how they were regarded in the South. Large rewards were offered for the delivery, below Mason and Dixon's line, of their prominent leaders. A commercial boycott of the North was advocated, Northern legislatures were called to suppress the abolition societies by statute, and attempts were made to secure the rendition to the South of indicted abolitionists as fugitives from justice. The Southerners asserted that the logical result of the teachings of these fanatics was the incitement of their slaves to insurrection against their masters. When, therefore, in 1831, a large body of slaves in Southhampton County, Virginia, under the leadership of the negro, Nat Turner, rose against their masters and butchered, in the most savage manner, sixty persons, most of whom were women and children, the slaveholders were ready to charge the abolitionists with instigating the massacre. This, however, was without good reason, for Garrison's paper did not circulate south of the Potomac, and very few slaves could read. The effect of the affair in particular, and the agitation of the abolitionists in general, was to lead the slaveholders to adopt more stringent police regulations to keep down similar uprisings in the future. In this respect the abolition agitation resulted unfavorably

[17] Garrison, "Life of Garrison," vol. ii, ch. i.

[18] Read Harris, "Negro Servitude in Illinois," pp. 68–69.

for the condition of the slaves. Henceforth they were subjected to harsher treatment, their freedom of movement was placed under greater restrictions, and they were kept in still deeper ignorance of the thoughts and actions of the outside world.

One of the policies of the abolitionists was to flood the South with their literature, in the hope of convincing the slaveholders of the evil of slavery. It was charged that they sought to incite the slaves to insurrection against their masters by means of illustrated tracts sent to free negroes and in some cases even to the slaves themselves. It is true the abolitionists were quick to take advantage of the facilities afforded by the United States mails for the distribution of their pamphlets throughout the slave States, where it was death to distribute them openly.

The Southern people protested against the use of the mails for such purposes, and appealed to the Federal authorities to put a stop to it. Meantime they took matters in their own hands, and in several communities the mails were searched by vigilance committees and the obnoxious literature seized and destroyed by mobs. Even at Philadelphia a bag of pamphlets was seized, carried to the Delaware River, and sunk. In Charleston a body of respectable citizens intercepted the mails, seized all abolition literature and made a public bonfire of it, which was witnessed by three thousand persons. The Postmaster General, Amos Kendall, to whom remonstrances were made by the slaveholders, replied that he had no authority to direct the exclusion of the objectionable matter from the mails, but threw out the hint that postmasters were probably not bound to transmit or deliver any matter which was obnoxious to the laws of the States in which it was to be distributed, a procedure which he admitted was not warranted by law but clearly justified by the situation. To the postmaster of Charleston he wrote, "We owe an obligation to the laws, but a higher one to the communities in which we live." [19] This was in the summer of 1835. When Congress met in December, President Jackson sent in a message denouncing the abolitionists for their "attempts to circulate through the mails inflammatory appeals addressed to the passions of the slaves calculated to stimulate them to insurrection, and to introduce all the horrors of a servile war," and recommended the enactment of a law prohibiting, under severe penalties,

[19] Parton, "Life of Jackson," vol. iii. p. 586.

the circulation through the mails of all such literature.[20] Senator Calhoun, chairman of the select committee to which the matter was referred, reported a bill for this purpose, but it failed to pass.[21] In the following year the abolitionists won a victory by securing the enactment of a law which provided that any postmaster who should refuse to deliver mail addressed to any person should be fined, imprisoned and disqualified from thereafter holding the office of postmaster.

The rise of the new abolition societies and the attempt to circulate inflammatory literature among the slaves of the South was accompanied by a renewed and bitter controversy in Congress over the question of the disposal of anti-slavery petitions. As has been said, down to 1835 the practice of both houses had been to receive most of the petitions and refer them to committees. These committees usually made formal reports rejecting such prayers, and the House always concurred. But as supplications increased in number the committee ceased to report, and its room became the "lion's den from which there were no footprints to mark their return." In December, 1835, the House of Representatives, being annoyed at the deluge, reversed its former practice and voted to lay all petitions on the table. In May of the following year H. L. Pinckney, of South Carolina, secured a suspension of the rules to introduce three resolutions relating to the procedure of the House in the case of anti-slavery petitions, and all three were adopted by large majorities. They were, (1) that Congress had no constitutional authority to interfere in any way with the institution of slavery in any State, (2) that it ought not to do so in the District of Columbia, and (3) that all petitions, resolutions or papers relating in any way or to any extent whatever to the subject of slavery or the abolition of slavery should, without being printed or referred, be laid on the table, and that no further action whatever should be had thereon.[22] This was the first of the famous "gag rules" adopted by the House for the suppression of anti-slavery petitions. It was readopted as one of the rules of the House, session after session.

But all this had no appreciable effect upon the zeal of the abolitionists. They had two active champions in John Quincy

[20] Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," vol. iv, p. 175.
[21] Von Holst, "Life of Calhoun," p. 137.
[22] Cluskey, "Political Text Book," p. 11.

Adams, who was now a member of the House, and William Slade, of Vermont, also a member. The venerable ex-President made himself the especial mouthpiece of the abolitionists, and presented their appeals to the House whenever he was requested to do so. He was known to present over five hundred in a single day, and he records that during the four years following the adoption of the Pinckney resolutions he laid before the House more than 2,000 petitions. On one occasion he threw the House into great confusion by presenting a petition which proved to be a prayer for his own expulsion, and at another time by a memorial that turned out to be favorable to slavery. He was denounced by several members for trifling with the House and obstructing its procedure, and that body came very near passing a resolution of censure against him.[23] But nothing was sufficient to deter this aggressive and persistent champion from presenting memorials which he knew would never receive any attention, but the reception of which involved an important constitutional right.

His co-laborer, Slade, was a less powerful champion of the abolitionist cause, but equally zealous and persistent. On December 20, 1837, he caused a remarkable scene in the House of a kind that was frequently repeated in the stormy sessions that preceded the Civil War. In the course of a debate on the proposal to refer a memorial praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia to a select committee, Slade proceeded to discuss the general subject of slavery, when he was interrupted on a point of order. His discussion being ruled out of order, he proceeded to read some of the opinions of the fathers on the subject of slavery. This also being ruled out of order, he proposed that the clerk should be allowed to read the documents, but this was likewise ruled out. Finally Slade was allowed to proceed, when Wise, of Virginia, rose and with feelings of great anger announced that, as the gentleman had discussed "the whole abstract subject of slavery," he would ask all of his colleagues to retire with him from the House. A scene of disorder and confusion followed. Rhett, of South Carolina, succeeded in raising his voice above the din to invite all the members from the slave-holding States to retire from the hall and meet in the committee room of the District of Columbia. In the meantime the indomitable Slade was proceeding with his discourse on slavery. Adams came to his rescue, but the dis-

[23] Morse, "Life of John Quincy Adams," p. 271.

order and confusion was so great that his voice could scarcely be heard. Finally quiet was restored, and a resolution adopted renewing the Pinckney resolution as one of the rules of the House.[24] But the obstructions which the abolitionists were able to interpose to the procedure of the House was a source of great annoyance, not only to the Southern members, but to many of those from the North. Legislative progress was frequently interrupted by acrimonious debates over the question of referring petitions which were apparently presented for no other purpose than to annoy the slaveholders and some of which contained requests which it was well known that Congress had no power to grant.

The more the House did to discourage the abolitionists from sending petitions of this kind, the more the petitions increased. At last the House lost all patience, and on January 28, 1840, adopted the famous "twenty-first rule," which declared that "no petition, memorial, resolution or other paper praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia or any State or Territory, or the slave-trade between the States and the Territories of the United States in which it now exists, shall be received by this House or entertained in any way whatever."[25] This resolution was adopted by a vote of 114 to 108, about twenty members from the free States voting in the affirmative. Its adoption had the effect of removing the obstructions which the abolitionists had caused to the legislative procedure of the House, but at the same time the identification of the denial of the right of petition with the interests of slavery caused great irritation in the North and brought many recruits into the ranks of the abolitionists. At the beginning of the next session Adams renewed his efforts to secure the repeal of the "gag rule," and at each trial the majority in favor of the rule became smaller. His indomitable zeal and wholesale disregard of the traditions of the House frequently led to exciting scenes, as when in January, 1842, he offered a petition from certain citizens of Haverhill, Massachusetts, praying for a dissolution of the Union. On the latter occasion the anger of the Southern members was greatly aroused and suggestions were made to expel or censure him, but nothing was accomplished except personal denunciation. The petitions which poured into the House praying for the repeal of the "gag rule" ran far into the

[24] Cluskey, "Political Text-Book," p. 12.
[25] Burgess, "The Middle Period," p. 263.

thousands, and it soon became evident that public opinion was against the abridgment of so clear a constitutional right. At the beginning of the session of Congress in 1844 the House refused by a vote of 108 to 80 to renew the "gag rule," and from that time forward the controversy over anti-slavery petitions was less bitter and excited little attention. The opponents of slavery had clearly triumphed in this matter.

In the meantime their numbers had so increased that they were emboldened to organize themselves into a political party, which they did in 1840. Like many reform movements in the history of the world, its beginnings were humble and gave little prospect of future success. As a means, however, of keeping up the agitation in favor of abolition they nominated a candidate, James G. Birney, an Alabama abolitionist, for the Presidency. Less than 7,000 votes were polled by the abolitionists throughout the Union, but during the next four years their numbers increased with almost phenomenal rapidity, chiefly on account of the policy of Congress in attempting to stifle the petitions of the abolitionists. The result was that at the election of 1844 they polled 62,000 votes, or nearly nine times as many as in 1840.[26] It was now clear that the day was not far distant when the party hostile to slavery, acting within the Constitution and within practical policies, had to be reckoned with in the national contests for the Presidency.

III

LEGAL, ECONOMIC AND MORAL ASPECTS OF SLAVERY

With regard to the legal status of slavery there is hardly room for a difference of opinion. It was admitted by men of different beliefs in other respects that the Constitution of the United States contained a recognition of the right of the slaveholders to property in those whom they held in bondage. It guaranteed the rendition of slaves who unlawfully escaped from their masters into other States, and when large numbers were carried away by the British armies during the war of 1812 the national government undertook to secure compensation for the slaveholders thus injured, and succeeded in securing, through the award of a commission, one

[26] See Smith, "The Liberty and Free Soil Parties," p. 78.

million dollars for the slaves carried away.[27] That is to say, the government of the United States regarded itself as in honor bound to protect the slave property of its citizens, like all other property, from the depredations of foreign countries. Moreover, when it was found that the constitutional guarantee with regard to fugitive slaves was ineffective without legislation, Congress promptly enacted the necessary legislation, and when that proved insufficient, partly on account of a decision of the Supreme Court (Prigg vs. Pennsylvania), a more stringent act was passed. No one who was well informed on the Constitution ever contended that Congress had the authority to interfere in any manner whatsoever with the institution of slavery in the United States where it existed, and certainly those States which abolished it might have reëstablished it at any time prior to the adoption of the Thirteenth amendment, had they so desired. Congress had no more authority to legislate upon slavery in the States than it had to legislate upon marriage and divorce, or upon any of the domestic relations.

But when it came to slavery in the Territories and other places under the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States the situation was quite otherwise. In these places Congress has plenary power subject to the limitations imposed by the Federal Constitution in behalf of individual liberty. It belongs to Congress, therefore, to legislate for these parts of the national territory, either directly or through local legislatures over whose doings it has the power of absolute veto. It may regulate the domestic relations therein, the law of contract, the relation between master and servant, and of course may define what shall be considered as private property. This the Supreme Court has held over and over again, and the principle is so clear that one almost wonders that it should have ever been questioned. By virtue of this plenary power of Congress in the Territories property was so declared in several of the earlier territorial acts as to exclude property in man, and States were organized with the same restrictions upon slave property. But it is well to repeat that Congress did not admit any State under the condition that slavery should not be permitted to exist within its limits; it only admitted them with anti-slavery constitutions formed by the States themselves. That is, in practice, the prohibition on slave property was created not by Congress, but by the people of the Territory.

[27] Moore, "International Arbitrations," vol. i, p. 399.

The power of Congress to prohibit slavery in the Territories was quite generally recognized by Southern constitutional lawyers in the early days of the Republic and little opposition was made to the exercise of that power until the acquisition of immense areas from foreign nations changed the situation. The long and intense struggle over the admission of Missouri taught the people of the South that there was a powerful and rapidly increasing party in the North which was determined, if possible, to prohibit the introduction of slavery into the new Territories, and thereby secure the erection thereupon of free commonwealths. Perhaps a few of the more radical spirits of this party saw that in time, if this process could be kept up, the free States would so largely outnumber those permitting slavery that a constitutional amendment could be carried abolishing negro slavery everywhere throughout the Union in the States as well as in the Territories.[28] The far-sighted men of the South quickly scented this danger and bestirred themselves to prevent the North from gaining so large a preponderance in the Union, and the chief means of realizing this was to maintain an equilibrium by the alternate admission of slave and free States.

This policy was followed without variation until after the Mexican War, when it was found that the safety of the South required that it should go a step farther and insist upon the recognition of slavery in the Territories of the North, as well as in those of the South, and the new doctrine was advanced that Congress had no power to define property in the Territories, but was bound to protect as property whatever the citizens chose to regard as such. The Southerners now insisted that the prohibition upon slave property in the Territories was a discrimination against that large class of citizens who owned slaves and who might wish to emigrate to these parts of the country, which were the common domain of the whole people of the United States. Why, they asked, should not the Territories of the nation be thrown open to the citizens of the South with their property, just as they were to those of the North with theirs?

To this the North gave a reply based on moral and legal grounds. In the first place, the North said that negro slavery was a great moral wrong — not necessarily a crime, but a misfortune for which the North was as responsible, perhaps, as the South, and

[28] Burgess, "The Middle Period," p. 64.

that it ought to be restricted instead of extended. The moral sense of all civilized countries except the United States had condemned slavery as an evil and had abolished it. For the South therefore to defend slavery as a great blessing to the negro race and a relation sanctioned by morality and religion was to affirm what every other civilized nation had denied, not only in theory, but in practice. This being true, the people of the North insisted that if slavery could not be abolished in the States, as had been done elsewhere in the world, it ought not, at least, to be further extended within the Republic. Moreover, the remoteness of the new Territories from the cotton States was such that the slaveholders could hope for but little practical advantage and it was certain that these Territories would eventually be admitted as free States.

The argument advanced by the North along legal lines against the right of the slaveholder to take his negro property into the Territories was based upon the assumption that the institution of private property in the Territories is defined and regulated by the law-making authority thereof, and not by the individuals who emigrate thereto, or by the States from which they came. The law-making body for the Territories is the Congress of the United States, and when Congress defines what property in a Territory shall consist in, no individual has a right to treat as property therein something which Congress has decreed shall not be so considered. To admit the contention of the slavery extensionists that a citizen from one of the States had a constitutional right to take into the Territories whatever was recognized as property by the law of his State is to admit that such a citizen may carry with him into the Territory the law of the State from which he has emigrated. And if he may carry the laws of the State which define and regulate property, he may carry the laws of domestic relations, of contract and everything else. And if the citizens of one State could do this, the citizens of all could do it. The result might be that instead of one law enacted by Congress for the Territory there would be any number of laws enacted by the States. Such a condition would of course be intolerable and would lead to anarchy. The impartial judgment of posterity must be that the position of the Southern leaders in respect to the extension of negro slavery to the Territories was untenable, both from the standpoint of ethics and constitutional law.

It was also unwise in point of expediency. By thus insisting upon extension to the remote Territories of an institution which the civilized world had condemned, and in which judgment many of the nobler characters of the South had concurred, a policy, too, from which the South could only hope to reap a mere theoretical advantage, the Southern leaders exhibited bad judgment. Many in the North who had hitherto defended the position of the South regarded this new position in the light of an attempt to force the conscience of the North; it looked, they said, as if the Southerners had become the aggressors, whereas the latter insisted that they were acting upon the defensive in contending for equal rights in the Territories. The more far-sighted Southerners already saw that slavery was doomed. No institution can permanently exist in this age when the ban of civilization has been pronounced against it, and none were quicker to realize this fact than the Southern people. But on account of the vast economic interests involved they looked forward to abolition as an evil day and naturally dreaded its coming. They felt that they were hardly more responsible for slavery than their Northern brethren who were so bitter in their denunciation of slavery and slaveholders, and they probably would gladly have done away with it if they could have done so without involving themselves in bankruptcy.

So much for the constitutional status of slavery. The relation of the slave to his master was determined by state law. His status was first determined by custom; but as slavery grew it became necessary to fix it by statute. In every slave State, therefore, there was a code of law for the regulation of the slave population. At first heathenism or infidelity was the test for determining the slave status, but when the negroes began to receive Christian baptism it became necessary to fix a new test. This was done by providing that all servants imported to the country who were not Christians in their native land, nor free in some Christian country at the time of their purchase, should be considered as slaves. The rule of the Roman law, *partus sequitur ventrem,* was also adopted for determining the status of children born of slave mothers and free fathers. According to this rule the status of the child was the same as that of the mother. If the mother was a slave, the child would be a slave, although the father might be free.

Under the law the slave was a chattel and could be transferred

by simple bill of sale as any other species of property. Unlike the serf he was not attached to the soil and could be disposed of apart from the soil at the will of his master. He was the property of his master and owed obedience to him. The master, in order to enforce this obedience, had the legal right to chastise his slave and, if resistance were offered, might take his life. Willful and malicious murder of a slave, however, was a felony. But as the slave had no standing in the courts and could not give testimony in cases in which the master was a party, it was difficult to convict a guilty master, although it was sometimes done, and it is a fact that the first man legally executed in the State of Mississippi was condemned for this offense. The slave could own no property in his own name, and whatever he acquired belonged to his master, even his own offspring. The marriage relation was permitted only with the master's consent, and it was frequently little more than a farce. From the very nature of the case the family unit could have only a precarious existence. When established it was always in danger of being broken up by the sale of the father, mother or other member to some distant purchaser. The more humane slaveholders, however, avoided the separation of members of the same family whenever possible, and public sentiment required this, but there were some who had no such scrpules.

As the demand for more negroes increased, slave breeding, especially in some communities, became a profitable industry. A healthy negro child was valued at about two hundred dollars on the market, and hence a prolific woman was a source of large revenue to her owner. The duty of child-bearing was enjoined by the master upon his female slaves, and delinquency in this regard was sometimes punished with severe penalties. The traffic in negroes was often carried on by professional slave dealers, and was looked upon as a disreputable business. Newspapers abounded in advertisements of "likely young negroes" for sale, or "negroes wanted," sometimes in connection with land or cattle. Slave auctions were common in the larger cities of the South, including the national capital. Negroes were placed upon the block and offered to the highest bidder, like any other article of sale. Pathetic scenes often occurred at these sales when families were separated and their members sold to different masters. It was the ambition of every planter to have more negroes than his neighbor; in fact, his social status was largely determined by the number of slaves he

owned. The savings of each year were applied to the purchase of more negroes and the opening of new lands, and hence the interests of the planter in the institution of slavery became greater year after year.

The number of Southern people who were directly interested in slavery compared with the entire population was not large. According to the census of 1850 there were about 347,000 slaveholders and of these probably not more than 200,000 were owners of more than five slaves each. It is fair to assume that not more than one-third of the population of the South was directly concerned in the perpetuation of slavery. The large slaveholders formed an aristocracy, and between these on the one hand and the smaller owners and those who owned none at all a wide chasm existed. This aristocracy had virtues usually common to a landed gentry, but it also had its faults. The poor whites who owned no slaves and but little land were counted of small worth in the Southern social and political system. They were looked down upon with more or less contempt by the plantation masters and rarely were the political offices open to them in practice. Nevertheless they took their views ready made from the ruling class, and when the day of trial came they ranged themselves on the side of the slaveholders.

Concerning the treatment of the slaves by their masters, it may be stated as a general rule that domestic servants and those on the small farms were seldom abused, and were, in fact, generally ruled with affection and indulgence. But on the large plantations where the slaves were under the control of an overseer, their treatment was sometimes severe and cruel. An overseer who drove the slaves to the limit of their endurance and who would work them in rain and sleet, as in sunshine, could command almost any salary for his services, and there were many of this type. Usually not less than twelve hours a day were required on the sugar and cotton plantations, while the number was frequently fifteen and sometimes even sixteen and eighteen hours a day. However, farm hands, both white and black, to this day often work fourteen to sixteen hours a day in the summer without compulsion. Overseers were frequently rough, ignorant men, with little sympathy for the unfortunate blacks whom they drove, and the lash was applied with severity and frequency, and sometimes even life itself was taken. Usually the slave accepted the punish-

ment meted out to him without resistance, but occasionally an adventurous black was found who showed fight and sometimes he was aided by his fellow-slaves. Almost invariably such rebellion was disastrous to the negroes, and they were punished in the end with unrelenting severity.

In spite of this surveillance, however, there was always the fear of a slave uprising hanging over the South. It haunted the women like a nightmare, and John Randolph expressed a common feeling when he said that the fire bell never rang out at night that white mothers did not clasp their infants closer to their breasts for fear that a negro massacre was approaching. After the Nat Turner massacre in Virginia and the rise of the abolition party in the North, the fear of these uprisings was greatly increased and led to the adoption of more stringent police regulations in all the Southern States to prevent concerted action among the blacks. Negroes were forbidden to leave the premises of their masters at night without a pass, and a patrol system was established to enforce this regulation. It was quite an effective arrangement, and the sight of the "paterroller" as he prowled about the negro quarters struck a sort of terror into the minds of the superstitious blacks and kept them at home.

A pathetic feature of the institution of slavery was the legislation of most of the Southern States forbidding the teaching of slaves to read or write. After the rise of the abolition movement these laws were enforced with considerable strictness. The theory on which such legislation rested was the necessity of keeping the slave in ignorance, otherwise he might become discontented, disobedient and rebellious. Humane masters frequently taught their slaves the meaning of the Scripture and sometimes even allowed them to gain a smattering knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic. In spite of the laws against teaching, a good many of the more intelligent slaves learned to read, and after the Civil War became prominent leaders of their race. Among these were Frederick Douglass, John R. Lynch, and others. There were in the South a few free negroes who had been emancipated by their masters with the special permission of the legislature; but they were regarded with suspicion and were looked upon as an objectionable class. Although personally free, their position was but little better than that of others of their race who were held in bonds. It was feared that their influence upon the slaves would

excite the discontent of the latter and possibly lead them to insurrection. Consequently they were always under the strict surveillance of the slaveholders and were kept as much as possible from contact with the slaves. Although free, they were not regarded as citizens, were not allowed the right of suffrage, and the national government refused to grant them passports for travel abroad on the ground that they could not become citizens, and for the same reason they were not allowed to serve in the militia. Even in Northern States like Illinois the immigration of free negroes into the State was not allowed until after the Civil War.[29]

Looking at the institution of slavery to-day in the light of forty years of experience without it, we can hardly escape the conclusion that it was both an economic error and a moral wrong. The Southern people who reflected deeply upon the subject realized this before the war, and after the Civil War was over many of them frankly confessed that slavery as a system was inferior to that of free labor. As Judge Yerger, one of the most distinguished Mississippians, said in the Mississippi State Convention of 1865, "Slave labor is the most expensive of all labor, because being bought it makes the employer the virtual insurer of the life of the laborer."[30] A good negro laborer cost fifteen hundred dollars. If he died or was injured to incapacity or escaped or was carried away by a foreign army, or if he was emancipated as a result of the war, the slaveholder suffered a clear loss.[31] With free labor he incurred no such risk, such labor was likely to be more intelligent and the employer was relieved of all responsibility for the support and protection of the laborer. Besides, slave labor was unfit for any industry except agriculture, and only for that when it was prosecuted according to unscientific and wasteful methods. Finally, the ideas of the dignity of labor which prevailed elsewhere could not and did not pervail in the South. There was a natural feeling among all classes of whites that manual labor was degrading and should as far as possible be left to the blacks. Thrifty and industrious emigrants from central and northern Europe naturally avoided the South and settled in the North and West, contributing enormously to the development of

[29] Read Harris, "Negro Servitude in Illinois," ch. i.

[30] Garner, "Reconstruction in Mississippi," p. 87.

[31] See on this point an article by Dr. U. B. Philips in the *Political Science Quarterly* for June, 1905, entitled "The Economic Cost of Slave-holding."

those sections. Under such a system manufactures could not thrive, while in the North they grew with tremendous rapidity. William Pinkney, the greatest constitutional lawyer in the South, declared that "our country will never be productive, never will its agriculture, its commerce, or its manufactures flourish so long as they depend upon reluctant bondmen for their progress." Somehow the South lagged behind the North so far as industrial development and wealth was concerned, and, although this backwardness may not have been wholly due to the system of slavery, it cannot be denied that slavery was partly responsible for it.

Since the early days of the Republic, moreover, the South had failed to keep pace with the free States in the fields of literature, science and art. Hardly any of the great authors and scientists whose names were household words in 1850 were natives of the South. Public libraries and art galleries were rare, although there were some very good colleges established by the States. The sons of the large planters were usually sent to college. Many went to Northern institutions, but comparatively few ever took up literary pursuits. The public school system which was general throughout the North made little headway in the South. The planters preferred the private school to that maintained by the State, and many first-class institutions of the kind were established, but they were unfortunately beyond the reach of the great mass of the people.

Many of the teachers came from the North, for however much the abolitionist was despised, the "Yankee" school teacher, in spite of his views on abolition, was often preferred to the native. Practically all the text-books used in the schools and colleges were written and published in the North. After the rise of the abolition movement great dissatisfaction came to be expressed because much of the Northern text-book literature, it was said, was contaminated with the heretical doctrine of abolitionism, and a demand arose for home-made text books or expurgated editions of those published in the North. *De Bow's Review*, one of the most influential and widely read Southern journals, complained that "our text-books are abolition books filled with all sorts of slanders, caricatures and bloodthirsty sentiments." In 1853 the Southern commercial convention in session at Memphis recommended to the people of the South "the education of their youth at home as far as practicable; the employment

of native teachers in their schools and colleges: the encouragement of a home press; and the publication of books adapted to the educational wants and the social conditions of these States." But little was done, however, to carry out this recommendation, and Northern text-books continued to be used in most of the Southern schools.

But if the Southerners did not take to literary pursuits, they showed great interest in politics — a field which seemed to be their natural element. The young men returning from college at once entered the political arena, for which they were well qualified by training in public speaking. They had the talent and leisure for public life and an inborn love of politics. Nowhere else in the world was stump speaking more of an art or oratory held in such high esteem. The south during this period produced brilliant orators and able lawyers, the equal of any in the land. The young men cultivated the art of stump speaking and by the time they reached Congress they had acquired great proficiency. It was also the policy of the South to reëlect its ablest men and thus keep them in public life until their experience gave them a decided advantage over their opponents from the North, where rotation in office was the more general rule. From the beginning of the Republic until the middle of the nineteenth century the South had dominated the national politics of the country. Southerners had filled a majority of the great offices of the government and Southern leaders had shaped the policy and determined the destiny of the country.

In society also the Southern gentlemen appeared to great advantage. Their generous and unaffected hospitality, their dignified demeanor, their high sense of personal honor, their courtesy, their physical courage and especially their chivalry to women, were qualities which were frequently noted by foreigners. Unfortunately, however, these virtues were mostly confined to the narrow circle of the large slaveholders. The poor whites, who constituted so large a portion of the population, by no means reached up to this standard. It was a part of the Southern gentleman's code of honor to challenge anyone who cast reflections upon his personal honor and take satisfaction in personal combat. This method of settling personal difficulties had been abandoned in the North, and looking at it to-day we can hardly characterize its survival in the South as other than a barbarous practice. But to do justice to those who defended it as an honorable method of settling dis-

putes, we should look at it from the standpoint of half a century ago and then our judgment must be more lenient.

With regard to the morality as well as the economics of slavery there can be but one judgment now, and that was sententiously expressed by Henry Clay, himself a Southern man and a slaveholder: "Slavery is a curse to the master and a wrong to the slave."

The slaveholders, however, defended the institution of slavery on the ground of its "inexorable necessity" and as a moral and humane institution productive of great political and social advantages. Governor McDuffie, of South Carolina, declared that it was the "cornerstone of our republican edifice," and Senator Albert G. Brown, of Mississippi, asserted that it was "a great moral, social and religious blessing — a blessing to the slave, a blessing to his master." Calhoun pronounced it "a good, a positive good," and asserted that there was no more stable foundation upon which to rear free republics than the existing relation between the white and black races in the United States. One of the main arguments in favor of slavery was the alleged sanction which the Bible and the Christian religion gave to it. Endless quotations were made from the Old Testament in support of involuntary servitude, and some, less authoritative, were drawn from the New Testament. Jefferson Davis declared that slavery was "established by decree of Almighty God," and the religious denominations throughout the South sustained it as fully consistent with the teachings of Christ. Furthermore, the slaveholders claimed great credit for what they did in elevating and improving the Africans who were brought to America. They asserted, with perfect truth, that the negroes were barbarians in their native land, but were civilized and Christianized through the agency of slavery; that in their almost helpless condition they were clothed, fed and cared for, and that from a state of savagery in which they were of no economic value to mankind they were transformed into efficient laborers and artisans, and thus made useful factors in the economy of the world. Thus slavery had made it possible to cultivate the malarial bottoms of the South, where it was almost death to the white man to enter, but where the negro throve, and a great industry had been developed, yielding many millions of dollars to the resources of the nation and supplying the world with an important commodity which otherwise could not have been supplied.

Chapter XXV

TAYLOR–FILLMORE ADMINISTRATION
1849–1852

I

INAUGURATION OF TAYLOR; DISCOVERY OF GOLD IN CALIFORNIA

THE twelfth President of the United States was born in Virginia shortly after the close of the Revolution, but while still a youth crossed the mountains into that frontier region which was later to become the State of Kentucky. Unlike his predecessor, young Taylor received only the rudiments of a common school education and from the first showed an adventurous disposition, which ultimately led him into the army. In 1808 he received a lieutenant's commission from President Jefferson and was sent to New Orleans for duty under General Wilkinson. During the second war with Great Britain he rendered conspicuous military service, distinguishing himself for gallantry in the defense of Fort Harrison, in recognition of which he was brevetted major. His next service was in the Black Hawk War, but the opportunities for distinction were not great in that campaign and his reputation as a soldier was not increased thereby. At the outbreak of the second Seminole War he was sent to Florida and with a force of about one thousand men pursued the Indians to the Everglades, defeated them in a hard-fought battle and compelled them to submit to the authority of the United States. In recognition of this service he was brevetted brigadier general. Having in the meantime purchased a plantation near Baton Rouge, Louisiana, he moved his family from Kentucky and was living there at the time of the outbreak of the war with Mexico. His part in this latter war has already been recounted and need not be repeated here. Up to this time his military services had been almost wholly in Indian wars, and although not especially distinguished, he had won a reputation for bravery and trustworthiness.

In character and demeanor General Taylor was plain, rugged and patriotic, full of common sense and sagacity, incorruptible in morals, and physically courageous to a degree rarely excelled. He possessed great tenderness of heart and real affection for his men, by whom he was loved and trusted as few commanders are. One of the charges which his opponents brought against him in the presidential campaign was his lack of education and experience in civil affairs, Webster declaring with a sneer that he was only an ignorant frontier colonel who had not voted for forty years. While the charge contained a large element of truth, Taylor possessed, as already stated, an extraordinary gift of common sense, and like most successful military chieftains he was prompt and methodical in action and showed excellent judgment in reaching his decisions. On the whole it must be admitted that he was quite as well qualified for the Presidency as were any of the military chieftains who have been called to that station since Washington.

The inauguration took place on the east portico of the Capitol, March 5, in the presence of 20,000 people from all parts of the Union. The day was cloudy and dreary, as if to usher in an administration that was to be marked by bitter dissensions and sectional strife growing out of the slavery controversy. Amid the strains of martial music, the ringing of bells and the booming of artillery, the President-elect rode from Willard's hotel in a carriage with the retiring chief magistrate, and after a short pause in the Senate Chamber he appeared on the east portico of the Capitol and pronounced a brief and dignified address, which was enthusiastically applauded by the multitude. With regard, however, to the question which had been the main issue in the late election, and which was destined to overshadow all others, namely, slavery in the Territories, he was as non-committal as had been the party which elected him. His only allusion to the subject was the expression of a hope that the enlightened patriotism of Congress would lead to the adoption of such measures of conciliation as might harmonize conflicting interests and tend to perpetuate the Union, which should "be the paramount object of our hopes and affections." "In any action," he said, "calculated to promote an object so near the heart of everyone who reveres his country, I will zealously unite with the coördinate branches of the government."

Taylor's Cabinet was composed of four members from the slave States and three from the free States, only one of whom was known to entertain opinions distinctly hostile to slavery. None of the President's official advisers, however, exercised so much influence over him as did William H. Seward, an anti-slavery Whig Senator from New York. Seward succeeded in gaining the President's favor to a remarkable degree, greatly to the disappointment of the Southern Whigs, who had hoped to enlist the executive influence on their side in the slavery controversy. It was generally believed in the South that inasmuch as the President was himself a Southern planter and the owner of several hundred slaves, his friendship could be safely counted on in any issue involving the interests of slavery. But as a result of Seward's influence he soon began to exhibit a sympathy for the anti-slavery advocates, and in a speech made in the course of a visit to Pennsylvania in August he declared that "the people of the North need have no apprehension of the further extension of slavery."

During the summer speculation amounting almost to excitement, was rife throughout the Union concerning the probable action of the new Congress with regard to the organization of civil governments in the territory lately acquired from Mexico. Following the attempt of the Northern members to force the principle of the Wilmot Proviso upon the South, the legislatures of most of the Southern States had adopted resolutions denying the right of Congress, both on legal and moral grounds, to exclude slavery from the Territories, while those of the Northern States had with almost equal unanimity expressed approval of the Proviso. It was clear, therefore, that a purely sectional contest was imminent, in which each side had declared itself in positive terms on the all-important question of the hour.

The agitation in the North had stirred the South to a high pitch of excitement, not to say alarm. It was the all-absorbing topic of public discussion in and out of Congress, and loud threats were frequent of the intention of the South, in case this proposed encroachment upon Southern rights and Southern institutions was carried out. Mr. Toombs, of Georgia, in particular, declared that he did not hesitate "to avow before this House and the country, and in the presence of the living God, that if by your legislation you seek to drive us from the Territories of California and New Mexico, I am for disunion." The Southern leaders in Congress

turned to the discussion time and again and late in 1847 Mr. Calhoun, their recognized chief, introduced into the Senate his celebrated resolutions affirming that any attempt of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia or in any Territory of the United States in which it had already existed would create serious alarm among the slave States and would be a violation of good faith toward the inhabitants of such Territory. "The Territories," ran the resolution, "are the common property of the several States composing the Union, and consequently Congress has no right to do any act whatever that shall directly or indirectly deprive any State of its full and equal right in any Territory."[1] These resolutions were adopted by the Senate with only nine dissenting votes. Calhoun contended that slavery already legally existed in the territory acquired from Mexico by virtue of the immediate extension thereto *ex proprio vigore* of the Constitution with its guarantees of slavery, after the transfer of the sovereignty of Mexico to the United States, and he wished to put the Senate on record as to the right of Congress in the premises. Webster, on the other hand, denied this position and took the stand recently adopted by the United States Supreme Court in the Insular Cases, that the Constitution does not "follow the flag" of its own force, and can only be extended thereto by act of Congress.

The controversy was hastened by an unexpected event early in the year 1848. This was the discovery of gold in California hardly more than a week after the signing of the treaty by which California was transferred to the United States. The actual discovery was made by a workman named Marshall, in the employ of Captain Sutter, who at the time was engaged in erecting a saw mill on the American branch of the Sacramento River. An effort was made to keep the discovery a secret, but the news soon leaked out and spread with astonishing rapidity, considering the primitive methods of communication which then prevailed. Almost instantly the whole population was seized with a sort of frenzy, and every laborer, blacksmith, carpenter, farmer, and hotel keeper immediately abandoned his old occupation and started for the "diggings." Even soldiers and sailors deserted the service and became miners. Houses half built were left unfinished, the growing crops in the fields were deserted. Everywhere the cry of "Gold, gold," echoed from the seashore to the mountains. The price of labor

[1] Von Holst, "Life of Calhoun," p. 202.

and commodities in the gold region rose to fabulous amounts. A common laborer commanded ten dollars per day, carpenters received sixteen dollars, while the price of provisions rose in the same proportion. Real estate values rose to enormous figures and an ordinary house rented for $25,000 a year. By the middle of the summer more than four thousand people were settled about Sacramento, most of them living in rudely constructed huts or coarse canvas tents — all busy with pick or shovel unearthing the precious metal, or with bowl and pan washing out the gravel. San Francisco was depopulated, and as soon as the tidings reached the States a stream of gold-seekers began to pour in from the East.

It was not until late in the year that official information of the discovery in California reached Washington. At once preparations began for a migration unparalleled except in the legendary tales of antiquity. There were three routes of travel by which the emigrants from the East could reach the new El Dorado of the far West. One was by sea around Cape Horn, involving a perilous ocean voyage of twenty-five thousand miles and requiring six or seven months' time for the journey. Another was by steamer to the Isthmus of Panama, then a dangerous overland journey across the Isthmus to the town of Panama, from which point another steamer could be taken for San Francisco. Arriving at Panama, the anxious traveler was often compelled to wait days and weeks perhaps, only to find the next steamer crowded to the water's edge and with no accommodation for additional passengers. It is said that the first steamer which sailed from New York after the news of the discovery of gold reached the East found upon its arrival at Panama fifteen hundred clamorous, frenzied adventurers begging to be taken aboard, whereas the available accommodations were scarcely sufficient for one-thirtieth of the number applying for passage.[2] It was the custom whenever a California-bound steamer arrived at Panama to dispose of its available tickets by lot, leaving the disappointed hundreds who could not be accommodated to wait and take their chances of getting passage on the next steamer or to embark on some improvised, slow-sailing vessel already at hand.

Lastly there was the overland journey, which could not well be undertaken until the following spring, and which was chosen by

[2] Schouler, "History of the United States," vol. v. p. 136.

those who could not afford to pay the exorbitant fares which the steamships charged. But if the risks and dangers of the Cape Horn route were great, the hardships of the overland journey were enough to appall the bravest. Afoot, on horseback, or in covered wagons, these Argonauts in search of the Golden Fleece made their way over almost impassable mountain barriers, across the great American desert, again over the mountains, then through impenetrable swamps, and, tortured with heat, cold, thirst and hunger, harassed by savages, scourged by cholera, leaving the bones of their less hardy comrades to bleach in the desert sun, they pressed onward month after month, strengthened by hope of riches, until the fertile valleys of the new El Dorado spread out before them. These were the "forty-niners" who laid the foundation of a great and prosperous commonwealth.[3]

San Francisco, which was temporarily depopulated in 1848, soon recovered and, starting the new year with less than 2,000 inhabitants, was able to boast of a population of 20,000 at the close. The population of the whole Territory now exceeded 80,000 and it was still increasing at a rapid rate. It was such a population as gold mines always bring. Americans of all types—honest laborers, gamblers, robbers, thieves, desperadoes—Chinese, Australians, Hawaiians, Mexicans, Peruvians, in fact every nationality was represented. Women and children were rare objects. Drunken brawls, riots, murders, thefts, robberies, were matters of daily occurrence. In fact, a condition bordering on anarchy prevailed, for there was no government except a feeble survival of the Mexican régime. There being no settled land or mining laws, disputes over titles were common and were often settled with the pistol or bowie-knife. In this almost intolerable situation the Anglo-Saxon instinct for government and order asserted itself, for the American population was largely in the majority, and a rude, half-legal government was improvised. This was done by self-constituted vigilance committees, which undertook to ferret out crime and punish criminals. Through these agencies summary justice was administered and murderers were lynched with equal dispatch.[4]

But the inhabitants wished and deserved a more efficient government than that of vigilance committees and lynch law. Presi-

[3] Read Royce, "History of California," pp. 224-[illegible].

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 407-422.

dent Taylor earnestly desired that California should as speedily as possible be erected into a State, and to that end he sent a confidential agent to California in the spring of 1849 to encourage and aid, in coöperation with the military authorities, the movement toward Statehood. In pursuance of this movement the military governor, General Riley, issued a proclamation calling upon the people to choose delegates to a convention empowered to frame a constitution. The delegates to the convention were duly elected and met at Monterey on September 3. After a quiet session of six weeks a constitution modeled chiefly upon those of New York and Iowa was adopted, and one month later was ratified by the people with a vote of twelve to one. The most important provision of the constitution was that which forever prohibited slavery in the State, and it is significant that not a single dissenting vote in the convention was cast against this provision, although fifteen of the forty-eight delegates were from slave States. This, taken in connection with the overwhelming majority by which the constitution was popularly ratified, would seem to indicate that the people were not interested in the introduction of slavery, even if they were not positively opposed to it. General Riley then issued a proclamation declaring the constitution in force, and withdrew from the further government of the Territory.

A legislature was promptly chosen; it organized in December and chose as the State's first representatives in the United States Senate Dr. William M. Gwin, a former Mississippi slaveholder and one of the "forty-niners," and General John C. Frémont, the Rocky Mountain explorer, to whom the most of the credit for the conquest of California was given, but who in reality had little to do with acquiring this region and whose adventures were scarcely creditable to the government.[5] California now had all the outward marks of a completed commonwealth and it remained for Congress to put on the finishing touches by admitting it to the Union on an equal footing with the original States.

Upon the meeting of Congress in December, 1849, a long and bitter contest over the election of a Speaker of the House ensued. The Democrats in the House had a small plurality, but the Free Soilers, now numbering thirteen members, held the balance of power. They refused to support the Whig candidate, Mr. Win-

[5] Royce, "History of California," pp. 53–62.

throp of Massachusetts, on the ground that he had, as Speaker in the last Congress, refused to give proper recognition to the anti slavery party in the make-up of the committees of the House. After a contest lasting three weeks, during the course of which great pressure was brought to bear upon the Free Soil members to vote for Winthrop, Howell Cobb of Georgia, the Democratic candidate, was elected. The House being organized, the President sent in his message recommending that California be admitted to the Union as soon as practicable under the constitution already adopted. He also expressed the opinion that an application for admission to the Union would soon be presented by the inhabitants of New Mexico and that Congress should postpone action in regard thereto until that application had been made.

This was not the first time the California question had been before Congress. As early as July, 1848, the President had sent a special message to Congress urging the immediate organization of territorial governments for California and New Mexico. A bill was duly reported for the organization of California and New Mexico, leaving the question of the legality of slavery in the Territories to be settled ultimately by the Supreme Court of the United States. This bill passed the Senate, but was rejected by the House, and various other efforts were made to settle the question, but without success. At the December session in 1848 several bills were brought forward in both houses, one of which prohibited slavery in both Territories. The latter bill passed the House, but was rejected by the Senate. It was clear that the Senate and the House were unable to agree upon any measure, the Senate being inclined to look with favor upon the demands of slavery extensionists, while the house was unalterably opposed to them. Meantime the discovery of gold in California and the great rush of immigrants to that section made the organization of civil government an absolute necessity. As the population was now ample for the erection of a State, President Taylor, as already stated, recommended that the territorial stage be skipped and that California be admitted at once with its constitution prohibiting slavery. This greatly exasperated the advocates of slavery extension, who had hoped that the President would sympathize with their views; but he could not be convinced that California should be thrown open to slavery against the unanimous wish of the inhabitants.

Besides the question of the status of California, there were

several other questions relating to the general subject of slavery which were calling loudly for settlement. In the first place there was a dispute concerning the western boundary of Texas, which had existed ever since the annexation of that republic to the United States. Texas claimed a considerable part of what is now New Mexico, and this claim was supported by the Southern members. On the other hand, it was opposed by the Northern members, who wished to restrict the territorial area of Texas as much as possible, since that would mean a restriction of slavery. Secondly, there was the debt of Texas, incurred in establishing her independence, a debt which, it was said, was a just charge upon the United States.

A still more pressing question from the Southern standpoint was the demand for the enactment of a more efficient law for the interstate rendition of fugitive slaves. The old law of 1793 had proved to be inadequate, particularly after the rise of the abolition party. This party had interposed obstacles of various kinds to the enforcement of the law, so that it was very difficult and often impossible for slaveholders to recover their fugitive slaves escaping into the Northern States. Moreover, the effectiveness of the old law had been largely impaired by the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Prigg v. Pennsylvania, in which it was held that the execution of the law could in no way be imposed upon State officers, but that the obligations rested solely upon the United States; and as the number of Federal officers in a State are comparatively few and scattered, the execution of the law became almost a dead letter. This was regarded as a great grievance at the South and the demand for a more stringent law was too loud and general to be longer ignored. Finally, there was the old question of the slave trade in the District of Columbia. The prosecution of the slave traffic almost at the doors of the national capital was regarded at the North as a bitter shame, while there were not a few at the South who felt much shocked at the practice.

II

THE COMPROMISE MEASURE OF 1850

Early in 1850 the venerable Henry Clay, who had been called back to the Senate after a seven years' retirement on his estate at Ashland, came forward to perform his last service as the "great

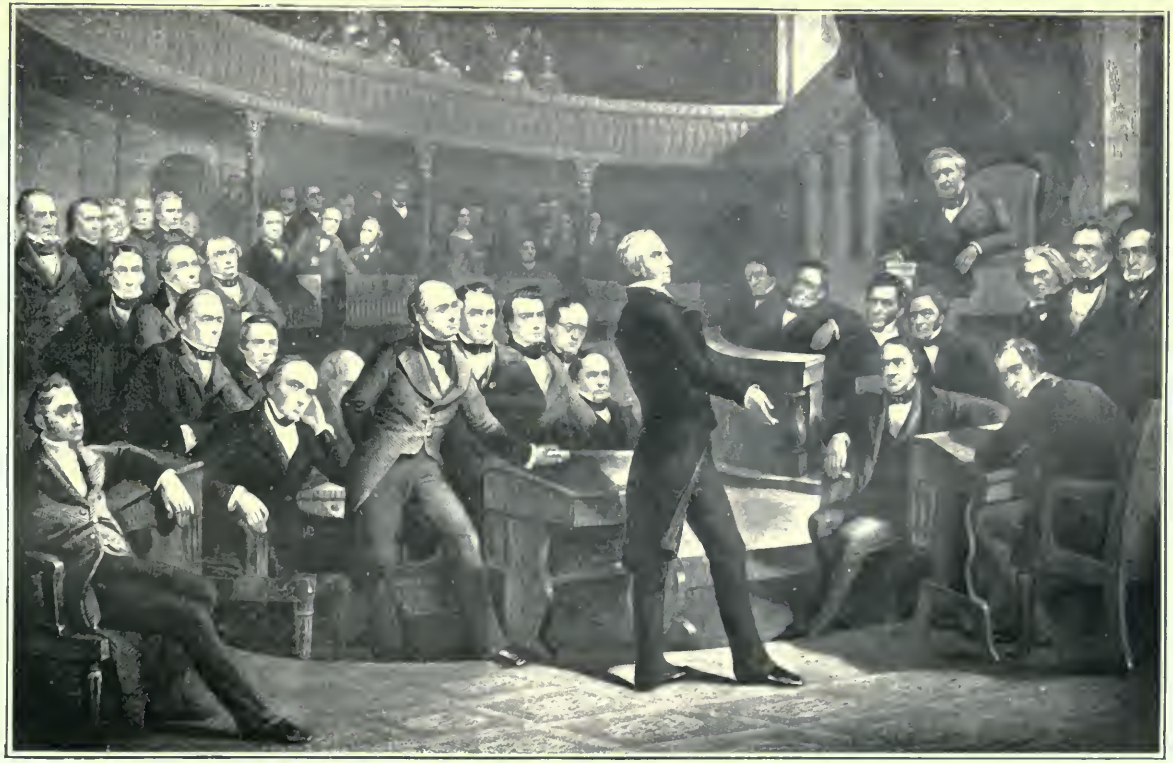
pacificator." He had given up all hope of reaching the high station for which his talents, to say nothing of his services to his party, so eminently fitted him. He was now in his seventy third year, but exhibited remarkable activity as a parliamentary leader, while his oratory still showed the vigor and fire of youth. This was the last time that he was to appear in Congress with those other illustrious members of the triumvirate — Calhoun and Webster — who, like himself, had been born while the Revolution was still in progress and who, like himself, had sought the Presidency only to be defeated by less distinguished leaders. Although he did not equal Calhoun as a logician nor Webster as an orator and constitutional lawyer, Clay surpassed them both as a popular speaker and as a leader of men. He was generous, courteous, magnetic, charming in conversation and was idolized by his friends as few Americans have ever been. When in March, 1843, he resigned from the Senate it was, said Crittenden, his successor, like the soul's quitting of the body. After his farewell address the Senate was in no mood to do business, and upon the motion of Preston of South Carolina it unanimously adjourned — the first and only tribute of the kind ever paid to a United States Senator.[6]

When Clay reached Washington in the winter of 1850 he instinctively assumed the leadership in the Senate and brought forward a series of resolutions for the adjustment of the various questions at issue on the basis of compromise. They provided, first, for the immediate admission of California with its constitution forbidding slavery; second, the organization of territorial governments in the remainder of the Mexican cession without any restrictions as to slavery, it being assumed that slavery did not exist there by law and was not likely to be introduced there in practice; third, the adjustment of the boundary dispute between Texas and New Mexico; fourth, the assumption of the public debt of Texas incurred before annexation; fifth, the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia; and sixth, a more effective law for the rendition of fugitive slaves. The resolutions also declared that Congress had no power to interfere with the slave trade between the States and that it ought not to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia without the consent of Maryland and of the people of the District.

[6] Schurz, "Life of Clay," vol. ii. p. 224

On February 5, 1850, the grand old statesman dragged himself to the Capitol and delivered in the presence of a large audience an elaborate speech in favor of his proposed compromise measures. He pleaded with senators from the North and from the South to approach the "awful subject" in a spirit of compromise, because concession by each side, he said, was necessary. California ought, he continued, to be admitted with the constitution which was the almost unanimous choice of her people. The organization of the rest of the Mexican cession without restrictions upon slavery ought not to be objectionable to the North, since in all human probability few or no Southerners would ever care to move with their slaves to this remote region to which slave labor was ill-adapted and where it would be unprofitable. It was useless, therefore, to irritate the slaveholders by enacting laws to prohibit the introduction of slavery into territory where it would probably never be introduced, even though permitted. With regard to the provision for a more stringent fugitive slave law, he thought the South had a just claim. The old law had proved insufficient, partly on account of defects in its provisions, but more largely on account of the outright nullification of the law by Northern legislatures and Northern mobs. Several of these States had passed so-called "personal liberty laws," designed to interpose obstacles in the way of the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law by forbidding their officers to aid the Federal authorities and by denying to them the use of their jails. In these and in other ways the constitutional guarantee relative to the rendition of fugitive slaves was rendered practically nugatory. Clay closed his notable speech by a picture of the awful consequences of the war which he prophesied would be inevitable in the event that the two sections persisted in their hostility to each other and refused to settle their differences on the basis of compromise. Feeble as he was, Clay spoke for the greater part of two legislative days, and when, on the morning of the first day, his friends remonstrated that he was too ill to proceed, he said: "I consider our country in danger, and if I can be the means in any measure of averting that danger, my health and life is of little consequence." When he had concluded, a great throng of friends, men and women, rushed toward him to shake his hand and kiss him.[7]

[7] Julian, "Political Recollections," p. 84.



HENRY CLAY ADDRESSING THE SENATE

Painting by P. F. R. Germel

Just one month after Clay delivered his speech in favor of compromise, Calhoun, pale and emaciated from disease, gaunt and haggard in appearance, with sunken cheeks and with eyes glowing with fever, dragged himself from his sick bed — his death-bed it proved to be — to make his last appeal in behalf of the people of whom he had long been the recognized leader. He was now in his sixty-ninth year, Clay's junior by four years; he had entered Congress at the same time with Clay and had been in the public service of the United States almost without interruption for more than forty years. He had entered upon his public career imbued with strong national opinions, but with the increasing sectional divergence he abandoned his earlier views and became a powerful advocate of the theory of State sovereignty and of the extension of slavery. He probably contributed more than any other man in the South to the bringing on of the Civil War,[8] but no well informed historian can say that he did so consciously. Whatever may be said of the results of his course, historians are now agreed that Calhoun was patriotic in his motives and absolutely sincere in his belief that the perpetuity of the Union depended upon the recognition of the sovereignty of the States. He loved the Union scarcely less than Webster, and his solemn plea for its maintenance in his last great speech stands as a refutation of the charge that he desired to see its dissolution. We believe now that he had an exaggerated conception of the rights of the States under the Federal Constitution and a mistaken view of the value of slavery; but in his day the particularistic theory of interpretation seemed more logical that it does now, and it was not entirely unnatural that the tremendous economic interests of slavery should have affected his political if not his moral views as regards the institution of negro slavery. A powerful and devoted champion of the institution of slavery, his private morals were absolutely pure and incorruptible. In this respect he far outshone either Clay or Webster.

On the day set for his formal speech on the compromise measures, March 4, he hobbled into the chamber supported by two friends, and being too feeble to speak, his address was read by Senator John Y. Mason of Virginia, and it was listened to by every senator present with profound attention and unfeigned em-

[8] Von Holst, "Life of Calhoun," p. 317.

tion. "The scene," says Dr. von Holst, "had something of the impressive solemnity of a funeral ceremony about it, and it hushed the galleries into the deepest silence."[9] The main current of his argument was a plea for the restoration of the balance of power between the two hostile sections as the only means of perpetuating the Union. As a result of protective tariffs and internal improvements, he said, the North had outgrown the South, and, as the stronger section, it was oppressing the Southern people and interfering with their domestic affairs. The various ties which bound the sections together, spiritual, political, and social, he said, were already beginning to snap, and this was the literal truth. The South was having as little business intercourse with the North as possible; in fact, Calhoun himself had proposed a commercial boycott of the North. The social relations of the people of the two sections were anything but cordial, while the Methodist and Baptist churches had already divided into Northern and Southern wings and the Presbyterian denomination was in the course of disruption. Calhoun spoke of the universal discontent prevailing, the feeling of insecurity among all classes, and the widely diffused belief in the South that her people could not remain in the Union, consistently with honor, as things were. The Union, he said, was unquestionably in danger, and it could only be preserved by restoring through constitutional amendment the equilibrium between the two sections. The South must be given equal rights in the Territories, the North must return the runaway slaves from the South and must stop agitating the slavery question. But there was not a word of threat nor a magniloquent phrase in the whole speech; it was a sober, accurate, and concise statement of the forces working against slavery.[10] His suggestion concerning the restoration of the equilibrium by a constitutional amendment was regarded as an impracticable scheme, but his picture of the discontent of the South was a solemn presentation of the state of the country and made a profound impression. His concluding words were, "Having faithfully done my duty to the best of my ability, both to the Union and to my section, throughout this agitation, I shall have the consolation, let what will, come, that I am free from all responsibility." Those were the last words of the last speech of the great and honest nullifier. He was led out of the Senate chamber by his two friends

[9] Von Holst, "Life of Calhoun," p. 338.
[10] Bancroft, "Life of Seward," vol. i. p. 235.

— slowly and heavily the curtain fell down to shut from the public gaze the last scene of the grand tragedy of his brilliant life.[11] A few days later Calhoun passed away, not being permitted to behold with his own eyes the ruin of his beloved South, for which he had shown such intense devotion and for whose welfare he manifested the deepest interest and concern in his last moments. He died murmuring, "The South! The poor South! God knows what will become of her."

Three days after Calhoun's argument Webster made his famous Seventh of March speech in favor of compromise, to the largest audience that had ever crowded within the narrow limits of the old Senate chamber. It was the most notable utterance of the session and one of the half dozen greatest of Webster's orations. Like Calhoun, Webster was now in his sixty ninth year and had been in Congress or in the Cabinet for more than forty years. Of all Americans, he was the most richly endowed with the gifts of oratory. Clay was probably his superior as a popular speaker, but Webster far outstripped him as an advocate at the bar. He succeeded William Pinkney as the foremost of American constitutional lawyers, and this primacy he held until the day of his death. He mastered the Constitution, worshiped it almost as an idol and understood its meaning better than any other American unless we except Marshall. Certainly it may be said that with Marshall on the bench and Webster at the bar the Constitution never had abler expounders in court. His profound knowledge of the American system of government and his intense patriotism were qualities probably not surpassed in any other American. Like Clay, he had a strong ambition to be President. On three different occasions he had sought the nomination, but each time the honor went to another. On two of these occasions he was offered second place, but he could never think of being second to any man, although, as it turned out, he would have succeeded to the Presidency in both cases by the death of the President. He was not a popular leader like Clay and never had more than a small following, but his supporters idolized him and worked in and out of season for his success. Like the two Adamses, he was not a politician, but a statesman, and in the Republic of the United States it is too often the politician rather than the statesman who carries off the honors of office.

[11] Von Holst, "Life of Calhoun," p. 347

Webster's speech on the compromise measures had been awaited by both sides with great anxiety, for no one knew whether he would cast his influence in favor of compromise or support the views of the anti-slavery advocates, with whom the greater part of his constituents were in sympathy. Unfortunately for his own reputation in the North he chose the former. He began by saying, "I wish to speak to-day, not as a Massachusetts man, nor as a Northern man, but as an American, and a member of the Senate of the United States. . . . I have a duty to perform and I mean to perform it with fidelity — not without a sense of the surrounding dangers, but not without hope. . . . I speak to-day for the preservation of the Union. 'Hear me for my cause.'"[12] After reviewing the history of slavery in ancient and modern times he passed to the question of the extension of slavery to the Territories and contended that the North should not insist upon the extension of the Wilmot Proviso to the domain acquired from Mexico, since, on account of the physical features of the country, it was not probable that slavery would ever be introduced there. "I would not, therefore," he said, "take the pains uselessly to reaffirm an ordinance of nature nor to reënact the will of God" when its only practical effect would be the irritation of the slaveholders of the South. If such a prohibition were necessary, he said, to prevent the introduction of slavery into New Mexico and Utah, he would go as far as anyone toward securing the enactment of a law to accomplish so desirable a purpose, but he would not do an unnecessary thing when its only effect was to wound the feelings of others as well as to discredit his own understanding. With regard to fugitive slaves, he said the South had a real grievance and that the people of the North had not fulfilled their constitutional obligations to their Southern brethren. He declared, furthermore, that the conduct of the abolition societies at the North had produced nothing good and that they ought to cease their everlasting agitation. But he favored the admission of California with her free constitution and was willing to compromise the other disputed questions. Webster's speech created a great sensation throughout the country. In the North it was coolly received by the anti-slavery Whigs and Free Soilers, the more radical of whom charged him with being a recreant son of New England and with having played

[12] "Congressional Globe," 1849–50, p. 476.

false to the North, in order to secure Southern support at the next Presidential election. Instead of denouncing and deploring slavery, they said, and striking at it wherever the Constitution permitted, as he had formerly done, he apologized for its existence and urged the enforcement of its most obnoxious laws. His utterances with regard to the abolition societies and the Fugitive Slave Law greatly angered the North and promoted the very struggle which he proposed to allay.[13] The Southern radicals also denounced the speech, but fair-minded and conservative men in both parties approved it.[14]

Two other notable speeches in the Senate on the compromise measures were those made by William H. Seward, formerly governor of New York, and Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, one an anti slavery Whig, the other a Free Soil Democrat. Seward opposed the compromise in the most unequivocal and emphatic terms, chiefly on account of the provision for a more stringent fugitive slave law, declaring that it was useless to enact a more rigorous law since the sentiment of the North was too hostile to such legislation to make its enforcement possible. He frankly told the Southern members that their demand for more guarantees for the return of their fugitive slaves could not be granted, since the tide of social progress could not be rolled back. In discussing the constitutional guarantees relative to slavery, he created a sensation by the declaration that there is a certain superhuman something above the Constitution and the written laws, which might make them weak or ineffectual, and to which he gave the name of the "higher law." The Southern members attacked this assertion as a declaration in favor of the right of the people of the North to violate the Fugitive Slave Law, or the Constitution itself, if it seemed repugnant to their moral sense in any particular. To go upon this theory, they asserted, would inevitably encourage a spirit of lawlessness, destroy all the foundations of law and justice, and ultimately lead to anarchy. "The principles of the senator from New York," said Badger of North Carolina, "give us a fanatical and wild notion that every man in civilized society has a right, as a citizen, to make his own judgment a rule of conduct paramount to and overruling the law of his country."[15] But Seward, probably, did not mean to

[13] Lodge, "Life of Webster," p. 306.

[14] See Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. i. p. 147.

[15] "Congressional Globe," 1849-1850, p. 387.

advocate resistance to any civil law which in the opinion of the citizen was in conflict with some moral law, but only to express an opinion that the Fugitive Slave Law could not be enforced, because the Northern people believed that it was not only unconstitutional, but in conflict with broad moral principles.[16] Chase spoke, on March 26 and 27, reviewing the opinions of the Revolutionary patriots and explaining the provisions of the compromise measures. He declared that the North had yielded "point after point, concession after concession, until duty, honor, patriotism, shame, demand that we should stop." "We of the West," he said, "are in the habit of looking upon the Union as we look upon the arch of heaven, without a thought that it can ever decay or fall." [17]

The Southern radicals, of whom Jefferson Davis was the leader after the death of Calhoun, opposed Clay's compromise scheme as an unreasonable concession to the North, just as the Northern radicals opposed it for the opposite reason. They insisted upon the right of the slaveholders to be allowed to take their slaves into any territory of the Union, objected to the interference with the boundaries claimed by Texas, and deprecated the meddling with slavery in the District of Columbia. The debate on Clay's resolutions dragged on from week to week and month to month, nearly every member speaking for or against them. It was noticed that feeling ran high at times among opposing members and personalties were often indulged in. At one time an altercation occurred between Senators Benton of Missouri and Foote of Mississippi, in the course of which Foote drew a pistol upon Benton and the latter begged to be allowed to cudgel the Senator from Mississippi. The old-time cordiality between the Northern and Southern members was no longer noticeable and everywhere could be seen evidences of bitter sectional hostility, which were frequently intensified by threats of secession from the Southern members. Calhoun, a few days before his death, said he no longer recognized anti-slavery senators except to say "Good-morning" and shake hands with them — that was the extent of his intercourse with those who, in his opinion, were "endangering the Union." [18] On April 13 all the resolutions relating to the various questions involved were referred to a select committee of thirteen

[16] Bancroft, "Life of Seward," vol. i. p. 259.
[17] Hart, "Life of Chase," p. 128.
[18] "Congressional Globe," 1849–1850, p. 520.

senators, seven of whom were from the South and six from the North. On May 8 the committee reported three measures, the first of which provided for the immediate admission of California as a State with its free constitution, the organization of Utah and New Mexico as Territories without any restriction upon slavery, the adjustment of the Texas boundary dispute, and the payment of $10,000,000 to Texas for her claim on the territory awarded to New Mexico. The second bill was for a more effective fugitive slave law, while the third abolished the slave trade in the District of Columbia. The debate was renewed and continued for about five months, nearly every senator delivering a set speech for or against the measures. They were opposed on the one hand by most of the anti-slavery Whigs and Free Soilers of the North and on the other by the more radical senators from the South. Likewise the administration cast its influence against the report of the committee, and it was so mutilated with amendments by the end of July that nothing remained except that part relating to the organization of New Mexico and Utah.[19]

Meantime affairs were given a new turn by the death of the President, which occurred on July 9, and the accession of the Vice President, Fillmore, to the chief magistracy. Fillmore reconstructed the Cabinet, appointing members who were in favor of compromise, and soon the outlook was more favorable. The Senate now took up one after another of the different parts of the "Omnibus Bill," as the first of the three measures reported by the committee of thirteen was called, and passed separate bills embodying each provision in the same form as reported by the committee. The bill to admit California was passed by a vote of thirty-four to eighteen, all the nays being from the Southern States, five Southern senators voting in the affirmative. After the passage of the bill a solemn protest, headed by Jefferson Davis and signed by nine other Southern senators, was laid before the Senate. The Fugitive Slave Bill passed the Senate with only twelve dissenting votes, although a good many of the Northern members did not vote. The bill to abolish the slave trade in the District of Columbia passed with nineteen dissenting votes, all of which were from the South. In the House the compromise bills passed more quickly, but against strong opposition, and by September 20 they were ready to be laid

[19] Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. i, p. 181.

before the President. The President promptly approved them all a few days before the adjournment of Congress and the great work of compromise was complete.

But unfortunately it did not terminate the slavery controversy. In a few years it broke out again with greater fury than ever. It was the "irrepressible conflict" that was to go on without prospect of cessation until slavery itself was put where it could no longer be a source of agitation. Nevertheless, there was a sense of relief in all quarters that the long struggle had resulted in the enactment of a measure of some kind, even though it should prove to be a makeshift. There was a disposition everywhere to treat the compromise as a "finality," and a declaration was signed by many members of Congress announcing that they would give their support to no presidential candidate at the next election who was known to be in favor of reopening the slavery question. Throughout the North the sentiment in favor of the compromise was on the whole favorable, and public meetings were held in many of the large cities endorsing the measure advocating obedience to the Fugitive Slave Law and deprecating further agitation of the slavery question. There were, however, counter-demonstrations of considerable proportions, particularly against the Fugitive Slave Law. In the South sentiment on the whole approved the compromise measures, although there was considerable disappointment at some of the provisions. In Mississippi and South Carolina, particularly, the feeling against the new laws was very strong. In the former State a convention had been called in October, 1849, to protest against the exclusion of slavery from the Mexican cession. Upon request of the leaders Calhoun had been called upon earlier in the year to advise the people of the State as to the proper course for them to pursue in case Congress decided to exclude slavery from the Territories. In a letter to one of the justices of the Mississippi Supreme Court Calhoun gave it as his opinion that the only hope of the slave States lay in the calling of a Southern convention. He further advised that a central committee be organized for the State at large, and also one in each county; that "firm and determined resolutions" should be adopted by such meetings as might be held before the meeting of the legislature in the fall and that the legislature should take up the subject in the "most solemn and impressive manner."[20] The Mississippi convention followed

[20] "Congressional Globe," 1849–1850, p. 52.

his advice in all essential particulars, and it issued an address to the people of the South recommending a Southern convention to meet at Nashville "with a view and hope of arresting the aggression of the North." The convention met at Nashville on June 3, 1850, nine States being represented, and after discussing at length Clay's compromise resolutions then pending before the Senate, passed resolutions in favor of secession. It recommended that the South abstain from taking part in any national convention for the nomination of a President until the rights of the Southern people were guaranteed; that all social, commercial, and political intercourse with the North be suspended until the grievances of the South were redressed; that every community appoint a vigilance committee to act with regard to abolition literature; and that Southern letters be more generally fostered and travel in the North discouraged.[21] A second session was held in November, the compromise measures having in the meantime passed both houses and become law. At the second session a recommendation was adopted calling upon the people to choose another convention empowered to take such action as should be deemed necessary to "arrest further aggression," and otherwise to provide for the "future safety and independence" of the Southern States.

Great excitement prevailed throughout Mississippi and South Carolina, and demands for resistance were loud and well-nigh universally heard on every hand. Southern rights associations were formed and the press was practically unanimous in favor of secession. Except Foote, the entire Mississippi delegation in Congress had voted against the compromise measures, and upon their return to the State after the adjournment of Congress they proceeded to advocate secession from the stump. Albert Gallatin Brown, a member of the lower House, later a senator, said in a speech at Jackson, "So help me God, I am for resistance, and my advice to you is that of Cromwell to his colleagues: 'Pray to God and keep your powder dry.'"[22] The legislature passed resolutions of censure against Foote, declaring that the interests of the State were not safe in his hands. The governor of Mississippi, General John A. Quitman, an extreme advocate of secession, called the legislature

[21] For the text of the resolutions see "Congressional Globe," 1849–1850, p. 337.

[22] Garner, "First Struggle over Secession in Mississippi," Pubs. Miss. Hist. Society, vol. i. p. 95.

together in special session and recommended the calling of a convention to take into consideration Federal relations and aggressions upon the rights of the South, saying: "I do not hesitate to express my decided opinion that the only effective remedy for evils which must continue to grow from year to year is to be found in the prompt and peaceful secession of the aggrieved States." The legislature promptly issued the call for a convention, the delegates to which were to be elected in September, 1851. A remarkable campaign ensued. The voters were divided into two classes: those in favor of acquiescence in the compromise measures and those in favor of resistance. The party of acquiescence nominated Senator Foote for governor, while the "resisters" called from the United States Senate Jefferson Davis to be their leader. When the votes were counted it was found that the Union party had carried the State by a majority of over 1,000 votes, and the convention which was elected passed resolutions declaring that the people of Mississippi would abide by the action of Congress as a permanent adjustment of the sectional controversy, that they held the Union secondary in importance only to the rights and principles which it was designed to perpetuate, and that the alleged right of secession on the part of a State was utterly unsanctioned by the Federal Constitution, which was framed to establish and not to destroy the Union.[23]

South Carolina was only second to Mississippi in her opposition to the compromise measures although the issue was not squarely presented as in the latter State. In the other Southern States there was little organized opposition.

Although the slavery controversy overshadowed all other questions of the Taylor-Fillmore administration, there was one important diplomatic achievement which deserves to be mentioned. This was the conclusion between the United States and Great Britain of a treaty for "facilitating and protecting the construction of a ship canal" across the isthmus connecting North and South America. The idea of such a canal had been talked of many years before this, and in 1846 the United States had concluded a treaty with New Granada (now Colombia) by which the government had agreed to guarantee the neutrality of the isthmus as a return for the right of free and unobstructed transit across any canal or

[23] Claiborne, "Life of John A. Quitman," vol. ii. ch. xii.

railroad that might be constructed between Colon and Panama. Nicaragua was also suggested as a possible canal route, but on account of British claims to dominion over the proposed terminus it was deemed advisable that the two nations should come to some understanding in order that neither should reap the advantage of exclusive control. This understanding was effected through the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, concluded in 1850, and so called from the negotiators, Secretary of State Clayton on the part of the United States and Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer representing Great Britain.

The two governments agreed that neither would ever seek to obtain exclusive control of the proposed canal, nor to erect fortifications commanding it, nor to colonize, nor to exercise any dominion over Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito Coast or any part of Central America. Each promised its protection to any company that should undertake the construction of the canal and to exert its influence with the Central American governments to facilitate the work of construction. Both parties agreed to guarantee jointly the neutrality and security of the canal and to invite all friendly nations to join with them in securing it "for the benefit of mankind on equal terms to all." In order to establish a general principle, it was agreed to extend their protection by treaty stipulations to any canal or railway that might be constructed by way of Panama.[24] The treaty was ratified by a large majority, and within five years thereafter a railroad across Panama was completed; but it was not until many years later that the serious work of constructing the canal was actually undertaken.

III

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW; THE "UNDERGROUND RAILROAD"; PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1852

It now remains to speak of the execution of the measures of 1850, the enactment of which had produced such intense excitement throughout the country. The provisions for the admission of California to the Union, the organization of territorial governments for Utah and New Mexico and the adjustment of the Texas boundary dispute were practically self-executing and were promptly put

[24] Haswell, "Treaties and Conventions of the United States," pp. 377-380.

into force without opposition. Likewise the provision for the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia was easily and effectively carried out. But it was the Fugitive Slave Law which proved unenforceable and led to the further estrangement of the two already unfriendly sections. The bill as finally passed and approved by the President undertook to remedy the defects in the law of 1793, as they were brought to light through the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Prigg v. Pennsylvania, and also to overcome as far as possible the difficulties presented by the enactment of the personal liberty laws of the Northern States.

In order to bring this to pass the law had been made as stringent as the constitutional protections in behalf of personal liberty would allow, if not more so; and, besides, it contained provisions which had no other effect, whether justly or not, than to provoke and irritate the conscience of the North. The Supreme Court having decided that the duty of returning fugitive slaves could not be imposed upon State officials, the new law placed this obligation entirely upon the Federal authorities. All warrants for the arrest or rendition of fugitives were to be issued by United States commissioners or judges after hearing in a summary manner the complaint of the claimant or his attorney, and such warrants were to be executed by the United States marshal under a penalty of $1,000 for failure or refusal to do so. Any marshal who suffered a slave to escape from his custody was liable for the full value of such slave; all good citizens were required to assist the officers in the discharge of their duties when called upon to do so, and a heavy fine, besides liability in civil damages, was imposed upon any person guilty of hindering the arrest of a slave or in any way aiding him to escape. The fee of the commissioner was $10 if he issued the warrant for the rendition of the fugitive, and $5 in case he did not, thus encouraging, it was said at the North, commissioners to send back to slavery the fugitives brought before them. The simple affidavit of the claimant, whether the owner or his agent, was sufficient evidence of ownership, the testimony of the fugitive being expressly denied. After the certificate of rendition had been issued no process could be issued by any court or magistrate interfering with the removal of the slave by his master or agent, and the latter was authorized to use such reasonable force and restraint as was deemed necessary to effect the return of the fugitive.

Hardly any provision of the law escaped the condemnation of

the North, but the most objectionable was that which denied the fugitive a trial by jury and which excluded his own testimony in the hearing before the commissioner. Then the provision which required all good citizens to aid and assist in the execution of the law was interpreted at the North as a taunt and a reproach to anti slavery sentiment. The prompt and energetic attempt to enforce the law not only caused consternation among the negro population of the North, but excited profoundly all opponents of slavery. It was estimated that there were some fifteen or twenty thousand runaway slaves in the North at this time, besides a large number of free negroes. In the effort to recover fugitive slaves it occasionally happened that free negroes were seized by mistake. The feeling of insecurity to which this gave rise caused great alarm among the freed men and led many of them to flee to Canada, where they were safe from capture. There were also many runaway negroes who had lived long in the North, had married and reared families and acquired property, so that the seizure of the head of the family and his reënslavement worked great hardship upon the innocent as well as the guilty. Petitions and resolutions adopted by mass meetings poured in from all quarters of the North praying for the repeal of the law. Pulpit and press united in denouncing it as inhuman and unconstitutional, while many of the hot-heads publicly recommended resistance to its execution — indeed, several Northern States passed laws virtually making the fugitive act a dead letter within their limits. The "underground" railroad was soon doing a thriving business. Riots and rescues followed in quick succession, and Seward's assertion in the Senate that the law could not be enforced proved to be the literal truth.

Shortly after the new law went into effect two runaway slaves from Georgia were concealed by some of the most respectable people of Boston and ultimately were aided to reach Canada, where, by virtue of Lord Mansfield's decision in the Somerset case in 1771, they breathed the air of freedom and themselves became free. In February, 1851, a Virginia negro named Shadrach, while in the custody of a United States marshal in Boston, was rescued by a mob, which broke into the court room and spirited the fugitive away to Canada, where he likewise became a freeman. Theodore Parker, the noted abolitionist preacher, pronounced it the "most notable deed done in Boston since the destruction of the tea in 1773." But the affair greatly enraged the slaveholders and annoyed the

administration at Washington. The President promptly issued a proclamation calling upon all good people to aid and assist the officers in executing the law and to aid in the arrest of those guilty of taking part in the rescue of Shadrach. The Senate called upon the President for information concerning the violation of the law in this case, and inquired if in his opinion further means should be placed at his disposal for the execution of the law.

A few weeks later a negro runaway named Sims from Georgia was arrested in Boston and the demonstrations in his behalf grew so threatening that he was taken from the jail before daybreak, escorted to the wharf by 300 policemen and placed aboard a vessel bound for Savannah. The anti-slavery men being thus outwitted, and feeling, as they said, that their city was disgraced, called a public meeting at Tremont Temple, at which speeches were made by some of the most distinguished leaders, denouncing in the severest terms the Fugitive Slave Law in general and all those who had been concerned in the arrest of Sims in particular. These occurrences demonstrated convincingly that the law could not be executed in Massachusetts, and there were other communities in the North where the situation was not greatly different. In October of the same year an exciting negro rescue occurred at Syracuse, New York, which overshadowed in importance all others which had preceded it. A slave runaway named Jerry, while being arraigned before a United States commissioner, broke away from the officers and upon being recaptured was rescued by a mob of respectable people under the leadership of two noted abolitionists, Gerrit Smith and Samuel J. May, who broke into the jail and spirited him away to Canada. Eighteen of the mob were arrested and held for trial, but the public sentiment of the community was so overwhelmingly in sympathy with the offenders that the indictments were dropped. Similar occurrences took place in Ohio, Pennsylvania, Michigan and other Northern States.

But the chief agency by which the people of the North nullified the Fugitive Slave Law was the "underground railroad," so called from the methods by which slaves were secretly decoyed from the Southern plantations and spirited away to the North. There were well known routes of travel, "stations," "station-masters," "stockholders" and "conductors," who made a regular business of helping negroes to escape. One man in Illinois in six weeks aided thirty-one fugitives to get away from the South; Harriet

Tubman, a negro woman, befriended by such men as Seward, Garrison, Wendell Phillips and John Brown, and who afterward served as a scout in the Civil War, made nineteen trips to the South and brought away 300 slaves; Levi Coffin, a noted abolitionist who contributed money and supplies to the cause, relates that he had as many as seventeen fugitives at one time at his breakfast table; Frederick Douglass "entertained" eleven under his roof in one night, the Rev. Charles Torrey helped 400 to escape, and Philo Carpenter of Chicago rendered a similar service to 200 negroes. The record seems to have been broken by Thomas Garrett, a Pennsylvania abolitionist who moved to Delaware and spent forty years in the "underground" service. In 1848 he was arrested for violating the Fugitive Slave Law and fined $8,000. When called upon to state why sentence should not be imposed upon him he replied: "Judge, thou hast not left me a dollar, but I wish to say to thee and all in this court that if anyone knows of a fugitive slave who wants a shelter and a friend, send him to Thomas Garrett and he will befriend him." He paid the fine and continued his work of helping runaway negroes until the outbreak of the war. "The war," he said, "came a little too soon for my business. I wanted to help off 3,000 slaves; I had only got up to 2,700." Other prominent abolitionists who contributed their money and services to the cause of negro abduction were Gerrit Smith, T. W. Higginson, Joshua R. Giddings, Thaddeus Stevens, Mrs. H. B. Stowe and Levi Coffin. Coffin was the reputed president of the "underground" concern and for many years annually helped not less than one hundred negroes to escape. At a celebration of the adoption of the fifteenth amendment at Cincinnati after the war, he said: "The title was given me by the slave masters; I accepted it and have endeavored to perform my duty faithfully. The government has now taken the work out of my hands; the stock of the 'underground railroad' has gone down in the market; the business is spoiled and the road is of no further use." [25]

The value of the slave property thus carried away, in violation of the Constitution and the laws enacted in pursuance thereof, cannot be ascertained. Senator Clingman of North Carolina said just before the outbreak of the war that 30,000 slaves worth $15,000,000 had escaped from their owners mainly through the aid

[25] See Siebert, "The Underground Railroad," from which the above facts have been mainly drawn.

and encouragement of Northern people; Senator Mason of Virginia declared that it was not less than $100,000 a year since the beginning of the anti-slavery agitation; while Claiborne of Tennessee fixed the amount at $30,000,000. The estimates are the result of mere speculation and are no doubt gross exaggerations; but when due allowance is made for exaggeration no one can deny that the amount was very large and that it constituted one of the main grievances of the people of the South against their Northern brethren — all the more so because the slaves thus abducted were carried away in plain, not to say defiant, violation of the Constitution and the laws of the United States.

President Fillmore, in his annual message to Congress in December, 1851, denounced the opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law and declared that such a law was required by the Constitution; but this had no effect upon the opponents of slavery and they continued to nullify it wherever possible, to the great exasperation and injury of the slaveholders. It frequently cost more money and trouble to reclaim a runaway slave than he was worth, and Senator Mason's assertion that it was almost as easy to recover from the bottom of the sea an escaped fish as to get possession of a fugitive slave in certain communities of the North was not very wide of the truth. Nevertheless there was a theoretical acquiescence in the compromise measures as a whole by both parties, and upon the meeting of Congress in December, 1851, a spirited debate took place in the House as to which had been the more faithful in its observance. The President in his message was able to say that "the agitation which for a time threatened to disturb the fraternal relations which make us one people is fast subsiding," and took great pleasure, he said, in congratulating Congress and the whole country upon the general acquiescence exhibited. Senator Foote, filled with enthusiasm over his triumph in Mississippi, where he said nineteen-twentieths of the people were heartily in favor of the compromise, introduced a resolution in the Senate declaring that the compromise measures were a definite adjustment of the slavery controversy, but the Senate refused to commit itself on this proposition. The House endorsed the resolution, but the thinking men of the country knew that the peace was not permanent, although few of them realized how short-lived it was to be.

During the temporary lull the attention of the country was diverted to the approaching presidential election. The Democratic

convention met at Baltimore, June 1, 1852. There were three candidates prominently mentioned for the nomination — General Cass of Michigan, Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois and James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, all members of the United States Senate. General Cass was the most distinguished citizen of the Northwest, a section of the country which was rapidly developing, and which had not yet had the honor of furnishing the nation with a chief magistrate. He was now an old man of three-score and ten years, a native of New England, had served as Secretary of War in Jackson's Cabinet, minister to France, and, as we have seen, was the Democratic nominee for the Presidency in 1848. He held moderate views on the slavery question and was the author of the doctrine of "squatter sovereignty"; that is, the right of the inhabitants of the Territories to decide for themselves without reference to the will of Congress whether slavery should be permitted within their borders.[26] Douglas, like Cass, was a native of New England, had emigrated in early life to Illinois, where he was rapidly promoted from one station to another, becoming successively supreme judge of the State at the early age of twenty-eight, a representative in Congress at thirty and a senator at thirty-three. Now, at thirty-nine, he was a leading candidate for the Presidency. Like Cass, he was a devotee of the doctrine of squatter sovereignty with regard to slavery in the Territories and was its most powerful advocate in the Senate. James Buchanan was a native of Pennsylvania who had served ten years in the lower House of Congress and was serving his third term in the Senate. He had also served as Secretary of State under Polk and had been distinguished for his ardent support of Jackson. On the first seventeen ballots Cass led, then Douglas gained until the thirty-fourth ballot, when it was evident that on account of the two-thirds rule no one of the three candidates could be nominated. On the thirty-fifth ballot fifteen votes were cast for General Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, and on the forty-ninth ballot there was a stampede to him which resulted in his nomination.[27] William R. King, of Alabama, was nominated for Vice President. The platform adopted by the convention with practical unanimity and with great enthusiasm declared that the party would abide by the compromise measures and would resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it,

[26] McLaughlin, "Life of Lewis Cass," pp. 235–237.
[27] Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. i. p. 248.

the agitation of the slavery question under whatever shape or color the attempt might be made.[28]

Two weeks later the Whig convention met in the same city and in the same hall. The three leading candidates for the nomination were Daniel Webster, Millard Fillmore and General Winfield Scott. Fillmore, on account of his sympathy with the compromise measures and his energetic execution of the Fugitive Slave Law, was the favorite of the Southern delegates, but was opposed by the Northern Whigs as a "Northern man with Southern principles." Unlike the Democratic convention, the Whig convention adopted its platform before nominating the candidate, but it was only after a long and bitter struggle, the Southern delegates demanding the endorsement of the compromise measures as a finality, the Northern delegates answering *non possumus*. The Southern wing, however, triumphed and the platform as finally adopted declared in favor of the compromise measures, insisted upon their strict enforcement and deprecated all further agitation of the slavery question. On the fifty-third ballot Scott was nominated, receiving 159 votes as against 112 for Fillmore and 21 for Webster.

Webster took his defeat greatly to heart. He had longed for the nomination, to which he believed his services to the party entitled him, to say nothing of his talents, and now that he had grown old he knew that this must be his last opportunity. The cause of his defeat was what he called the "sagacious, wise and farseeing doctrine of availability."[29] At no time during the balloting did he ever receive more than 32 votes, and curiously enough none of these came from the South, to whom, it was said by his old friends and neighbors, that he had sold himself by his Seventh of March speech. Weighed down with disappointment and broken physically, he retired to his home at Marshfield, and there, on October 24, he died, surrounded by the plain farmers and fishermen of the village. Already in the latter part of June that other illustrious leader and founder of the Whig party, Henry Clay, had died in the city of Washington, where he had been ill for several months. It was well, perhaps, that neither of these venerable statesmen should have been allowed to witness the overwhelming defeat of their party at the approaching election, and its subsequent dissolution. Their own passing was a fitting prelude to that of the party of which

[28] Stanwood, "History of the Presidency," p. 249.
[29] Lodge, "Life of Webster."

they had been not only the ablest, but the most conspicuous champions.

Meanwhile the presidential campaign was in progress. In August the Free Soil convention, made up of all the real, thoroughgoing political anti-slavery men of the country, met at Pittsburg and nominated John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, for President and George W. Julian of Indiana for Vice President.[30] It was soon evident that public opinion was drifting toward the Democratic candidate, for there was a general feeling that the election of Pierce offered greater guarantees for peace than did the election of Scott. Nevertheless the Whigs bestirred themselves to overcome the drift of sentiment. With military heroes they had always won, and Scott was a greater soldier than any they had ever nominated. His early victories in the War of 1812 and the later brilliant ones in Mexico were contrasted with the military record of Pierce, who, his opponents asserted, had fainted while overcome with fear on the field of Cherubusco. A great Whig demonstration, planned after the fashion of the Harrison meetings of 1840, was held at Niagara Falls, as near to Lundy's Lane as possible. Thousands of enthusiastic Whigs came from all parts of the Republic and great speeches were made extolling the candidate and expounding his views, but the enthusiasm did not seem to spread beyond the sound of the mighty falls where it was started. Both the views and personality of Scott handicapped the Whigs. It was well known that he was Seward's candidate, and that meant that he had Free Soil leanings, a fact which lost him the support of the Southern Whigs. Scott was also vain and irritable, and these qualities earned for him the sobriquet of "Old Fuss and Feathers." During the campaign he made a "swing around the circle" by way of Pittsburg and Cleveland, to Blue Lick Springs, Kentucky, ostensibly to visit certain military posts, but in reality to show himself to the people. In the course of the tour he made a good many speeches, none of which increased his popularity and some of which lessened it.

Pierce, on the other hand, remained at his home in Concord, New Hampshire, maintaining a dignified silence in regard to all issues. The September elections showed the drift of the tide, so that the results of the election in November surprised few well-

[30] Smith, "History of the Liberty and Free Soil Parties," p. 248; Julian, "Political Recollections," p. 124.

informed persons. Pierce carried every State except four (Vermont, Massachusetts, Tennessee and Kentucky), receiving 254 electoral votes against 42 for Scott. His popular majority exceeded 200,000, while the electoral majority was the largest since 1820. At the same time the Democratic majority in the House was increased by thirty-seven members and in the Senate by six. The Free Soil party, which had cast 290,000 votes in 1848 polled this year only 155,800, for many of those who voted for the Free Soil candidates in 1848 now cast their votes for Scott. The overwhelming victory of the Democrats was chiefly due to the unreserved endorsement of the compromise measures and the feeling that their success would mean an end of slavery agitation, of which the majority of the people were heartily sick and tired. The Democrats had won the confidence of the people by their promises not to reopen the slavery question, and as the status of every acre of the territory of the Republic, so far as the existence of slavery therein was concerned, seemed to be definitely fixed, apparently no occasion for renewing the controversy could arise. Unfortunately for the repose of the country, however, the victors did not keep their pledges, and almost within a year after their accession to power they had reopened the question and the controversy was raging with greater fury than at any time since the foundation of the government.

Chapter XXVI

PIERCE'S ADMINISTRATION AND THE RENEWAL OF THE SLAVERY CONTROVERSY. 1853–1857

I

INAUGURATION OF PIERCE AND THE OSTEND MANIFESTO

FRANKLIN PIERCE, the fourteenth President of the United States, was the youngest man who had ever, up to this time, been chosen to the Presidency, being at the time of his inauguration in his forty-eighth year. He was a graduate of Bowdoin College, had served in the State legislature, at the early age of twenty-nine was elected to Congress, and at thirty-three occupied a seat in the United States Senate, being at the time the youngest member of that distinguished body. From this latter position he resigned to practice his profession — that of the law — and steadily refused to accept political office,— among others, Attorney General in Polk's Cabinet, and the governorship of his State, and when his name was first suggested as a presidential nominee he declared, with evident sincerity, that it was against his tastes and his wishes. Nevertheless, at the outbreak of the Mexican War he enlisted as a private soldier, rose to the rank of brigadier general, and served under General Scott, whom he was afterwards destined to defeat for the highest office in the land. General Pierce was an able and eloquent speaker, handsome in appearance, courteous in manner, possessed of sound judgment and strongly devoted to his duties.[1]

He was inaugurated March 4, 1853, in the presence of a larger number of spectators than had ever before attended the installation of a chief magistrate.[2] After taking the oath of office he pronounced a graceful address to the assembled multitude, in the course of which he referred feelingly to the grief which he was suffering from the recent death of his only child, who had been killed

[1] Von Holst, "History of the United States," vol. iv. p. 160.
[2] Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. i. p. 384.

in a railway accident. Concerning the bitter controversy over the slavery question, he declared that in his opinion the compromise measures were clearly constitutional, and intimated that he would enforce the act of 1850 with the same impartiality as his predecessor had done. At the same time he deplored the recent evidences of increasing sectional animosity and made a strong appeal for the preservation of the Union. The movement in the Southern States looking to the acquisition of Cuba claimed his attention and seemed to meet his approval, for he announced that the policy of the administration would not be controlled by any timid forebodings of evil from expansion. "Indeed," he said, "the acquisition of certain possessions not now within our jurisdiction is eminently important for our protection."[3] Already, before the inauguration, James Buchanan had, upon request, written him a letter of advice, saying that "the question of Cuba will occupy the most conspicuous place in your administration," and adding that "the President who shall acquire this island for the United States will render his name illustrious in the history of his country, and place it on the same level with that of his great predecessor, who gave Louisiana to the Union." Mr. Buchanan further advised him that one means of facilitating so desirable an object would be the appointment of suitable ministers to Great Britain, France and Spain; that is to say, men who were fully in sympathy with the policy of expansion, irrespective of its effect upon the slavery question.

President Pierce's Cabinet was composed of four Northern men and three from the South, the ablest and best-known members being William Learned Marcy, of New York, Secretary of State; Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, Secretary of War, and Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, Attorney General. Marcy had served in Polk's Cabinet, in the United States Senate, and as governor of New York, and was remembered for his declaration in favor of the spoils system; Jefferson Davis had won distinction in the Mexican War, particularly at Buena Vista, had served a brief time in the Senate and was to become Pierce's most confidential adviser. Since his defeat for the governorship of Mississippi by Foote he had lived in retirement on his plantation. Cushing had held various positions, first as a Whig and later as a Democrat, and was widely known for his varied attainments in science, literature, law, politics, and

[3] Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," vol. v, p. 198.

diplomacy. He had served in Congress, had negotiated the first American treaty with China, had served in the Mexican War, attaining the rank of brigadier general, and was a justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts at the time of his appointment as Attorney General. It was on the whole a strong Cabinet.

In the appointment of the new ministers abroad, the President took the advice of Buchanan and appointed James Buchanan himself as minister to England; John Y. Mason, of Virginia, a firm believer in expansion, as minister to France; and Pierre Soulé, of Louisiana, as minister to Spain. Soulé was a rather impetuous Frenchman whose indiscretions at Madrid somewhat impaired our good relations with Spain. He sympathized with the recent filibustering expeditions from the United States to Cuba and believed that with proper management Cuba could be acquired for the United States without cost, and he did not consider that there was any national dishonor in the acquisition of the island by the contemplated methods.[4]

During the Taylor-Fillmore administration several expeditions had been organized in the United States for the purpose of liberating Cuba from the rule of Spain, and a number of Americans had taken part in them. The most notable of these expeditions was organized in 1851, under the direction of one Lopez, a Cuban adventurer, who conceived the scheme of liberating his country, with American aid, from Spanish rule. In New Orleans he succeeded in enlisting the financial aid of certain speculators, and then began to look around for a leader to take charge of his expedition. Several prominent Southerners, among them Jefferson Davis, were offered the leadership, but all declined. Finally Lopez himself assumed command, and with about five hundred adventurers, mostly young men, sailed from New Orleans in August. On account of bad piloting the filibusters were compelled to land at an unfortunate spot and were, besides, disappointed at the failure of the Cuban populace to rise in revolt, so that instead of being surrounded on all sides with friends, they found themselves in a hostile country. A detachment of some fifty of their number, under the command of Colonel Crittenden, a son of United States Senator Crittenden of Kentucky, while attempting to escape in boats, were captured, taken to Havana, tried by a military court and shot. Others were subse-

[4] "Congressional Globe," vol. xxvii. p. 118, speech of January 25, 1853.

quently captured and put to death, among them Lopez himself. Still others died of hunger and fatigue, some were pardoned, while the rest were sent to Spain to work in the mines.[3] When the news of the execution of the Americans reached New Orleans an outbreak against the Spanish inhabitants of the city followed, in the course of which a Spanish newspaper was destroyed, a number of Spanish stores and shops sacked, the consulate attacked and the consul compelled to flee.

The filibustering expedition of William Walker, while actuated by motives similar to those that brought about the acquisition of Texas, the expedition of Lopez, and the Ostend Manifesto, was not originated by pro-slavery men. Walker was a San Francisco newspaper editor who desired to win fame by establishing a republic upon the ruins of Spain's former greatness. In 1853 he made an attempt to organize such a government in Lower California, but failed. This did not discourage him in the least. He simply bided his time and watched for a new opportunity to renew the attempt elsewhere.

He found his opening in Nicaragua. The discovery of gold in California, followed by the rapid influx of population into that State, had given an unusual interest to the question of feasible routes to the new Eldorado. The best and shortest route was across Nicaragua, as that involved but a twelve miles' overland journey. This route had been opened in 1852 by a corporation styled the Accessory Transit Company, with offices at New York and San Francisco. Cornelius Garrison was the manager of the latter office, while Cornelius Vanderbilt was the chief stockholder in New York. The company's concession was a valuable one and there was a struggle going on within the company for control of its affairs. In 1854 one of the periodic revolutions broke out in Nicaragua. Garrison saw an opportunity to aid one of the parties in return for assistance in his struggle against Vanderbilt for control of the company. He had no trouble making such an arrangement and at once selected Walker as his agent. The latter entered into the scheme, and aided by his friends succeeded in landing in Nicaragua with a small force in October, 1855.

He soon discovered that the company had never observed the full conditions of its concession, and that the charter was really

[3] Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. i. p. 219; Von Holst, "Constitutional History of the United States," vol. iv. p. 57.

forfeited. Aided by recruits and funds furnished by the Transit Company, he soon secured control of the government, but his position was far from secure. His final success depended upon a steady supply of recruits for his army. These could only be secured from the United States. He therefore played the two factions of the company against each other, so that they both sent him large numbers of recruits under the guise of "emigrants" and "colonists."

Early in 1856 he was compelled to abandon his double dealing with the two factions in the company. The charter was declared void, and a new one issued to a company headed by Garrison. In this way the latter was repaid for the funds he had expended in Walker's behalf. Vanderbilt and his colleagues, after being thus tricked, turned against Walker, but the latter's position appeared to be growing more secure. In July he was elected president. In the meantime he was doing all he could to bring in permanent settlers. Being an astute politician, he determined to make the pro-slavery men his allies, consequently he issued a decree reëstablishing slavery in Nicaragua. He was successful in this bid for Southern sympathy, but his downfall was at hand.

The other Central American States became alarmed and formed a coalition against him. Vanderbilt, actuated by a desire for revenge and hoping to regain his lost concession, gave them valuable aid. At his instigation the waterway communication with Greytown was seized and Walker was thus cut off from the recruits and the supplies that were coming by way of the Atlantic. This blow proved fatal to his position and he was forced to surrender early in 1857, being permitted, however, to return to the United States. The Southern leaders and the Southern States received him as a hero. It was evident that Kansas was hopelessly lost to slavery and that the only chance for new slave expansion was in a Southern republic such as Walker contemplated. Soon the latter had at his disposal sufficient recruits and funds to make a second attempt, which he did late in the year. This time, however, the United States naval authorities stopped him. It was not till 1860 that he was ready for a third attempt. He succeeded in landing on the coast of Honduras, but was promptly arrested by a British naval officer and turned over to the local authorities, by whom he was tried, condemned, and executed. This was the last of the many attempts of filibusters to use the desire for slavery expansion

to further their schemes of founding military republics in former Spanish territory.[6]

Meantime the movement for the acquisition of Cuba was proceeding apace. In pursuance of instructions Soulé met Buchanan and Mason at Ostend in October, 1854, for the purpose of adopting measures looking toward concerted action in the negotiations soon to begin at Madrid for the acquisition of Cuba. After ten days' deliberation the three ministers drew up a declaration, known ever since as the Ostend Manifesto, which, after setting forth the advantages that the acquisition of Cuba would bring to the United States, as well as the increasing danger which menaced us so long as it remained in the hands of Spain, asserted that if Spain, "dead to the voice of her own interests and actuated by stubborn pride and a false sense of honor, should refuse to sell Cuba, then the question will arise, what ought to be the course of the American Government under such circumstances." "After we shall have offered Spain," continued the declaration, "a price for Cuba far beyond its present value, and this shall have been refused, it will then be time to consider the question, 'Does Cuba in the possession of Spain seriously endanger our internal peace and the existence of our cherished union?' Should this question be answered in the affirmative, then, by every law, human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain if we possess the power; and this upon the very same principle that would justify an individual in tearing down the burning house of his neighbor, if there were no other means of preventing the flames from destroying his own home." [7]

It should be mentioned that Polk had made overtures, in 1848, to Spain for the purchase of Cuba, but the Spanish Government had rejected the proposition as a "national insult," and the opinion had been generally expressed throughout Spain that the people would rather see the island sunk to the bottom of the ocean than transferred to another power. Spain having refused to sell what was by every right and title her own, it was now proposed by the ministers of the United States to Great Britain, France, and Spain,

[6] For a detailed discussion of William Walker and his expedition, see an article by W. I. Scrogg in the *American Historical Review*, vol. x. p. 792 *et seq.*

[7] See Snow, "American Diplomacy," p. 355, for the text of the Ostend Manifesto; see also Von Holst, "Constitutional History of the United States," vol. v. pp. 38–42.

to take from her by force her remaining possessions in America, and the only justification alleged for such extraordinary action was the fear that Cuba was in danger of being "Africanized" and thus transformed into a second Hayti with its evil influences upon the negroes of the Southern States. This state of affairs might lead, said the Ostend Manifesto, to the destruction of the "fair fabric of our Union," and we should be "recreant to our duty, be unworthy of our gallant forefathers, and guilty of treason to our posterity," should we permit such an occurrence. This manifesto was the highwayman's plea that might makes right, for the dangers which were pointed out were of the remotest kind, if not impossible. President Pierce disapproved of the manifesto and caused Soulé to be informed that the government had no intention of attempting to acquire Cuba except by honorable means. Thereupon Soulé indignantly resigned, and thus ended a chapter of discreditable American diplomacy.

II

THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL

When Congress assembled in December, 1853, the domestic quiet of the land was nearer complete than it had been for many years. It was generally felt that the enactment of the compromise measures of 1850 and their overwhelming endorsement by the people in the presidential election of 1852 had settled the slavery question for a generation at least. The status of every foot of territory in the Republic so far as slavery was concerned, seemed to be fixed. The country was making great industrial progress, railroads were being built at a rapid rate, business was prosperous and apparently a feeling of greater cordiality was beginning to exist between the people of the North and those of the South, for the Fugitive Slave Law was now being observed with something approaching good faith.[8] Everybody, except perhaps the politicians, looked forward with hope and confidence to a long period of quiet and political repose; but unfortunately these hopes were doomed to disappointment. The two or three years of peace which followed the enactment of the compromise measures of 1850 were merely the calm before the storm. What is stranger still, the dis-

[8] Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. i. p. 428.

turbance was to proceed from the ranks of that party which had declared itself unalterably opposed to a reopening of the slavery controversy in any shape or form, and which, on the strength of this declaration, had received an overwhelming popular endorsement at the last presidential election. Besides winning the Presidency by a majority unparalleled since the "Era of Good Feeling," it had secured a large majority in both houses of Congress while a majority of the members of the Supreme Court held to Democratic theories of constitutional interpretation. Under these circumstances the party might have perpetuated its power indefinitely had it made wise use of its opportunities. But in the midst of the peaceful repose which now blessed the Republic one of the Democratic leaders brought forward a measure which presently reopened the controversy and plunged the country into the worst sectional agitation which had ever afflicted it. This man was Stephen A. Douglas, Senator from Illinois and chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories, and the measure which caused the disturbance was a bill to organize a government for the Louisiana territory lying between the State of Missouri and the Rocky Mountains, to which the name of Nebraska was generally applied. At the previous session of Congress a bill for this purpose, but containing no reference to slavery, had passed the House, but never reached a vote in the Senate. Upon the meeting of Congress in December, 1853, the bill was introduced into the Senate, and early in January Senator Douglas made a report from the Committee on Territories, which led to the renewal of the contest over slavery. This report announced that the compromise measures of 1850, in providing for the organization of Utah and New Mexico without restrictions upon slavery, had established "certain great principles" which were not to be construed as applicable to Utah and New Mexico only, but were intended to be of "general application," and consequently to be followed in the organization of the remaining territory of the West. These principles were declared to be: first, that all questions relating to slavery in the Territories and the new States to be formed therefrom were to be left to the decision of the people resident therein through their representatives; second, that cases involving titles to slaves and questions involving "personal freedom" were to be decided by the courts, with appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States; third, that the provision of the Constitution of the United States relative to fugitive slaves was to

be carried into faithful execution in all the organized Territories in just the same way as in the States.[9]

Accompanying the report was a bill which provided for the organization of a territorial government for the vast region now embraced in the States of Kansas, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and parts of Wyoming and Colorado — an area as large as all the free States then in the Union, although containing less than one thousand inhabitants.[10] Douglas's bill provided that when this territory or any portion thereof should be admitted to the Union as a State it should be received with or without slavery, as its constitution might prescribe at the time. That is to say, the people of the Territory were to be allowed to decide for themselves whether slavery should be allowed or not, notwithstanding the fact that all this territory was a part of the Louisiana cession and lay north of the parallel of 36° 30′ north latitude, from which slavery had been forever prohibited by the Missouri Compromise of 1820. The bill, therefore, while not expressly repealing the Missouri Compromise, would in fact repeal it in every Territory in which the people should decide to permit slavery.

The assertion that the compromise measures of 1850 contained "general principles" which could be applied to the remainder of the national domain not yet erected into States caused astonishment in the minds of the vast majority of the people of the North. At the time of the enactment of those measures in 1850 there were few if any well-informed persons who were bold enough to assert that the squatter sovereignty provision was invented for any other purpose than to meet a particular emergency; namely, the settlement of the status of New Mexico and Utah, both Territories being comprised wholly in the Mexican cession. At the time this was admitted on all sides. No one then had the courage to deny that the status of every foot of the unorganized portion of the Louisiana cession had been forever settled by the Missouri Compromise, a measure which, considering all the circumstances under which it had been adopted, had almost the moral force of an article of the Constitution itself. This settlement had been acquiesced in by the people of both sides for more than a quarter of a century, and now Douglas proposed to undo it, when he must have foreseen the consequences of such an act upon the peace of the land.

[9] Von Holst, "Constitutional History of the United States," vol. iv. p. 208.
[10] Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. i. p. 426.

It was generally asserted at the time, and most historians have accepted this view as the correct explanation of Douglas's action, that his purpose was to gain the support of the South, which he calculated was necessary to insure his nomination for the Presidency at the next election. On the other hand, it should be said, in justice to him, that being a typical representative of the democracy of the rapidly growing West, with its exaggerated ideas of the capacity of the people for self-government, he naturally felt that no authority could be more capable of settling the slavery question than the people of the locality directly concerned. He, of course, repudiated the idea that the people of the Western Territories needed the guiding hand of Congress in determining the character of their domestic institutions, and believed that the true solution of the vexatious question of slavery was to be found in the principle of squatter sovereignty, a principle which certainly had a fascinating ring to the ears of the Western people.[11] It should also be remembered that the doctrine of squatter sovereignty was in strict accord with the Democratic principle of local self-government, a principle that was so generally accepted by the party as to be looked on by its members as fundamental. Thus, Douglas, in advocating this doctrine, was only pushing to its logical conclusion a principle that his entire party implicitly accepted. Whatever may have been the motives of Douglas, his action led to a renewal of strife, filled the country with agitation, and resulted eventually in violence and bloodshed.

The announcement of Douglas's report was at once the signal for the uprising of the anti-slavery forces of the North. He was denounced from pulpit and platform and his scheme condemned as little short of treason. The anti-slavery press attacked the measure unsparingly and accused its author of selling himself out to the slavery interests for Southern votes in the next Democratic National Convention. The South, of course, was filled with enthusiasm, and felt a genuine admiration for this Northern defender of Southern interests in the Territories. As already stated, Douglas's bill did not contain any provision for a direct repeal of the Missouri Compromise, for with all his boldness he was not quite ready to go to such lengths in offending Northern sentiment. On January 16 Douglas was somewhat startled by the act of Senator

[11] For this view, see Burgess, "Middle Period," p. 385.

Dixon of Kentucky in giving notice that he intended to offer an amendment to the bill, providing for the direct repeal of the Missouri Compromise, so far as it prohibited slavery in the Territories, having been urged to do so, it was said, by Senator Seward of New York. Douglas remonstrated in vain with Dixon, but a few days later went on a drive with him about Washington, in the course of which he announced to Dixon that he had become convinced that it was his duty as a frank and fair-minded statesman to change his bill so as to provide expressly for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. After securing the endorsement of the President to the proposed change, Douglas brought in a substitute for the original bill, providing, first, that the Missouri Compromise, so far as it prohibited slavery in the Territories, was inoperative, "being contrary to, and superseded by, the principles of the legislation of 1850"; and, second, that the territory in question should be divided into two parts, the northern portion to bear the name of Nebraska, and the southern portion the name of Kansas. It was then generally asserted that the division of the territory was made in the hope of making sure that one of the two Territories would be secured for slavery, and no satisfactory proof was adduced to the contrary.

On the same day the noted appeal of the Independent Democrats was published throughout the country, denouncing Douglas's bill as a "gross violation of a sacred pledge; as a criminal betrayal of precious rights; and as part and parcel of an atrocious plot to exclude from a vast unoccupied region immigrants from the Old World and free laborers from our own States, and convert it into a dreary region of despotism, inhabited by masters and slaves." The address then recited the history of the adoption of the Missouri Compromise, declared that during the time of its operation, covering a period of more than thirty years, it was regarded as inviolable, and asserted that the attempt to abrogate it was a "bold scheme against American liberty worthy of an accomplished architect of ruin." It concluded by urging all friends of freedom to protest earnestly and emphatically by correspondence, through the press, by memorials, by resolutions of public meetings and legislative bodies, and by whatever other mode should seem expedient. The address was written by Senator Chase and signed by himself, Senator Sumner, Senator Wade and other prominent members of Congress, all Free Soilers.[12] It was published in nearly all of the

[12] The address is printed in Cluskey, "Political Text Book," pp. 25, 270.

newspapers of the North and probably contributed, more than any other incident, to consolidate the public opinion of that part of the country against the bill. "The whole document," says Von Holst, "was pervaded by the spirit of deep conviction and moral indignation — was, in fact, 'a declaration of war to the knife.'" [13] Douglas was greatly angered at the publication of this manifesto, and denounced the authors as calumniators who had conspired to forestall public opinion before he had been given an opportunity to explain the provisions of his measure.

On January 30 the "Little Giant," as he was called, opened the debate by a remarkable speech, the ablest perhaps that any man in the country could have made in support of the position which he assumed. He asserted that the refusal of the Northern members in 1848 to consent to the extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific Ocean was equivalent to a repudiation of the principle of the compromise. Then, the compromise measures of 1850 were adopted after a prolonged and exciting contest establishing the principle of congressional non-intervention as to slavery in the Territories; that is to say, the people of the Territories were to be allowed to do as they pleased with regard to slavery, subject only to the provisions of the Constitution. The purpose of these measures, he said, was to establish "certain great principles" designed to avoid the slavery agitation for all time to come and not merely to provide for a temporary evil. "The legal effect of the bill," he continued, "is neither to legislate slavery into these Territories nor out of them, but to leave the people to do as they please. If they wish slavery, they have a right to it; if they do not want it, they will not have it, and you should not force it upon them." [14] Douglas's speech, to say the least, was ingenious, and it convinced many that the squatter sovereignty doctrine was the true solution of the difficult problem of the status of the Territories.

His speech was answered by Senators Chase, Seward and Sumner, but it was clear that Douglas had carried a majority of the senators with him. Chase accused Douglas of disturbing the political repose of the country and filling the public mind with strife and controversy, where quiet had previously reigned, and charged him with demanding the abrogation of a sacred and time

[13] Von Holst, "Constitutional History of the United States," vol. iv. p. 305.

[14] See "Congressional Globe," 1853–1854, appendix, pp. 330–339, for Douglas's speech.

honored compact which had been voted for by a large majority of Southern senators, by a majority of Southern representatives and approved by a Southern President, and which had been acquiesced in by the people of all sections for more than a generation. He vigorously denied Douglas's doctrine that the measures of 1850 superseded those of 1820. "During the long discussion of the former, who ever heard," he asked, "that the Missouri prohibition was to be superseded? What man, at what time, and in what speech ever suggested the idea that the acts of that year were to affect the Missouri Compromise?" In the same strain spoke Seward, Sumner, Wade and Everett.[15]

Douglas being somewhat worried at the position of General Cass, who objected to the phraseology of the bill, amended it to read as follows: "which [the Missouri Compromise] being inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery, by the legislation of 1850, commonly called the Compromise Measures, is hereby declared inoperative and void, it being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State nor exclude it therefrom; but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States." General Cass expressed satisfaction at this change and announced his intention of supporting it, which he did in a set speech a few days later. The Southern Democrats of the more radical wing did not support the bill with the same enthusiasm as Douglas, for they were quick to see that under the application of squatter sovereignty they were almost sure to be beaten in the Territories. They preferred to stand by the view of Calhoun, that the slaveholders had a right, under the Constitution, to carry their slaves, like other property, into any of the Territories of the United States without the interference of either the national or local governments. They believed that the Supreme Court of the United States would eventually adopt this view of the case, but rather than take chances they supported Douglas's measure. Likewise the Southern Whigs, who now stood on common ground with their Democratic brethren, so far as the slavery question was concerned, gave their support to the measure.

Meantime public opinion at the North was declaring itself in

[15] Hart, "Life of Chase," pp. 136–140; Bancroft, "Life of Seward," vol. i. pp. 349–357.

various ways against the bill. Seward wrote to his wife that a storm was rising such as the country had never seen. The Whig newspapers were unanimous in their opposition and they were joined by a good many of the Democratic journals. Great mass meetings, addressed by the leading anti-slavery orators, were held in the larger cities like New York, Boston and Philadelphia, and resolutions protesting against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise were adopted with practical unanimity. Petitions and memorials poured in upon Congress from all quarters, and State legislatures adopted resolutions to the same effect. With hardly less spontaneity Southern legislatures and the Southern press declared in favor of repeal. Probably at no time since the beginning of the slavery question was the public mind of the country so wrought up and the outlook for the peaceful settlement of the question so gloomy.

Finally, as midnight of March 3, 1854, drew near, the redoubtable Douglas rose in the Senate to close the debate. For four hours, until daybreak, he explained and defended his squatter sovereignty theory of political science with marked ability. He reiterated his former arguments, saying that the Missouri restriction ought to give way to "this great fundamental principle." There were two ways, he declared, by which the question could be settled. It could be settled on the principle of 1820, which was congressional interference, or on the principle of 1850, which was non-interference. The latter, he said, was not only correct political science, but it had received the solemn endorsement of the two great political parties of the country by the adoption of the compromise measures of 1850, and to the observance of which they were solemnly pledged. The adoption of this method, he contended, would remove the vexatious question of slavery from the arena of national politics, deprive the agitators of their vocation and destroy sectional animosity. Concluding, he affirmed that he had brought forward this measure, not as a party man, not as a Southern man, not as a Northern man, but as a patriot and a national statesman. His argument was convincing to a majority of the Senate and the bill passed by a vote of 37 to 14, ten members being absent. Four Northern Democrats, six Northern Whigs, two Free Soilers, one Southern Whig and one Southern Democrat voted against the measure.[16] The Southern members who

[16] Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. i. p. 475.

voted in the negative were the veteran General Sam Houston of Texas and John Bell of Tennessee.

In the latter part of March the bill was taken up for consideration in the House and was promptly referred to the Committee on Territories, of which Richardson of Illinois, a staunch friend of Douglas, was chairman. The bill was reported back in the course of about three weeks, and upon Richardson's request was advanced to the head of the calendar over some eighteen or twenty other bills. As soon as the debate began the opponents of the bill at once entered upon a policy of obstruction, at times characterized by scenes of excitement, disorder and confusion. In consequence of the demoralization in which Richardson found himself, a new manager was necessary, and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia came forward and took charge of the bill, and by the use of the whip and spur, as he says, he forced the House to an early vote in spite of the vigorous efforts of the opposition to prolong the discussion.[17] The vote was taken at midnight on May 20, and resulted in the passage of the bill by a majority of 113 to 100. Only nine Southern members, four Democrats and five Whigs, ventured to vote against the bill, while of the 90 Northern Democrats only 44 voted in favor of it.[18] Of those who voted against the bill was the venerable Thomas H. Benton of Missouri, who, after thirty years' service in the Senate, had been refused a re-election on account of his opposition to the extension of slavery, but who had been returned to the lower House by the grateful people of his district. Ten days later the President signed the bill, and it became law. This law was one of the most momentous, considering the consequences which flowed from it, that was ever enacted by the Congress of the United States, and as many believe one of the most unfortunate. It resulted in the dissolution of the Whig party and the formation in its stead of a new one based on the principle of the restriction of slavery; it forced the Southern Whigs to become Democrats, thus giving the struggle over slavery a purely sectional character; it so irritated the North that it became impossible to execute the Fugitive Slave Law; and worst of all, it increased the anti-slavery agitation, brought on violence and bloodshed, instead of peace, and hastened the Civil War.[19]

[17] Johnston and Browne, "Life of Stephens," p. 277.

[18] Von Holst, "Constitutional History," vol. iv. p. 452.

[19] Read Mrs. Archibald Dixon's "The Missouri Compromise and Its Repeal."

One instrumentality which served to crystallize and solidify anti-slavery sentiment at the North, and which contributed immensely to the estrangement of the two sections, was the publication about this time of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe. The story was first published as a serial in an anti-slavery newspaper at Washington, and later appeared in book form. The author had seen little of slavery, but the little she had seen was slavery under some of its most forbidding aspects. Feeling keenly the injustice of the system to the negro, and assuming, as we all know, without cause, that the isolated cases of cruelty which she had seen were characteristic of the institution of slavery in general, she sat herself down to pour out her wounded soul in the form of story, hoping that her protest would convince the world of the wrong of negro bondage. As a picture of slavery in general her portrayal is exaggerated, but there was enough of truth to convince thousands and, in fact, to revolutionize public sentiment in regard to the morality of slavery. The reception of her story was probably unparalleled in the history of American literature, and its sale was little short of phenomenal. Three hundred thousand copies were sold in the United States in one year, a million and a half were sold in England before the outbreak of the war; the story was soon translated into twenty different languages and was dramatized and acted on the stage with remarkable success. The author, hitherto an unknown college professor's wife, now became the most famous woman in America.

The style of the story is commonplace, the language often trite and inelegant, sometimes degenerating into slang, and the humor is strained; but the effect upon its readers was tremendous.[20] Hearts were touched as never before, the emotions were stirred and sympathies aroused. Rufus Choate probably did not miss the truth far when he said the book would make two million abolitionists; certainly during the next few years the number of abolitionists increased with marvelous rapidity, and the tens of thousands of boys who read the book soon grew to be anti-slavery voters.

[20] Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. i, p. 279.

III

FOREIGN AFFAIRS; REORGANIZATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES

In the meantime several incidents of [illegible] had marked the relations of the United States with foreign powers. One of these was a stir caused in diplomatic circles by Marcy's instructions to our ministers abroad, in June, 1853, directing them to appear whenever practicable in the simple dress of American citizens as a means of showing American devotion to republican institutions. Before Marcy's advent the usual diplomatic costume had consisted of a silk-lined blue coat, a gold embroidered [illegible] considered cuffs, white cassimere trousers with gold [illegible] stockings, a three-cornered chapeau, a black [illegible]. During the era of the Jacksonian democracy some changes had been recommended in the direction of republican simplicity, but there was still too much monarchical finery for our democratic secretary, and hence his circular of instructions. In most of the countries of Europe our ministers were given permission to appear at Court in plain dress, but in some it was not allowed. At London permission was first refused, but later conceded, and Mr. Buchanan was delighted to report to his chief that he was cordially received at the Queen's Court in citizen's dress, except that he wore a plain, black handled sword.

Two incidents occurred during this period which had the effect of creating strained relations with Austria. During the Hungarian revolution the President had sent a special agent to Europe to watch the course of events, probably with a [illegible] to American recognition of the independence of Hungary. The Austrian Government took offence at this action as amounting to interference in Austrian affairs, and its charge d'affaires at Washington, Baron Hülseman, protested in language dictatorial, [illegible] offensive. Webster, then Secretary of State, seized the occasion to impress the haughty Hapsburg diplomat with the power and greatness of the American republic. After defending the course of the President, he wound up by saying that "the power of this republic at the present moment is spread [illegible] one of the richest and most fertile on the globe, and [illegible] comparison with which the possessions of the house of Hapsburg are but as a patch on the earth's surface." This spread-eagle communication created

something of a sensation, and while it lacked dignity and good taste, according to the accepted standards of diplomatic etiquette, it may have served a good purpose at home, for Webster explained that he wished to "touch the national pride and make a man feel sheepish and look silly who should speak of disunion." [21] Probably no diplomatic paper emanating from the State Department ever met with a more widespread popular approval in America, vindicating as it did America's sympathy for the cause of republicanism in Europe.[22] Austrian ill-feeling was soon heightened by the multiplied evidencies of the people and government of the United States for the cause of the Hungarian revolutionists as revealed in the extraordinary demonstrations in honor of the visit of the Hungarian patriot, Louis Kossuth. Upon invitation of the United States he came to America in 1852 as the guest of the nation, being brought from his refuge in Turkey on an American man-of-war. His reception was of such a character as had never been surpassed since the visit of Lafayette in 1824. He was welcomed at New York by 100,000 people, received by the President and praised in his message to Congress, greeted by both houses of Congress, and traveled throughout the country at the expense of the government, his progress from State to State being marked by the most enthusiastic demonstration.[23] In the following year, after Pierce had become President, the relations between the United States and Austria were still further strained by the Martin Koszta affair. Koszta was a Hungarian revolutionist who had escaped to Turkey and subsequently emigrated to the United States. He made a formal declaration of his intention of becoming an American citizen, but before completing the process of naturalization he returned to Turkey on business and while there the Austrain consul-general kidnaped him and put him in irons. Thereupon the American consul demanded Koszta's release on the ground that he had taken the first steps toward becoming an American citizen. The demand being refused, Captain Ingraham of the United States man-of-war *Saint Louis* threatened force if the demand was not complied with, in a given time. At this juncture the authorities of the two powers arranged that Koszta should be placed in custody of the French consul until the two governments could reach an

[21] Curtis, "Life of Webster," vol. ii. p. 537.
[22] Foster, "Century of American Diplomacy," p. 331.
[23] Read Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. i. pp. 233-241.

agreement in regard to his disposal. A diplomatic correspondence ensued, in which Secretary Marcy sustained the action of the American consul and of Captain Ingraham, and maintained the right of the government to protect Koszta on the ground that having established his domicile in the United States he had thereby become clothed with the national character, and so refused to allow him to be delivered up to the Austrian authorities. "Whenever," Marcy declared, "an individual becomes clothed with our national character, be he a native-born or a naturalized citizen, an exile driven from his early home by political oppression, or an emigrant enticed from it by the hopes of a better fortune for himself and his posterity, he can claim the protection of this government, and it may respond to that claim without being obliged to explain its conduct to any foreign power: for it is its duty to make its nationality respected by other nations and respectable in every quarter of the globe." Finally Koszta was allowed to return to the United States. Marcy's action was generally approved in the United States, and Congress voted Captain Ingraham a gold medal, but there are some high authorities on international law who do not sustain the position of either,[24] and it may be doubted if the President would have proceeded with the same rapidity if the offending nation had been England instead of Austria.[25]

Another of Marcy's diplomatic triumphs was the conclusion of the Gadsden Treaty with Mexico, late in 1853, for the settlement of a boundary dispute. By this treaty Mexico ceded to the United States some twenty million acres of land in what is now southern Arizona, for the sum of ten million dollars. The territory ceded was known to be a barren waste, but it was believed to be valuable for the route of the proposed Southern Pacific Railroad. In the following year, 1854, an important treaty was concluded with Great Britain for the settlement of the long-standing fishery dispute, and for the establishment of reciprocity of trade between the United States and Canada. Citizens of the United States were allowed to take fish, without restriction, in the bays, creeks, and harbors of British North America, a privilege of which they had been largely deprived by the convention of 1818. In return for this privilege the United States consented to allow a large number of articles, the produce of Canada, to be admitted to this country free

[24] See Hall's "International Law," sec. 72.

[25] Von Holst, "Constitutional History of the United States," vol. iv. p. 280.

of duty, and British subjects were permitted to take fish in the territorial waters of the United States on the Atlantic coast from Maine south to the 39th parallel of north latitude. The treaty was to remain in force for a period of ten years, after which it could be terminated by either party, after giving the other twelve months' notice. There was a general impression in the United States that the privileges secured to American citizens were not equal in value to those granted British subjects. Moreover the conduct of the Canadian Government during the Civil War in allowing its territory to be made a base of operations against the United States by the Confederates offended the American Government, and caused it to give the notice of termination in 1865.

In the month following the conclusion of the agreement of 1854 with Great Britain, an event occurred in Central America which threw the country into a temporary state of excitement. This was the bombardment of San Juan (or Greytown) by an American war vessel. The United States had an indemnity claim against the city for injuries to American property and had demanded an apology for an insult to the American minister, as well as assurance of immunity from similar treatment in the future. Receiving no reply, the commander of the war vessel, after giving twenty-four hours' notice, opened fire upon the town and continued it until the place was reduced to ashes. Many feared that the affair would lead to trouble with other powers, but nothing came of it.[26]

During the year relations with Spain became strained and for a time war seemed possible. The trouble grew out of an outrage which was committed by Cuban customs officials on the *Black Warrior,* an American merchant vessel bound from Mobile to New York by way of Havana, in February, 1854. On the ground that the cargo had not been properly manifested, the Spanish officials took possession of the vessel by force and proceeded to confiscate the entire cargo, consisting of cotton valued at $100,000. The captain of the steamer protested in vain, and finally abandoned his ship to the Spanish authorities. Great was the excitement when the news reached the United States, and many hotheads clamored for immediate war with Spain. The President at once demanded an indemnity from Spain for the insult to the flag, as well as injury to property, and at the same time recommended

[26] Von Holst, "Constitutional History of the United States," vol. v. pp. 10-12.

Congress to empower him to enforce the demand if it were not satisfied within a reasonable time. Soulé, the American minister at Madrid, demanded $300,000 and the punishment of the Spanish officials concerned, and requested a reply within forty-eight hours.

Meantime the situation, as regards Spanish-American relations, was aggravated by the activity of filibusters in the United States. In the Southern States, particularly in Mississippi, where ex-Governor General John A. Quitman was the recognized leader, the movement looking to the invasion of Cuba was strong and enthusiastic. On June 2 the President issued a proclamation warning all persons from taking part in any expedition against Cuba, under penalty of prosecution for violation of the neutrality laws, and under direction of the executive, Quitman was arrested at New Orleans and compelled to give bond for the faithful observance of the neutrality laws. Finally the *Black Warrior* affair was settled by the return of the confiscated cargo to its owners, it having in the meantime been shown that no actual insult had been intended to the flag of the United States. It was shortly after the events here related that Buchanan, Soulé and Mason met at Ostend and drew up their manifesto advising that Cuba be wrested from Spain by force, in case she refused to sell for a reasonable price. As soon as the tenor of this remarkable document became known it created renewed dissatisfaction among the anti-slavery element of the North, who charged that it was conclusive evidence, taken in connection with the filibustering expeditions against Cuba that the South desired to acquire new territory with the expectation of eventually erecting therein new slave States, and thus increasing the political strength of the South. Whether the evidence warranted this belief or not, the North believed it, and it added greatly to the general discontent.

It was now clear that affairs had reached a point where a reorganization of political parties along geographical lines was inevitable, the party of one section having for its aim the restriction, and that of the other, the extension, of slavery. As we have seen, about one-half of the Northern Democratic members of Congress had voted against the Kansas-Nebraska bill, while nearly all the Southern Whigs had voted for it. As matters had now shaped themselves Southern Whigs and Democrats stood on common ground, so far as the chief political issue was concerned, while a majority of the Northern Democrats and of the Northern Whigs,

and all the Free Soilers stood together on the opposite side of the same issue. A realignment of parties therefore seemed a necessity; that is, the three anti-slavery groups of the North must be fused into a common organization, while the opposing elements of the South must likewise be brought together in name as they were in fact.

The movement for consolidation of all the anti-slavery groups in the North began at once. As the Whigs were the most numerous, there was a general feeling among their leaders that the anti-Nebraska Democrats and Free Soilers ought to join them, assume their name and thus avoid the necessity of organizing a new party. But the anti-Nebraska Democrats and Free Soilers had scruples about giving up their party names and therefore hesitated to merge themselves in the Whig organization, although they were willing to join in the formation of a new party. The initiative in the direction of political reorganization began in the Northwest. In July, a few weeks after the enactment of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, a State convention or mass meeting of persons representing all parties opposed to the further extension of slavery was held in an oak grove near Jackson, Michigan, and amid great enthusiasm it adopted a declaration of principles demanding the repeal of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the Fugitive Slave Law, as well as the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and recommended the calling of a general convention representing all the free States, with a view to a more effective opposition to the extension of slavery. In the same month similar conventions were held in various other free States and resolutions of the same tenor as those of the Michigan convention were adopted, some of which recommended the assumption of the name "Republican" for the new party.

It was at this time also that a new and rather curious political organization began to make itself felt, especially in local politics. This was the "Know-Nothing" movement, so called, which had sprung into existence a few years before in opposition to Roman Catholicism, and to the increasing influence of the foreign vote, particularly in the municipal elections of the larger cities. Its cardinal principle was that "Americans must rule America," and its favorite countersign was an alleged order of Washington on a critical occasion, "Put none but Americans on guard to-night." The Know-Nothing party was organized after the manner of a

secret order, with signs, passwords, degrees and ritual. The initiation of new members was characterized by a solemn procedure conducted somewhat after the methods of the Masonic lodge, nominations were made by secret conventions of delegates from the various lodges, and were voted for by all members under penalty of expulsion. The candidate for admission to the party was required to swear that he was a native-born American, that he was a Protestant in his religion and that he would not vote for any Catholic or foreign-born candidate for office. Upon taking this oath he was admitted to the secrets and mysteries of the order and given the passwords which admitted him to all its meetings. The proceedings of the party organization were conducted in the strictest secrecy, and when asked concerning their principles and purposes the members replied, "I don't know." From this practice the party received its name, although its official title was the American Party. Large numbers joined the movement partly on account of prejudice against Catholics and aliens, and party through curiosity. But it was impossible to know its strength or even its candidates, for all its work was done in secret.[27]

With the approach of autumn, 1854, all eyes were turned to the State and congressional elections through which the popular verdict upon the Kansas-Nebraska Act was to be rendered. The first election occurred in Iowa, which had been a Democratic State ever since its admission to the Union, and where the main issue was the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. The State was now carried by a combination of Whigs and Free Soilers, and the legislature, which was chosen at this time, elected a Republican to the United States Senate. Maine and Vermont were carried by the anti-Nebraska forces in September. In October Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana pronounced against the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and returned anti-Nebraska delegations to Congress. In Illinois, the home of Senator Douglas, the Democrats elected the State ticket, but the opposition elected the legislature and half of the congressional delegation. In New York the Whig candidate was elected by an insignificant plurality due to the large Know-Nothing vote but in conjunction with the other anti-slavery forces the Whigs elected all but six of the thirty-three members of Congress. In Massachusetts

[27] See Cluskey, "Political Text-Book," pp. 283–310; Wilson, "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power," vol. ii. pp. 419–434; and Wise, "Seven Decades of the United States."

the Know-Nothing candidate for governor defeated both the Whig and Democratic candidates, while the Know-Nothings elected practically the entire legislature and all the congressional delegation, who were likewise all anti-slavery men.

Taking the result of all the elections, we find that the Democratic majority of 84 in the last House of Representatives was now reduced to a minority of 75. Of 42 Northern Democrats who had voted for the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, only seven were re-elected.[28] There could, therefore, be no question as to the character of the popular verdict in the free States; it was almost unanimously against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. One of the surprises of the election was the astonishing success of the Know-Nothing party. In the State elections of the following year they triumphed in New York, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, elected several of the principal State officers in Kentucky, Maryland and Texas, and came very near carrying the other Southern States, being beaten only by majorities ranging from 2,000 to 11,000 votes. After this the Know-Nothing movement declined. Its mysteries and secrets soon became known and henceforth its principles were advocated openly, as common-sense required, but its old-time power over the many who had an ear for the mysterious had gone. The Whig party still maintained its organization in the North and put out tickets; but in the South it disappeared, some of the Whigs joining the Know-Nothings, but most of them becoming Democrats.

IV

THE STRUGGLE FOR KANSAS

It now remains to describe the result of the practical working of the squatter sovereignty theory in the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska. Whether either or both of them should be given over to slavery was, under the operation of the law, a problem of emigration, for it was the vote of the squatter sovereigns which was in the end to determine the status of the Territory. Both sides, therefore, made ready to colonize Kansas with their followers, for there, it was foreseen, would be the battleground between freedom and slavery. At once the pro-slavery settlers of

[28] See Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. ii. pp. 58 *et seq.*

Western Missouri crossed into Kansas and proceeded to stake out some of the choicest land of the Territory. This was promptly followed by a movement of emigrants from the free States. In order to insure a systematic emigration from the North the Emigrant-Aid Society, with a large capital, was organized in Massachusetts under the direction of Eli Thayer, a shrewd Yankee, who conceived the idea of sending out settlers in companies under the guidance of tactful leaders. Money was to be advanced to the settlers, and in other respects those who were willing to undertake this service in the interest of freedom were to receive substantial encouragement. Thayer and his supporters foresaw that few of the Southern planters would find it practicable to sell out their lands and take their slaves to this new country, where it was almost certain that slave labor would not be profitable. On the other hand there was a large floating population in the North ready to emigrate to Kansas, especially if a little material encouragement were given, and who would, when the time came, cast their votes for freedom. Thayer reasoned correctly. He experienced no difficulty in finding settlers eager for an opportunity to become landholders in Kansas, and soon companies supplied with money and other necessaries of life, including large quantities of Sharpe's rifles, and directed by experienced colonizers, were on the way to swell the ranks of the free State settlers of Kansas.

The South looked on this movement with indignation and denounced it as an audacious scheme of Northern abolitionists to get control with settlers recruited from the slums of eastern cities, of a territory which fairness and justice required should be reserved for *bonâ fide* settlers from the Southern States. The South soon found itself at a disadvantage in competing with the North under such circumstances for the possession of Kansas, although feeble efforts were made in several Southern localities to imitate Thayer's scheme. The most notable of these attempts at colonization was the expedition of Colonel Buford of Alabama, who led to Kansas a company of 280 men from Alabama, South Carolina, and Georgia in the spring of 1856.[29] But the most prolific recruiting ground of the South was the western part of the adjacent State of Missouri, then the frontier of American civilization. The news of the organized movement in New England to people Kansas with

[29] See Fleming, "The Buford Expedition to Kansas," in *American Historical Review*, vol. vi. pp. 38-48.

abolitionists had thrown the Missourians into a state of excitement bordering on frenzy. Most of them were either slaveholders or friends of slavery, and they professed to feel a sense of insecurity and danger at the prospect of having a free State so near their borders. Besides, they assumed that the act of 1854, in spirit at least, intended Kansas for slavery and Nebraska for freedom. Accordingly, to offset the Emigration Societies of New England, the Missourians proceeded to organize themselves into "Blue Lodges" pledged to do everything in their power to counteract the efforts of the abolitionists in Kansas.

In November, 1854, the territorial election for the choice of a delegate to Congress occurred, and on the day of the election some seventeen hundred of the Missourians crossed over into Kansas and cast their votes for the pro-slavery candidate, who was elected by a large majority and was allowed to take his seat in the House of Representatives without objection. Again in March, 1855, some 5,000 Missourians armed with pistols, bowie knives and a generous supply of bad whisky, invaded the State for the purpose of assisting in the choice of the members of the territorial legislature. Again the elections were carried by the pro-slavery men, and Missourians threatened to shoot the governor if he dared refuse certificates to those who had received the most votes and to punish in like manner anyone who should endeavor to get signers to a petition protesting against the seating of those who had received majorities. These occurrences caused great indignation throughout the North, and even caused the governor of Missouri who had previously shown pro-slavery sympathies, to become an anti-slavery advocate. In the South, on the other hand, the conduct of the Missourians was generally approved as a legitimate means of meeting the methods employed by the abolitionists of New England.

Upon the meeting of the territorial legislature in July, 1855, all the Free Soil members except one were unseated, and he voluntarily resigned, leaving the legislature entirely in the hands of the pro-slavery men. The legislature then changed its place of meeting to a point conveniently near the Missouri border and promptly enacted the provisions of the Missouri slavery code without even altering the phraseology so as to adapt it to the status of Kansas as a Territory. In addition to the Missouri code a series of particularly severe and intolerant laws for the protection of slavery was enacted. One of these provided the death-penalty for inciting

slaves to revolt or enticing a slave to leave his master, another imposed a penalty of two years' imprisonment for questioning the legality of slavery in the Territory; while all officers and attorneys were required to take an oath to support the Fugitive Slave Law. The Free Soilers were greatly chagrined at the turn affairs had taken and it began to look as if they were in a fair way to lose Kansas. At this juncture they resolved to call, upon their own initiative, a constitutional convention and organize a State government. This was done and the convention met at Topeka, October 23, 1855, framed a constitution prohibiting slavery, submitted it to the people, and it was adopted by a practically unanimous vote, the pro-slavery men taking no part in the election. In January following, the Free Soilers chose members of the legislature, a governor and other officers, and organized the State in pursuance of the constitution which they had framed and adopted. A little later the legislature met, elected United States senators, and sent a memorial to Congress, praying for the admission of Kansas to the Union.

There were now two hostile governments in Kansas; one, the territorial government, which had the advantage of being organized in accordance with the forms of law and which had the sanction of the Federal authorities at Washington; the other, the government set up by the Free Soilers without the sanction of law. The free State party resolved to ignore as far as possible the territorial government and to treat it as fraudulent, but at the same time to render obedience to the national government, under whose authority it had been organized. This, of course, was a difficult matter, and required the display of great tact and wise leadership to avoid a conflict. As might be expected, collisions soon began to occur between the two hostile governments, resulting in violence and bloodshed. Meantime Congress had met, and after a long and bitter contest over the election of a Speaker it proceeded to consider the Kansas question. In a special message the President took up the events which had lately occurred in Kansas and recommended the passage of an enabling act for the admission of the State as soon as it should have a sufficient population. In alluding to the troubles in Kansas he said that the Emigrant Aid Societies were chiefly responsible; that the acts of the Free Soilers were unlawful and revolutionary; and asserted that if they should resist the government their acts would be considered as treason,

in which case the duty of the executive in the premises was plain.

In the Senate a bill was brought forward by Stephen A. Douglas providing that as soon as Kansas should contain 93,000 inhabitants the territorial legislature should be empowered to call a convention for the purpose of framing a constitution and organizing a State. The House acted by appointing a committee of three to visit Kansas and make an investigation into the state of affairs existing there. Able speeches were made in both Houses, the Northern members generally defending the conduct of the Free Soilers in Kansas while the Southern members with equal ability defended the position of the pro-slavery men. Much ill feeling was manifested between the representatives of the two sections and several personal altercations occurred on the floor of Congress. On May 22, 1856, Senator Sumner, of Massachusetts, who a few days before in a speech on "the crime against Kansas" had severely criticised Senator Butler of South Carolina, was violently assaulted by Preston Brooks, a nephew of Senator Butler and a member of the lower House from South Carolina, who had taken exception to the remarks of the Massachusetts senator. Entering the Senate chamber he came upon Sumner unawares as he sat at his desk writing, and beat him over the head with a heavy cane until he fell unconscious to the floor. The assault came near ending the career of one of the most influential anti-slavery advocates in the United States. It created intense indignation throughout the North, but the assault was generally approved throughout the South as a deserving punishment of an abolitionist who had maliciously attacked an absent colleague who had never given him the slightest cause for offense.[30] But the circumstances under which Sumner was assaulted and the testimonials of esteem which came to his assailant from all parts of the South stirred the North to the profoundest depths. In the House of Representatives a committee was appointed to investigate and report upon the affair, and a report was brought in favoring the expulsion of Brooks. But the necessary two-thirds could not be procured and he was therefore left alone. Soon afterward Brooks resigned, but was promptly reëlected by his constituents. Hardly anything could have contributed more to destroy cordial relations between the people of the two sections.

[30] See Von Holst, "Constitutional History of the United States," vol. v. pp. 315–330; Pike, "First Blows of the Civil War," p. 339.

About the time of the assault on Sumner news reached Washington of the sacking of the town of Lawrence, Kansas, one of the strongholds of the Free State men, by an armed body representing the pro-slavery party and reënforced by a band of ruffians from Missouri. The affair grew out of the attempt to execute a writ upon a citizen of the town by the deputy sheriff who, being resisted, issued a call to all "law abiding" citizens to come to his aid. Nothing could have pleased this rowdy class more, and they responded in large numbers. Several newspaper offices, a large stone hotel and other buildings were destroyed, and the town was pillaged by a drunken mob. The occurrence of these two events within twenty-four hours of each other added greatly to the excitement and it was believed would do great damage to the pro-slavery cause as well as insure the defeat of the Democrats at the next presidential election.

A few days after these events another incident occurred in Kansas which was interpreted in the South as in a measure offsetting the attack upon Freedom's representative in Congress and Freedom's stronghold on the Kansas plains. This was the killing of five unoffending pro-slavery men on the Ossawatomie Creek by John Brown, a fanatical anti-slavery man, who had recently settled in Kansas. He professed to believe that it was his mission to destroy slavery, even if it required the shedding of innocent blood, and he resolved to make a beginning in his own neighborhood.[31] With five of his sons and two of his neighbors, on the night of May 24, 1856, he left his home and went from house to house killing and mutilating in the most savage fashion pro-slavery men until he had dispatched not less than five of them. It was a most atrocious and unjustifiable deed and greatly complicated the already sanguinary condition of affairs prevailing in Kansas. The whole Territory was now in a state verging on civil war. The Free State party was organized and prepared to take the field at a moment's notice; guerrilla bands wandered over the country pillaging and robbing the defenseless inhabitants; assassinations were of almost daily occurrence; industry was neglected and the general outlook of "bleeding Kansas" was as gloomy as any that ever confronted an infant commonwealth.

[31] Von Holst, "Constitutional History of the United States," vol. v. p. 310.

V

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1856

Such was the state of affairs in Kansas when the attention of the country was momentarily diverted to the approaching presidential election. The first party to take action was the American or Know-Nothing, which held a convention at Philadelphia on February 22, the anniversary of the birth of Washington, and nominated ex-President Fillmore as its candidate for President, and Andrew J. Donelson of Tennessee for Vice President. The Know-Nothing platform eulogized the Union as the "palladium of our civil and religious liberties and the only sure bulwark of American independence," declared that Americans must rule America, and to that end only native-born citizens should be elected to office, pronounced in favor of a change of the naturalization laws, fixing twenty-one years' residence as a prerequisite to the acquisition of citizenship by an alien and declared that the people of the Territories should be allowed to frame their constitution and laws and to regulate their domestic and social affairs in their own way, subject only to the provisions of the Federal Constitution.[32] Upon the great question of slavery the convention refused to commit itself, as a result of which a number of the delegates withdrew and nominated John C. Frémont for President. The Democrats held their convention at Cincinnati, beginning June 2, and promptly adopted a platform declaring that the party would resist all attempts at renewing in Congress or out of it the agitation of the slavery question and affirming that the principle upon which the Kansas-Nebraska Act (squatter sovereignty) rested was the only safe and sound solution of the slavery question. Of special significance was a resolution of the platform "that the Democratic party will expect of the next administration that every proper effort be made to insure our ascendency in the Gulf of Mexico." Consistency would have required the renomination of Pierce, who had enforced the act, or of Stephen A. Douglas, its author. Both of these men were favorites in the South but neither could be elected without Northern votes, a fact which it would have been fatal to ignore in selecting a candidate. Unfortunately for both of

[32] Stanwood, "History of the Presidency," p. 262.

them, affairs had taken such a turn as to throw discredit upon the workings of squatter sovereignty in Kansas and Nebraska. About the time the convention met, news came of the assault on Senator Sumner and the sacking of the town of Lawrence, both of which were charged to the account of squatter sovereignty in general and to Pierce and Douglas in particular. It was feared, therefore, that the Northern Democracy would not support a candidate who had been associated in any way with the Kansas policy, and the leaders accordingly turned to a man who had borne no part in the legislation or administration which had led up to the Kansas troubles. This man was James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, a statesman of long experience, who during the whole of Pierce's administration had been the minister of the United States to Great Britain, and consequently far removed from the influences at work in America. For this reason, and also because he alone of the three could carry Pennsylvania, Buchanan was strongly preferred by the Northern Democrats and had influential support in certain parts of the South, notably in Virginia and Louisiana, where he had written private letters declaring his belief in the sanctity of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. On the seventeenth ballot Buchanan received the nomination for President and John C. Breckinridge was nominated for Vice President. Buchanan in his letter of acceptance declared that he endorsed the platform, believed in the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and favored the acquisition of Cuba. The nomination of Buchanan was highly satisfactory to the Northern Democrats and acceptable to those of the South, while Douglas, Pierce and Cass, the defeated candidates, promply pledged their support, which was cheerfully given. The Democrats had unquestionably made a strong nomination, the very best perhaps that could have been made.

On February 22, the same day on which the Know Nothings assembled at Philadelphia a national convention representing the newly organized Republican party and made up of delegates from twenty-three States met at Pittsburg and issued a declaration of principles on the slavery question, and fixed June 17 as the date for the holding of a convention for the nomination of a presidential candidate. These declarations opposed the extension of slavery to the Territories and demanded the immediate admission of Kansas as a free State. The two foremost leaders of the new party were Seward and Chase, but there were reasons of availability which

made the nomination of either inexpedient. Seward had been too outspoken in his opposition to slavery to make a good candidate in the border States. He had advocated the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, while his "higher law" utterances had given the impression in many quarters that his elevation to the Presidency would endanger the interests of slavery not only in the Territories, but even in the States. Besides, he had been slow to leave the Whig ranks to join the new party, and even then still retained some of his Whiggish proclivities.[33] Chase likewise was regarded as too radical a candidate for the latitude of Maryland, Delaware and New Jersey; his chief strength, moreover, was confined to the State of Ohio.[34] Before the convention met, these two Republican chiefs were eliminated and the general opinion had been reached that the hope of the Republicans depended upon the nomination of a candidate whose record was unencumbered with pronounced opinions of a radical character.

The young and daring John C. Frémont soon came to be regarded as the candidate possessing the greatest elements of availability. He was born in Georgia and had been known as a Democrat, but in fact had no political antecedents worthy of note, although he professed anti-slavery sympathies. Frémont had served for a short time as a senator from California, but was chiefly remembered for his explorations in the Rocky Mountains, the wondrous stories of which, coupled with his romantic marriage to the daughter of Senator Benton, made him a much admired man. When the Republican Convention assembled at Philadelphia on the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill, Frémont's only opponent was Justice McLean of the United States Supreme Court, an able but aged man of conservative views. On the first ballot Frémont was nominated for President and Wm. L. Dayton of New Jersey was associated with him as the candidate for Vice President. The platform, which was adopted with great enthusiasm, arraigned slavery and polygamy as twin relics of barbarism, declared it to be the right and duty of Congress to prohibit slavery in the Territories, demanded the admission of Kansas with its free constitution and denounced the Ostend Manifesto as a shame

[33] See Bancroft, "Life of Seward," vol. i. pp. 418–425.
[34] Hart, "Life of Chase," p. 161.

and a dishonor to American diplomacy.[35] An enthusiastic and exciting campaign now ensued — the first in which the religious press and many of the religious denominations took an active interest.[36] The Democrats made much of the fact that both of the Republican candidates for President and Vice President were from the North; that is, it was a sectional ticket, a circumstance which had never before occurred since the beginning of the slavery controversy. The Southerners felt the force of this, and declared openly that they favored the secession of the slave States in the event of the election of the "Black Republican sectional ticket." Many Southern leaders openly announced that in such an event the Union would be at an end, and there is no doubt that they were terribly in earnest, although there was a disposition in the North to treat such utterances as mere gasconade. The Northern Democrats turned the Southern threats to good effect by arguing that the existence of the Union was in danger, and that only the election of Buchanan could save it from dissolution. Thousands of conservative voters in the North who were opposed to the extension of slavery believed this to be a true statement of the situation, and accordingly cast their votes for the Democratic candidates. Pennsylvania was the pivotal State, and each side exerted itself to the utmost to carry it. The best orators from both parties were sent up and down the State to arouse the people from their lethargy. Mass meetings were held everywhere a crowd could be got together; they sang rollicking campaign songs; some hurrahed for "Buck and Breck," others shouted lustily for "free speech, free soil and Frémont"; and the State was flooded with campaign literature. Frémont was charged with being or with having been a Roman Catholic, while accusations affecting his personal integrity were made in various quarters. As already stated, his conduct in California was hardly creditable.[37] The only charge of note against Buchanan was his connection with the Ostend Manifesto, but this was forgotten in view of his promise that a new policy should be inaugurated in Kansas.

The result of the September elections in New England gave the Republicans great encouragement, but this was turned to sorrow in October, when Indiana and Pennsylvania were carried by

[35] Stanwood, "History of the Presidency," p. 273.
[36] Bancroft, "Life of Seward," vol. i, p. 340.
[37] Royce, "History of California," pp. 169 f., 5.

the Democrats, a result which insured the election of Buchanan. When the results of the November election were known it was found that Buchanan had received altogether 174 electoral votes, as against 114 for Frémont and 8 for Fillmore, and that the Democrats had secured a majority in the next House of Representatives. Buchanan carried, besides Pennsylvania and Indiana, California, Illinois, New Jersey and all the Southern States except Maryland, whose electoral vote was received by Fillmore. The disappointment of the Republicans was bitter, but considering that the party had been organized less than two years, the strength which it had shown was cause for congratulation. Perhaps it was better for the party that Frémont was defeated, for had he been elected it is practically certain that the slave States would have seceded as they had threatened to do, in which case the union would probably have gone to pieces for lack of a wise and vigorous executive to meet the great issue. The defeat of the Republicans postponed secession for another four years, during which period the party developed a man who was to lead them to victory and be ready, when the great issue came, to meet it with wisdom and strength.

Chapter XXVII

ADMINISTRATION OF BUCHANAN
1857–1861

I

THE DRED SCOTT DECISION

JAMES BUCHANAN was the last President to be elected by the Democrats for nearly thirty years. It is indeed practically certain that he would have been defeated in 1856 had it not been for the influence of a few able and conservative men in the North like Rufus Choate, who believed that Buchanan's large experience in public affairs, his acknowledged capacity and his conservatism afforded a better guarantee for domestic peace than did the character of Frémont. Buchanan declared shortly after his election that the great object of his administration should be to arrest, if possible, the agitation of the slavery question and to destroy sectional parties.

As Cabinet advisers he chose three men from the North and four from the South, the most distinguished member being the veteran Lewis Cass of Michigan, who was appointed Secretary of State. The new President did not conceal his sympathy with the movement to acquire Cuba, and is said to have declared that "if I can be instrumental in settling the slavery question upon the terms I have mentioned, and then add Cuba to the Union, I shall be willing to give up the ghost and let Breckinridge take the government." [1] In his inaugural address Buchanan announced that he had determined not to be a candidate for reëlection, and that, therefore, there would be no motive to influence his conduct in administering the government except the desire to serve his country faithfully and conscientiously. The most significant utterance of the address, however, related to the Kansas troubles. On this point he stated that a difference of opinion having arisen in regard

[1] Greeley, "American Conflict," vol. i. p. 278.

to the time when the people of the Territory should decide the question of slavery for themselves, the matter would be speedily and finally settled by the Supreme Court. To this decision, whatever it might be, he said he would cheerfully submit, with all good citizens, although his own opinions were fixed.[2]

A few days thereafter the Supreme Court handed down its decision on the famous Dred Scott case, a decision which aroused bitter feeling throughout the North and brought the country a step nearer to civil war. Dred Scott was a negro slave who had been taken by his master, an army surgeon, from Missouri to Fort Snelling in what is now Minnesota, a region from which slavery had been forever excluded by the Missouri Compromise Act of 1820. Scott upon his return to Missouri, after two years' residence at Fort Snelling, brought suit in a State court for the recovery of his freedom, alleging that his residence in free territory had operated to divest him of his slave status. The case, after going through the State courts, the highest of which decided against him, was taken by Scott to the United States Circuit Court, where it was decided that although a citizen with capacity to sue in the courts of the United States, his temporary residence in free territory had not operated to make him a free man. Thereupon Scott's counsel appealed the case to the United States Supreme Court, before which the case was twice argued with great thoroughness and learning. At this time the Court was composed of nine members, as now, five of whom were from the slave States and three from the free States, and all were Democrats except two. The Chief Justice whose name is most closely identified with the decision was Roger B. Taney of Maryland. Taney had first come into public notice as the Secretary of the Treasury who had faithfully served Jackson by removing the deposits from the United States Bank. He had also served Jackson as Attorney General and upon the death of Marshall in 1835 was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. He was an able lawyer, a judge of the strictest integrity, but was an old man now approaching his eightieth year, and doubtless flattered himself that on account of the great respect in which the Court was held the slavery question could be settled by a dictum from that august tribunal.

The principal if not the only question before the Court was whether Scott was a citizen of the United States and therefore

[2] Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," vol. v. p. 431.

capable of bringing a suit in the courts of the United States; that is, it was a question mainly of jurisdiction. The justices easily agreed that Scott was not a citizen of any State and therefore had no standing in the courts, and that the Circuit Court had erred in entertaining jurisdiction of the case. This done, it was unnecessary to pass judgment upon that part of the opinion of the Circuit Court which related to Scott's status as a slave. At first it was agreed that the opinion of the Court should be confined to the necessary questions involved without discussion of any others, but on account of the pressure brought to bear from the outside upon the Southern members of the Court it was decided to pronounce an opinion upon the constitutional question as to whether Congress had authority to exclude slavery from the Territories, as it had undertaken to do by the Missouri Compromise Act of 1820.

The venerable Chief Justice wrote what has often been considered the opinion of the Court, although each judge read a separate opinion of his own. He reviewed at great length the history of the negro race in America, declared that for more than a century negroes had been regarded as beings of an inferior order and altogether unfit to associate with the white race; that they had been regarded as having no rights which the white man was bound to respect; that they were bought and sold like any other article of merchandise and that the whole legislative and judicial history of the country showed plainly that they were not intended to be clothed with the rights and privileges of citizenship. His conclusion on this point, therefore, was, that an African whose ancestors had been imported into this country and sold as slaves could not become a member of the political community with all the rights and privileges of citizens, such as the privilege of bringing suit in the courts of the United States. This was all that was necessary to the decision, but the Chief Justice went on to deliver an *obiter dictum* concerning the power of Congress over slavery in the Territories. On this point he declared that slave property enjoyed the same constitutional protection and guarantees as other property, and that consequently Congress had no more authority to exclude slavery from the Territories than it had to exclude other property. The conclusion from this reasoning was that the Missouri Compromise Act of 1820 was unconstitutional and void and that any citizen could take slaves into any Territory of United States and hold them as such, in spite of any law of Congress or of the Territory

to the contrary notwithstanding. Six other judges concurred in the opinion of Taney that Scott had no standing in the courts, and that the Missouri Compromise Act of 1820 was unconstitutional.

Justices Curtis and McLean dissented and delivered powerful opinions in support of their views. That of Justice Curtis especially deserves notice. It was a learned historical review of the history of slavery and a searching analysis of the questions at issue. He showed to the entire satisfaction of many that at the time the Federal Constitution was adopted free negroes descended from African slaves were not only regarded as citizens in at least five of the thirteen States, but possessed the right of suffrage on equal terms with white citizens. With regard to the power of Congress over slavery in the Territories, he showed with equal force that that power was intended to be plenary, and cited at least eight instances in which it had been exercised by the prohibition of slavery in such regions. Therefore, to hold the Missouri Act void was to reverse the whole theory and practice of the government with regard to slavery in the Territories.

But the opinion of the Chief Justice was now looked upon as the law of the land. The Kansas-Nebraska Act had already modified the Missouri Compromise Act by introducing the squatter sovereignty principle, according to which the people of the Territory concerned might permit or prohibit slavery as they wished; but the opinion of the Chief Justice in the Dred Scott case swept away this doctrine. Henceforth, according to him, the Territories must be thrown open to slavery. Neither Congress nor the people of the Territories could exclude it, but both must afford it the same protection as other property received. It goes without saying that the people of the South were enthusiastic over the decision and the opinion; even Douglas, the indefatigable champion of the now defunct doctrine of squatter sovereignty, endorsed the decision as one worthy of the unqualified approval of all good citizens, and even asserted that the doctrine of squatter sovereignty could be reconciled with it. Among the Republicans and Free Soilers the judgment was a great disappointment and was widely denounced from pulpit and platform, and through the press of the North. The popular opinion of the more moderate anti-slavery people of the North was sententiously expressed by Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, who was then comparatively unknown outside of his State, when he said, "We think the decision is erroneous. We know the

Court that made it has often overruled its own decisions, and we shall do what we can to make it overrule this. But we offer no resistance to it."[3] It should be remembered that there is a very great difference between a decision and an opinion. The former the courts take for precedents, the latter are never considered valid as such. What is often spoken of as the decision in the Dred Scott case is only the opinion of Chief Justice Taney on a point that was not before the Court for adjudication. His decision and that of the court on the one question of law that was before them has never been questioned. His opinion as to the power of Congress over the Territories is not and never was law. Lawyers understood that this question was not settled, but they had an intimation of what would be the attitude of the Court when such a question was presented to it. Lincoln was undoubtedly thinking, not of the decision of the Court, but of Taney's opinion when he uttered the above sentiment. Congress did not interpret the opinion of Taney as a limitation upon its power over the Territories, as is seen by the act of 1862 prohibiting slavery in all the Territories of the United States. The validity of this act was never called in question, and in view of the long series of decisions of similar points it now seems certain that the Supreme Court would have upheld it.

II

KANSAS AGAIN

While the Dred Scott decision had changed somewhat the theoretical situation in Kansas by legalizing slavery within its borders, it did not make Kansas a slave State. It rather had the opposite effect, for it only served to arouse the Free Soil element to renewed efforts to secure the admission of the Territory as a free commonwealth. One of Buchanan's first acts was to appoint Robert J. Walker, formerly a senator from Mississippi, to be governor of Kansas, and in May, 1857, he arrived on the scene only to find, he says, that any idea of making Kansas a slave State was preposterous. The territorial legislature, a majority of whose members were pro-slavery in sympathy, had in October, 1856, ordered the election of delegates to a constitutional convention for June 15,

[3] Nicolay and Hay, "Life of Lincoln," vol. ii. p. 86.

1857. The Free Soil party, fearing that the convention would refuse to submit its work to the voters, and not receiving satisfactory assurance to the contrary, refused to participate in the election of delegates. By a vote of 2,200 out of more than 9,000 registered voters delegates were chosen, and the convention met at Lecompton in September. Early in November it adopted a constitution legalizing property in slaves, which was declared to be "before and higher than any constitutional sanction," and ordered an election at which the people were to be allowed to vote for the "constitution with slavery" or for the "constitution without slavery," but no opportunity to vote for or against the constitution as a whole, thus insuring its adoption in any event. Considering that the constitution contained various provisions for the protection of slave property which would remain unaffected whatever the results of the election, it is no surprise that the Free Soil party denounced the scheme as a subterfuge to secure the adoption of a constitution which sought indirectly to establish slavery. The alternative which was thus presented was like submitting to the ancient test of witchcraft.

Meantime the elections for members of the territorial legislature had occurred and the Free State party had secured a large majority of both Houses. Through the energy and determination of Governor Walker, who stationed troops in various portions of the State, disorder was prevented and for the first time in the history of the Territory a fair election took place, with the exception of frauds in two counties. In both cases pro-slavery candidates were returned as elected, but the frauds were so notorious that the governor gave certificates of election to the Free Soil candidates. It was now certain that they were in a majority throughout the whole State, and that in the course of time they would be able to secure the adoption of a constitution prohibiting slavery outright. The Lecompton scheme was so bare-faced that both Senators Douglas and Walker opposed it, the former denouncing it in the Senate as a sham and a fraud. On December 2 occurred the referendum on the constitution, the Free State party taking no part in it. The vote stood, "For the constitution with slavery," 6,226 (about one-third of which proved to be fraudulent votes); "for the constitution without slavery," 569. Meantime the new legislature with its Free Soil majority had directed that the constitution as a whole be submitted to the voters early in January, 1858. The

result of this election was the defeat of the constitution by a majority of more than ten thousand votes.[4]

The President, however, ignored this unequivocal condemnation of the Lecompton constitution, and early in February sent a copy of it to Congress with a recommendation that Kansas be admitted to the Union under it, saying that it had been legally adopted and that the people had been given an opportunity to vote "for" or "against" slavery — which was all that they could ask for. Governor Walker, convinced that a large majority of the voters of Kansas were opposed to the Lecompton constitution, and disgusted at the conduct of the President in trying to force it upon them against their will, resigned the governorship and left the Territory.[5] The President's recommendation was referred to the Senate Committee on Territories, and three widely differing reports were made. Then a long debate ensued, in the course of which the Northern Democrats, under the lead of Douglas, joined with the Republicans in opposing the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution. But the whole influence of the administration was used to secure the admission of the State under this constitution and a bill for that purpose passed the Senate by a majority of eight votes. In the House the debate was characterized by a frequent display of bad feeling, which occasionally broke out in personal altercations. As in the Senate, three committee reports were made, showing the different shades of opinion existing on the subject. The House passed the bill with an amendment providing for the resubmission of the Lecompton constitution to the people of the State, but the Senate refused to accept the amendment.

Thereupon a conference committee was appointed and a compromise proposed, which was acceptable to both houses and which finally became law through a liberal use of both patronage and money, as was freely charged. This was the so-called English Bill, named from its author, Mr. English, of Indiana, and was in effect an attempt to bribe the people of the Territory into voting for the constitution by the offer of a grant of land. In pursuance of this measure the Lecompton constitution was again submitted to the voters, and of 13,000 votes cast, more than 10,000 were against it. This effectually disposed of the Lecompton constitution, and

[4] Nicolay and Hay, "Life of Lincoln," vol. ii, p. [illegible].

[5] Buchanan, "Administration on the Eve of the Rebellion," p. 42.

Kansas had to wait for a year longer; but in the meantime Minnesota came in to swell the influence of the North in the Senate. One of the significant results of the Kansas struggle had been to create an irreconcilable breach between the Northern and Southern Democrats, which was destined to insure the choice of a Republican President at the next election.

III

THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES

Next to the Kansas troubles the chief interest of the country in 1858 centered in the autumn elections, the first to occur since the accession of James Buchanan. The main issue was the Lecompton policy of the administration, which, as noted, had created great dissension among the Democrats and alienated some of the leaders like Douglas. In all the States of the North and West where elections were held, exciting campaigns followed. But it was particularly to Illinois that the attention of the whole country was directed by reason of the extraordinary campaign which was conducted there, between two remarkable men, for the United States Senatorship. Stephen A. Douglas was a candidate for reelection, and by virtue of his great abilities as well as by his popularity, his success was generally regarded as a foregone conclusion. He was looked upon as the most distinguished citizen of Illinois and the most redoubtable debater in the whole country. On account of his connection with the Kansas-Nebraska Act he had lost much of his popularity in Illinois, but this he had lately recovered in a large measure through his determined stand against the Lecompton constitution. As the leader of the anti-Lecompton Democrats he had won the respect of the Free Soil people of the North, without regard to party, and some of their leaders like Seward and Greeley advised that the Republicans of Illinois should not oppose his reëlection.[6] The Republicans, however, had not forgotten his past record, and having no security for his future conduct they naturally preferred a man concerning whose position there never had been the slightest doubt. They accordingly put forward as their candidate Abraham Lincoln, at the time a Springfield lawyer

[6] Tarbell, "Life of Abraham Lincoln," vol. i. p. 136; Nicolay and Hay, "Life of Lincoln," vol. ii. p. 141.

of hardly more than a local reputation, but who was soon to startle the entire country by his remarkable speeches on the slavery question. It was soon apparent that the Republicans had at last found a man who was the kind of leader they desired and needed. At this point it is well to turn aside for a brief review of the life and character of one of the greatest men that our Republic has produced.

Lincoln was born, February 12, 1809, in Hardin County, Kentucky, of humble parentage, his mother being a woman of strong character and unusual industry, while his father was an ignorant, shiftless man, who belonged to that class of Southern society known as "poor white trash." Lincoln's early years were therefore spent amid surroundings of the most abject poverty and ignorance. When he was in his seventh year his thriftless father moved to a still more primitive region in Indiana in search of newer lands, and here the future President was surrounded by even greater hardships than in Kentucky. Amid these environments young Lincoln grew to manhood. His time was spent in clearing fresh lands, splitting rails and cultivating the soil. He had neither time nor opportunity to attend school, and it is a pathetic fact that his entire schooling hardly exceeded six months in duration. He had, however, an unquenchable thirst for knowledge and eagerly devoured the contents of the few books which he was able to borrow from his neighbors in this backwoods region. Among those which he studied with seriousness were the Bible, "Æsop's Fables," "Robinson Crusoe," the works of Burns and Shakespeare, Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," a "History of the United States" and Weems' "Life of Washington." It is related that on one occasion he was compelled to pull fodder three days to pay for a borrowed book which accidentally got wet while he was using it. He once told a friend that he "read through every book that he had ever heard of in that country for a circuit of fifty miles," and from everything he read he made long extracts with his turkey-buzzard pen and brier-root ink.[1] He learned readily and soon undertook the study of the law from borrowed books, reading over and over the "Revised Statutes of Indiana." It was at this time that he hired out as a "hand" on a flatboat bound for New Orleans, at which place he got his first glimpse of negro slavery, and that, too, under some of its most forbidding aspects.

[1] Tarbell, "Life of Abraham Lincoln," vol. i, p. 30.

The effect was to make him a strong anti-slavery man, and he is said to have declared that if ever opportunity offered he would deal it a blow with all the strength at his command.[8]

Just as Lincoln reached his majority his shiftless father decided to move again farther west in the hope of improving his poor fortune. So packing their possessions in big wagons which were drawn by oxen, they shuffled off the farm for which the elder Lincoln had never paid and started on a journey which lasted fourteen days and entailed no small measure of hardship.[9] They finally stopped at a bluff on the north bank of the Sangamon River in Illinois. Here Lincoln again cleared new lands for his father and split rails with which to enclose them. For a short time he served as clerk in a country store and won notoriety as a good story teller and a first-class wrestler and boxer. In 1831 he was elected captain of a company of Illinois volunteers for service in the Black Hawk War, being sworn in it is said by Jefferson Davis, then a lieutenant in the regular army. After a few months of inactive service Lincoln formed a mercantile partnership with one of his neighbors, but the little store soon failed, leaving him badly in debt. His next venture was as deputy surveyor of the county and postmaster of New Salem, both of which positions he filled with success. In 1834 he was elected to the State legislature as a Whig and was reëlected in 1836. In his twenty-eighth year he moved to Springfield, which had just become the capital of the State, and began the practice of law, but could not resist the temptation of politics to serve another term in the legislature. In 1845 he was elected to Congress as a Whig. In that capacity he opposed the Mexican War as unjust, voted for the Wilmot Proviso forty-two times, and introduced his famous "spot resolutions," affirming that the first blood of the war was shed not upon American, but upon Mexican soil.[10] After the expiration of his term he resumed his law practice and remained in retirement until the agitation over the Kansas-Nebraska Act called him again into the field of politics, this time as a candidate for the United States Senate. Being defeated by a small majority, he again resumed the practice of his profession at Springfield, where he remained until nominated by a State convention in June, 1858, to contest the senatorship with Douglas.

[8] Herndon, "Life of Lincoln," p. 75.
[9] Morse, "Life of Lincoln," vol. i. p. 15.
[10] Tarbell, "Life of Abraham Lincoln," vol. i. p. 212.

In a carefully prepared speech delivered before the convention which nominated him, Lincoln shocked some of the more conservative members of his party by what was then considered a radical protest against slavery. Speaking of the slavery agitation, he declared that "a house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved — I do not expect the house to fall — but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new — North as well as South." [11] This was more advanced ground than any prominent Republican had yet taken, and some of Lincoln's personal friends, to whom he showed a copy of this speech, urged him not to embarrass the party by such radical utterances. But he remained firm, saying that he would rather be defeated with such opinions in his speech than be victorious without them. Referring to the suggestion of Eastern Republicans that the return of Douglas to the Senate be not contested, Lincoln said: "They remind us that he is a great man and that the largest of us are very small ones. Let this be granted. . . . How can he oppose the advance of slavery? He does not care anything about it. . . . For years he has labored to prove it a sacred right of white men to take negro slaves into the new Territories. Can he possibly show that it is less a sacred right to buy them where they can be bought cheapest? He has done all in his power to reduce the whole question of slavery to one of a mere right of property. . . . Our cause must be entrusted to its own undoubted friend . . . who do care for the results. . . . Clearly he [Douglas] is not with us — he does not pretend to be — he does not promise ever to be."

Douglas at once attacked this doctrine of the house-divided against-itself as dangerous and revolutionary. It was, he said, in strange contrast to his own doctrine of the right of the people of each locality concerned to decide the slavery question for themselves. Lincoln, conscious of his own strength as a popular debater, challenged Douglas to a series of joint debates. The chal-

[11] Nicolay and Hay, "Life of Lincoln," vol. ii, p. 137.

lenge was accepted and seven meetings were arranged in different parts of the State. From the same platform the two candidates debated the question of slavery in the presence of popular outdoor audiences, which for numbers and enthusiasm have probably never been excelled in any political campaign in the history of the country. People came in covered wagons and on horseback from places fifty and even a hundred miles distant to hear the speeches. For months the campaign overshadowed everything and the people took little interest in anything else as long as it lasted. At first Douglas had the advantage. His great personal popularity, his social standing, his polished manners, his readiness and experience in debate, his flashing wit, his magnetism and handsome figure, made a favorable impression upon his hearers. He was tireless, alert, combative and ubiquitous. In the whole field of American politics no man has equaled Douglas in the expedients and strategy of debate.[12] Lincoln, on the other hand, possessed few of the graces and gifts of an orator. Tall, gaunt, awkward and ungainly in appearance, and with a shrill, piping voice, he made at first a rather unfavorable impression. But as he warmed up to his subject his voice improved and his gestures became more effective. What he lacked in grace he made up in dry humor, anecdotes, homely illustrations, imagination and a power of lucid statement which carried conviction to the hearts of his hearers. His unswerving logic, fairness of statement, originality, subtlety of definition and poetic fervor raised him to heights which his adversary was unable to attain.

Douglas defended his position with ability, but he had the great disadvantage of advocating a bad cause. This afforded Lincoln the opportunity which enabled him to render his name immortal. No fair-minded person can read the speeches of the two candidates without reaching the conviction that Douglas's arguments were demolished at almost every point by the homely Springfield lawyer. Douglas denied that the equality clause of the Declaration of Independence was ever intended to include the negro race, and he charged his opponent with favoring the political and social equality of the two races. In answer to this Lincoln said, "I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and black races. There is a physical difference between the two which, in my judgment, will probably forever

[12] Nicolay and Hay, "Life of Lincoln," vol. ii. p. 147.

forbid their living together upon the footing of perfect equality, and inasmuch as it becomes a necessity that there must be a superior, I, as well as Judge Douglas, am in favor of the race to which I belong having the superior position. I have never said anything to the contrary; but I hold that notwithstanding all this, there is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence — the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. I hold that he is as much entitled to these as the white man. I agree with Judge Douglas that he is not my equal in many respects. Certainly not in color, perhaps not in moral or intellectual endowment. But in the right to eat the bread which his own hand earns he is my equal, and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man." Concerning Douglas's charge that Lincoln's doctrine about the fate of the divided house was revolutionary, Lincoln declared that his utterance was only a prophecy and that he had not even stated whether he preferred to see the country entirely free or entirely slave.

But it was on the subject of popular sovereignty that Lincoln completely brought his opponent to bay and forced him into a dilemma from which he was unable to extricate himself. Douglas devoted a great part of his speeches to setting forth the merits of popular sovereignty as a peaceful and equitable way of settling the question of slavery in the Territories. During the progress of the debate at Freeport, Lincoln asked him the pointed question: whether the people of a Territory under the Dred Scott decision could, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State constitution?[13] Douglas replied that they could in effect hamper, if not destroy slavery, by failure to enact the necessary police regulations for its protection or by enacting unfriendly legislation against it. Lincoln demonstrated conclusively that slavery could exist without police regulations and had so existed in the early history of the country. As to the enactment of unfriendly legislation he demanded to know by what authority a territorial legislature could do that which the Supreme Court had decided that Congress was powerless to do.[14]

Although Lincoln showed remarkable knowledge of constitu

[13] Tarbell, "Life of Lincoln," vol. i, p. 319.
[14] Nicolay and Hay, "Life of Lincoln," vol. iv, p. 162.

tional law, it was in the discussion of moral principles that he was most effective. Whether slavery was right or wrong was to him of infinitely more consequence than constitutional and legal technicalities. "This is the issue," said he, "that will continue in this country when these poor tongues of Judge Douglas and myself shall be silent. It is the eternal struggle between these two principles — right and wrong — throughout the world. They are the two principles which have stood face to face from the beginning of time and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity, and the other the divine right of kings. No matter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the fruit of their labor, or from one race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle." [15]

The result of this unique and remarkable campaign was the defeat of Lincoln by a few votes, as some of the holdover senators were Douglas men, although the Republican State ticket was successful by a substantial majority. The main cause of his defeat, say his biographers, was the unfairness of the existing apportionment, which did not take into consideration the change of population which had occurred.[16] Lincoln of course was greatly disappointed, but he consoled himself with the thought that the campaign had given him, as he said, a hearing "on the great and durable question of the age" and had enabled him to deal "a few blows in the interest of liberty, which would live long after he was gone." [17] He expected, he said, to sink out of view and be forgotten; but this was not to be, for his speeches had attracted the attention of the entire North and made him a formidable candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

Elsewhere in the North where elections were held the Republicans made large gains at the expense of the administration. In Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, Indiana and Iowa, the whole Northwest and New England the President's Kansas policy was distinctly condemned. In Pennsylvania, the President's own State, the Democrats elected but three members of Congress out of a total of twenty-five, whereas they had fifteen in the existing Congress. Taking the results as a whole the Republicans increased

[15] Morse, "Life of Lincoln," vol. i. p. 146.
[16] Nicolay and Hay, "Life of Lincoln," vol. ii. p. 165.
[17] Tarbell, "Life of Abraham Lincoln," vol. i. p. 323.

their representation in the Senate from 20 to 25 and in the House from 92 to 109, which with the "anti-Lecompton" Democrats would give them control of that House. An incident of the campaign of 1858 which deserves notice was a speech of Senator Seward, delivered at Rochester, in which he described the struggle between slavery and freedom as an "irrepressible conflict." It created the same sort of a sensation which had followed his "higher law" utterance, and, like it, was strongly condemned throughout the South. It was denounced as a fit supplement to Lincoln's "divided house" doctrine and as furnishing additional evidence of the increasing aggressiveness of the Northern abolitionists.[18] In the following year, when an organized and armed attack was attempted by an abolitionist upon slavery in the South, the Southern people were ready to charge it to the utterances of those two prominent anti-slavery leaders.

The results of the autumn elections did not affect the course of the President, and he professed to believe that the situation was gradually improving. In his annual message of December 6 he declared that the dangerous question of slavery, which a year before had threatened the peace and perpetuity of the Union, no longer existed. With regard to his Kansas policy, which had been so strongly censured at the late elections, he attained that the contemplation of no official act of his long public life had ever afforded him more heart-felt satisfaction than his recommendation for the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution.[19] "Had the Free State people of the Territory," he said, "yielded obedience to the laws, and had Congress admitted Kansas under the Lecompton constitution, a condition of peace and prosperity would have settled down over this unhappy region." He showed that he had not forgotten his old-time love for Cuba, and accordingly recommended the purchase of the island and asked Congress for an appropriation in advance of the beginning of negotiations. A bill appropriating thirty million dollars for the purpose was reported from a committee of the Senate, but on account of the determined opposition among the Northern senators it was dropped.

[18] Bancroft, "Life of Seward," vol. [illegible], p. 461.
[19] "Messages of President Buchanan," p. [illegible]

IV

THE OBERLIN-WELLINGTON RESCUE AND THE JOHN BROWN RAID

In the following year there occurred two events which stirred the South to unusual depths and furnished still further evidence of the growing chasm between the two sections. The first of these was a flagrant violation of the Fugitive Slave Law in Ohio by a mob of respectable citizens, composed partly of professors and students of Oberlin College. This institution was widely known as an important station on the "underground railroad" and for its radical anti-slavery sympathies and associations. It was called by its friends an asylum for the oppressed, while in the South it was stigmatized as a hot-bed of abolitionism. A fugitive slave who once reached its portals was sure of finding friends and if he wished transportation to Canada it was cheerfully and quickly provided.

In September, 1858, a runaway slave was captured near Oberlin and taken to Wellington, nine miles distant, for hearing before a United States commissioner. Before the trial a large crowd, partly armed, marched to Wellington, took the negro from the authorities by whom he was held and allowed him to escape. Some forty persons, including several of the Oberlin professors and students, were indicted by the grand jury for violating the act of 1850, and the trials took place amid the greatest excitement. Prominent attorneys volunteered to defend the accused without charge, and manifestations of sympathy upon the part of the community were almost without limit. But the law was so plain and the offense so flagrant that those arraigned were easily convicted. Intense excitement was created throughout the Western Reserve, public meetings were held at many places, and speeches were made and resolutions adopted denouncing slavery in general and the Fugitive Slave Law in particular. In the meantime the grand jury had found indictments for unlawful kidnaping against those who were attempting to reclaim the fugitive. This complicated the situation, and after lengthy negotiations the State authorities agreed to dismiss the indictments provided the United States should release the prisoners who had not yet been tried. The whole affair created great excitement in Ohio and aroused general indignation throughout the South. It afforded further evidence that there were parts of the North where it was impossible to execute the Fugitive Slave Law.

The other event, which proved of far more significance, was the attempted raid of John Brown into Virginia for the purpose of freeing the slaves by armed force. After the Ossawatomie massacre Brown had left Kansas under a ban of outlawry and wandered from place to place, apparently without any settled purpose, but as we know now he was organizing an expedition against the South. He professed to believe that he had a divine commission to destroy slavery by whatever methods could be devised, whether violent or peaceful, and that God would give the victory to those who should consecrate their lives to the service.[20] Academic discussions of the slavery question, he said, would never strike the root of the evil. What was needed was action, and heroic action at that. His plan was to take possession of some easily defended place in the mountains of Virginia, and with a small band of trusted followers make raids into the adjacent country, striking terror into the minds of the slaveholders and compelling them to flee, leaving their slaves behind. The raising of his standard in the South, he believed, would be followed by a general uprising of the slaves against their masters and a flocking of negroes to his own camp. As a result his forces would soon be sufficiently strong to enable him to extend his operations into the heart of the South and defy the opposition of the slaveholders.

When Brown unfolded the details of this mad scheme to some of the noted abolitionists whose friendship he enjoyed, they advised strongly against it, as being both impracticable and wicked.[21] It was by no means certain, they said, that the slaves would flock to his standard to any great extent, and that in any case he would find himself surrounded on all sides by enemies and be speedily destroyed. Unable to dissuade him from his purpose, however, they decided not to desert such an unselfish foe of slavery. His abolitionist friends raised more than four thousand dollars to enable him to purchase arms, ammunition and other necessary supplies for the expedition. Seven hundred and fifty dollars of this was contributed by Gerrit Smith of New York, one thousand by George P. Stearns, a Boston merchant, and a considerable sum by Benjamin H. Sanborn. The few followers whom he had organized were assembled, instructed and directed from time to time,

[20] Von Holst, "Constitutional History," vol. vii, p. 20.
[21] Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. ii, p. 302.

after which they were dismissed subject to his call. With the money supplied him by the abolitionists Brown purchased two hundred Sharpe rifles, as many revolvers and one thousand pikes, the latter weapons to be placed in the hands of the slaves, who were expected to run to his aid.

Having selected Harper's Ferry, Virginia, for the point of descent upon slavery, Brown assembled his men upon a farm which he had rented, five miles distant, collected his arms, and on Sunday night, October 16, 1859, with eighteen of his followers, seized the railroad bridge, the United States arsenal and other public buildings, and arrested the watchman and guards and captured a number of citizens, who were held as hostages. A negro porter who refused to obey Brown's command was shot and killed. To Brown's surprise no slaves came to his aid, and before he had time to extend his sphere of operations the adjacent country had been aroused, people were swarming into the town and militia companies were on the way to capture the invaders. Instead of retreating to the mountains, Brown and his band barricaded themselves in the engine-house and prepared to defend themselves. Here they were attacked by the militia and most of their number killed. On Tuesday morning a company of United States marines under the command of Colonel Robert E. Lee forced an entrance into the engine-house by means of a battering-ram and captured the few remaining survivors, among whom was Brown.

The excitement which the affair created throughout the country is difficult to describe. The accounts were at first exaggerated, it being reported that a large number of citizens had been killed; that the slaves in the adjoining country had risen in revolt and that the community was in danger of the horrors of a negro massacre. More authentic news soon came, but viewed in its best light the affair still seemed to the South to be so wicked and murderous as to be almost inconceivable. The charge was at once made that Brown's purpose was to incite a slave insurrection in the South, with all its attendant horrors, involving the massacre of innocent children and the outrage of Southern white women. And what was more inconceivable, Brown had been supported by prominent and respectable people of the North. The affair created a profound sensation throughout the North and aroused consternation among the abolitionists who had supplied Brown with money and with whom, it was well known, he had been in consultation.

Gerrit Smith, the most conspicuous of these, lost his mind, while several others fled to Canada. A strong effort was made to implicate some of the prominent Republican leaders, but a thorough investigation by a Senate committee, of which Senator John Y. Mason of Virginia was chairman, failed to discover any evidence that any of them had the slightest knowledge of Brown's intentions.[22]

Brown was speedily indicted by a Virginia grand jury, and while still suffering from his wounds was arraigned for trial on the charge of treason and conspiring and adhering with slaves and others to rebellion and murder. The State supplied him with counsel, while eminent lawyers from the North appeared in his defense. There could be but one result. John Brown was found guilty after a fair trial, and on December 2, 1859, was hanged at Charlestown in the presence of a large crowd of spectators, including fifteen hundred Virginia militiamen. He expressed satisfaction at the fairness of his trial, denied that he had ever intended to incite the slaves to insurrection or to take life or destroy property, and asserted that his only purpose was to free the slaves. Whether the latter was a crime or not, he said, depended upon whether it was right to obey the laws of God or of man. He declared on the gallows his belief that the slavery question would never be settled except by the shedding of blood. He asserted that he felt no regret for any act he had done, and was happy to give his life for the cause of freedom. His conduct between the date of his capture and that of the execution, as well as the manner in which he met his death, were of singular dignity and called forth many expressions of admiration from the Virginians who witnessed the tragic end.

The fate of John Brown was such as any one must have expected. It was what his friends had told him it would be. Nevertheless profound sympathy for him was expressed throughout the North, and on the day of his execution religious services were held at many places, church bells were tolled, buildings were draped, flags lowered to half-mast, and other manifestations of public sorrow were to be seen on every hand. The Massachusetts senate came within three votes of adjourning out of respect to the day, and large memorial meetings were held at many places, at which eulogies were pronounced glorifying Brown's deeds and

[22] Nicolay and Hay, "Life of Lincoln," vol. ii, p. 210.

comparing him [23] to Christ, the Christian martyrs and the apostles. Nothing could illustrate better the incompatibility of thought and feeling among the people of the North and the South at this time than the manner in which each viewed the character and deeds of John Brown. The prevailing Southern opinion was that expressed by Jefferson Davis, when he described the affair as "the invasion of a State by a murderous gang of abolitionists, whose purpose was to incite slaves to murder helpless women and children, and for which he met and deserved a felon's death"; while Pollard, the Southern historian, pronounced him a notorious horse-thief and an assassin, and declared that his deeds were but the logical result of Seward's "higher law" doctrine.[24] The Northern eulogy of Brown was inconceivable to the Southern people, and it seemed impossible for the masses of them to appreciate the distinction between demonstrations in approval of Brown's deeds and those in commiseration of his fate. For those who sympathized with one who was so wicked as to invoke the slaves to massacre innocent children and outrage women they felt a hatred as eternal as virtue itself. Nothing could have done more to unite the entire South against the North. It convinced the people of the South that thenceforth there must be a solidarity of interest among all classes — large slaveholders, small slaveholders and non-slaveholders alike — that all must stand together to resist a common danger.[25] The liberty of the slave was curtailed by more stringent police regulations, and military preparations were at once begun to resist future invasions of the John Brown type. This feeling was exemplified by the action of the Mississippi legislature, in appropriating $150,000 almost without a dissenting vote, and even without referring the measure to a committee, for the purpose of arming the militia of the State.[26]

V

ELECTION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN AS PRESIDENT

When the new Congress met in December, 1859, evidences of increasing sectional hostility were manifest from the start, neither

[23] See Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. ii. p. 414.
[24] Pollard, "The Lost Cause," p. 70.
[25] Burgess, "The Middle Period," p. 44.
[26] Garner, "Reconstruction in Mississippi," p. 4.

party having a majority in the House. A prolonged contest for the election of Speaker ensued, which exceeded in bitterness anything that had ever occurred. John Sherman, of Ohio, the Republican candidate, received a plurality of the votes cast, but the opposition to him was so strong that he was never able to command a majority, and after a contest lasting two months the honor finally went to William Pennington of New Jersey. Sherman was made the object of a bitter attack by the Democratic members and was declared to be unfit for the office of Speaker because of his having endorsed a book which had just appeared and which had aroused intense indignation in the South.[27] This book was "The Impending Crisis," by Hinton Rowan Helper, a young North Carolinian, who represented the middle class of the South. It was a severe arraignment of the system of slavery, chiefly from the economic point of view, but unfortunately was written in language often so violent as to lead the slaveholders to regard it as incendiary. The slaveowners were described as "oligarchs," "slavocrats," "lords of the lash," etc., and were denounced unsparingly for alleged ill-treatment of the slaves. "Oligarchical despotism," he declared, "must be overthrown and slavery must be abolished." Helper's main thesis was that the abolition of slavery would result in the material improvement of the South by fostering commerce and manufactures. It was the system of slavery, he argued, that had kept the South behind the North in educational, literary and industrial development. He proposed to secure abolition through the political organization of the non-slaveholders, who constituted a majority in most of the States, get control of the State governments, and by means of hostile legislation force the slaveholders to emancipate their negroes. His arguments certainly contained food for reflection, and had they been set forth in more temperate language the book would have probably aroused little opposition and accomplished some good.

However this may be, it afforded occasion for a bitter and excited discussion of the whole question of slavery and led to stormy scenes in Congress, in the course of which Helper, Sherman and John Brown in particular were attacked, as well as the whole body of abolitionists in general. Some members were denounced by their colleagues as traitors, others as negro thieves and others as cowards. Personal altercations in which many members from

[27] Sherman, "Recollections," vol. i. pp. 169–177.

both sides were ready to participate sometimes occurred, and several challenges to fight duels were sent.[28] At times excited members stood up shaking their fists at the other side, daring them to come across the aisle and utter their threats. Members went to their seats armed and the crack of a pistol followed by a bloody encounter would have been no surprise during these exciting days. The Southern members taunted their Northern colleagues with being cowards for refusing to accept challenges, while the latter retorted with the assertion that the Southerners were but blustering bullies and their threats gasconade. Commercial relations between the two sections were well-nigh broken off, travel and social intercourse were likewise almost at an end, while the air was filled with threats of secession. Such were some of the evidences of the threatened disruption of the Republic in 1860 when the great contest for the election of a chief magistrate drew near and claimed the attention of the people.

The first of the national conventions to assemble for the nomination of its candidates for President and Vice President was that of the Democratic party, which met at Charleston, April 23. The selection of Charleston for the place of meeting proved to be unfortunate for the Northern Democrats, between whom and those of the South a breach now seemed inevitable. The delegates from the North and West were strongly for Douglas, but the latter's opposition to the administration's Kansas policy had alienated the Southern Democrats, so that at last the party had divided on the slavery question. Jefferson Davis, the leader of the Southern Democracy, early in February had introduced into the Senate a series of resolutions declaring that any citizen had the right to emigrate to the Territories with his slaves, and that it was the duty of the national government to protect such slaves just as other property from the unfriendly legislation of Congress or of the Territories.[29] At last the Southern Democrats had advanced from the position of congressional non-intervention, as regards slavery in the Territories, to its logical sequence — congressional protection. At the same time Davis served notice on Douglas that if he wished Southern support at the approaching national convention he would have to stand upon a platform containing this declaration.

[28] Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. ii. pp. 420–424.
[29] "Congressional Globe" for 1860, p. 935.

The Southern Democrats, reinforced by the delegations of two Western States, were able to secure a majority on the platform committee. After wrangling several days and nights over the slavery question the committee reported that it was unable to agree upon a declaration of principles. The majority declared for a platform containing the substance of Davis's resolutions on the slavery question, while the minority reported one which affirmed that the Democratic party would abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court so far as rights of property in the Territories were concerned. The difference of principle involved in the two declarations was apparently so shadowy and unimportant that it seems as if the sensible men of the convention might have compromised on a principle acceptable to both sides. After a long debate on the reports, in the course of which the eloquent Yancey, the master spirit of the convention and sometimes called the Wendell Phillips of the South, told the Northern Democrats that they differed but little from abolitionists, the platform of the Northern wing (minority) was adopted by a majority of 27 votes.[39] Pugh of Ohio replied for the Northern Democrats. He resented the attempts of the Southern leaders to dictate the policy of the party and compel the Northern members to obey. "Gentlemen of the South," he said, "you mistake us — we will not do it." Thereupon the chairman of the Alabama delegation rose and formally announced that the delegates from his State would withdraw, which they promptly did, followed by those of Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, Florida, Texas and Arkansas, the chairman of each delivering a brief farewell as they withdrew. It was a solemn scene, created a profound impression and marked the beginning of the end.

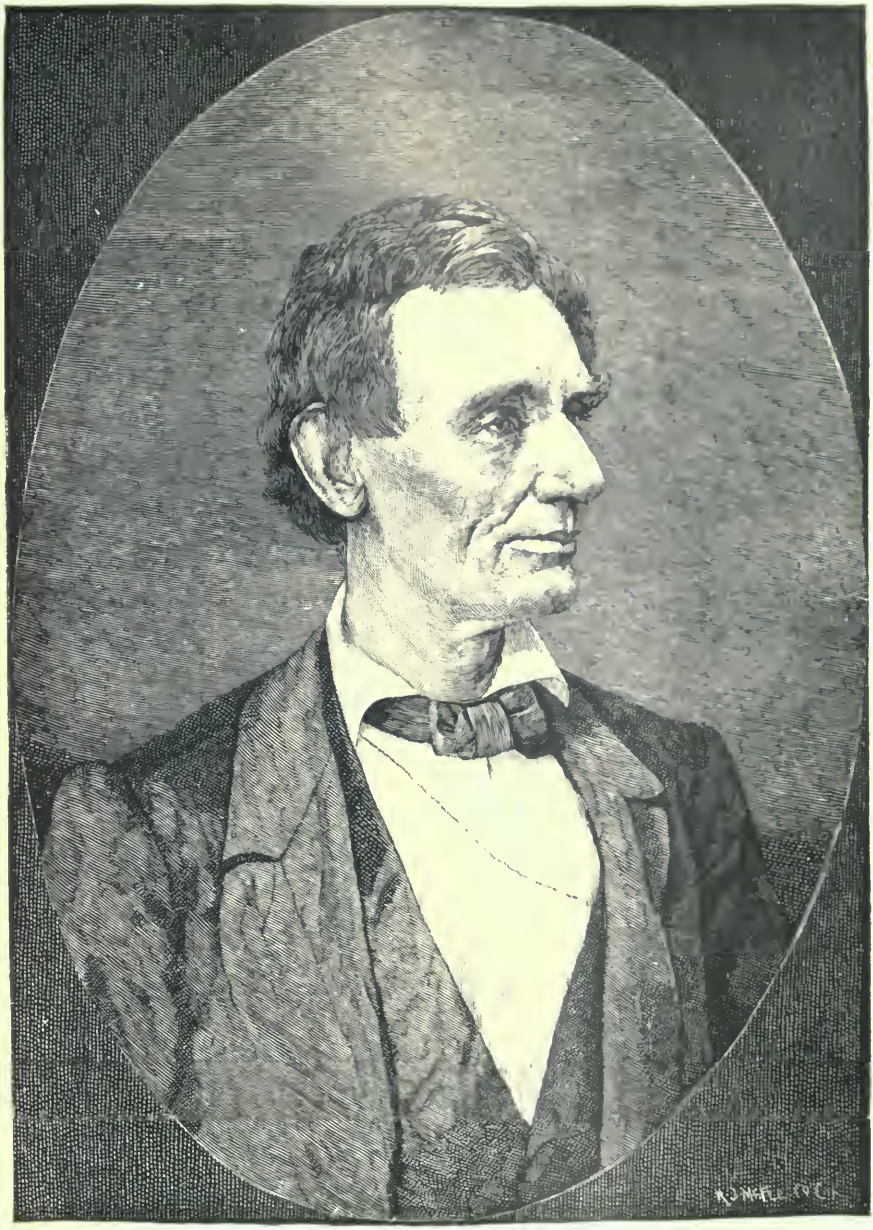
The remaining delegates on the following day proceeded with the work of nominating a candidate, Douglas leading all others, but, on account of the two-thirds rule, never able to receive enough to secure his nomination. Finally, on the tenth day of the session, the convention adjourned to meet again at Baltimore on June 18. Meantime those who had withdrawn assembled and agreed to meet on the same day in the city of Richmond. The disruption of the Democratic party, which had enjoyed a vigorous and successful life for thirty years, had at last occurred and it was now practically certain that the government it had controlled so long would soon pass into the keeping of another party.

[39] Read Brown, "The Orator of Secession," in his "Lower South," ch. ii.

On May 9 a convention calling itself the representatives of the Constitutional Union Party met at Baltimore and nominated John Bell of Tennessee for President and Edward Everett of Massachusetts for Vice President. This party was made up of the remnant of old-line Whigs, a body of able, conservative and respectable men. They adopted a platform the substance of which was embodied in the epigram: "The Constitution of the country, the Union of the States and the enforcement of the laws." Their presidential nominee was a statesman of long experience, who had opposed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the Lecompton scheme. Everett was one of the most accomplished scholars and orators of the country. But notwithstanding the platform on which Bell stood as a candidate, a year later we find him in the Confederate ranks, while his associate, Everett, was supporting the Union.

While the Democrats were brooding over the disruption of their party the Republican National Convention, full of hope and enthusiasm, assembled in the growing city of Chicago, which had been selected as the meeting place of the convention in recognition of the growing power and importance of the West. It is estimated that between thirty and forty thousand visitors from outside the city were present and took part in the demonstrations for one or the other of the candidates. For the first time in the history of national conventions a great "wigwam," with a capacity of 10,000, had been especially built for the accommodation of the delegates and visitors, although the crowd was so great that fully 20,000 were unable to gain entrance. The general impression was that Seward would receive the nomination, with possible chances in favor of Chase, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Dayton of New Jersey and Bates of Missouri.[31] Seward's prominence in the party and his acknowledged ability both pointed in this direction. He had long been in public life, had been governor of the greatest State of the Union and had nearly completed a second term in the United States Senate. He was a consummate politician and a profound statesman. But there were serious objections on the ground of "availability," the most important of which was his weakness in the doubtful States. His "higher law" and "irrepressible conflict" utterances, as has already been stated, had given the impression that he was too radical to make a popular candidate in New Jersey, Pennsylvania,

[31] Bancroft, "Life of Seward," vol. i. p. 536.



A. Lincoln

Indiana or Illinois, and the votes of at least two of these States would be necessary to elect a Republican candidate.

Another man who had lately sprung into the field as a candidate was Abraham Lincoln of Illinois. Some of his speeches in the campaign against Douglas in 1858 had been published in the Eastern newspapers, and had gained for him the admiration of the Eastern Republicans, but scarcely any of them thought of him as a suitable presidential candidate. Early in 1860, upon invitation, Lincoln made a speech to a large and representative gathering at Cooper Union in the city of New York. It was pronounced by some of those who heard it as the best political speech on the slavery question that had ever been made in the history of the country. "Since the days of Clay and Webster," said the *Tribune* the morning after the speech, "no man has spoken to a larger assemblage of the intellect and mental culture of our city. No man ever made such an impression in his first appeal to a New York audience."[32] At any rate it made a strong impression upon the people of the metropolis. It was soon followed by others delivered at various places throughout New England, and the reception which Lincoln received everywhere in the East was remarkable. The New England people experienced no little surprise in finding a Western politician, an unlettered frontiersman, who could not only assemble plain, strong words into fresh and attractive phraseology, but maintain a clear, sustained, convincing argument equal in force and style to the best examples in their college text-books.[33] Early in May the Illinois State convention at Decatur formally nominated him for the Presidency amid tremendous enthusiasm. With this endorsement he set to work in earnest to secure the nomination from the national convention. His local followers in large numbers were organized and sent to Chicago to arouse enthusiasm by loud hurrahs and to create demonstrations at the appropriate time.

The platform adopted by the convention eulogized the Union as the palladium of our liberties; declared that the rights of the States should be preserved inviolate; repudiated the Dred Scott decision as a dangerous political heresy; denounced the John Brown affair as the gravest of crimes; arraigned Buchanan's Kansas policy; denied the right of Congress or of a territorial legislature to

[32] Nicolay and Hay, "Life of Lincoln," vol. ii, p. 221.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 226.

give legal existence to slavery in any Territory; and denounced the Democratic doctrine of popular sovereignty as a fraud and a deception. These declarations were adopted by the convention with great enthusiasm and unanimity, although there were delegates present from half a dozen slave States. During these proceedings Lincoln's managers were working zealously for his nomination. To secure the support of the delegates from Indiana, Missouri and Pennsylvania, all three of which States had their favorite sons, liberal promises were made of Cabinet appointments, although Lincoln was telegraphing from Springfield to his managers, "make no bargains that will bind me." His managers had also filled the galleries with men who shouted lustily for "Old Abe," the rail-splitter, whenever opportunity offered. On the first ballot Seward led by a considerable plurality. On the second ballot Seward gained 11 votes, while Lincoln gained 79. On the third ballot Lincoln was nominated and the announcement was followed by thunders of applause, tremendous cheers and the boom of cannon. Seward's supporters were filled with gloom and disappointment, for they felt that the party had not been true to itself in rejecting him whom they all regarded as their ablest and most deserving leader. For Vice President, Hannibal Hamlin of Maine was nominated and the convention adjourned, after having accomplished its work with speed and harmony.

The day after the nomination of Lincoln the Democratic convention, or rather that part of it which was left after the withdrawal of the delegates from the far South, reassembled at Baltimore to undertake again the work which it had been unable to accomplish at Charleston. Reconciliation between the factions proved impossible and a new secession of delegates from the border States followed after five days of wrangling. The remaining delegates nominated Douglas for President and Senator Fitzpatrick of Alabama for Vice President. Fitzpatrick declining, Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia was substituted in his stead. The seceders from the Charleston convention, joined by those from the Baltimore convention, met in another building and nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky for President and Joseph Lane of Oregon for Vice President, on a platform demanding protection for slavery in the Territories. The division of the Democratic party now insured its own defeat; but as there were four candidates in the field it was not at all certain that Lincoln would receive a majority of all

the votes cast, as required by the Constitution. It was even feared by the Republicans that the election would finally be thrown into the House, in which case one of the Democratic candidates might be chosen.

An enthusiastic and in some respects a picturesque campaign ensued. Rousing meetings of "Wide Awakes," at which fence rails occupied conspicuous places, were held everywhere throughout the North, and the virtues of "Old Abe" were extolled by hundreds of speakers. As the campaign progressed the people of the South saw plainly that the result could be none other than the election of Lincoln. They complained bitterly of the sectional character of the Republican ticket and declared frankly that in the event of the election of the "Black Republican" candidate the "honor and safety" of the Southern States would require their withdrawal from the Union. Not only this, but their leaders declared openly, as they had done in 1856, only with more emphasis, that in the event of a Republican victory the South would secede. Most of the Northern people treated these threats as mere bluster, but those who better understood the Southern character knew that they were made in earnest. Efforts were made to bring about a union of Lincoln's opponents by fusion, but in vain. When the returns were known it was found that Lincoln had carried every free State except New Jersey, and had received four of the seven votes of that State. Douglas received only the electoral votes of Missouri and three from New Jersey. Bell received those of Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee, while Breckinridge carried the remaining vote; Lincoln's vote was 180; that of the other three candidates aggregated 103. Of the total popular vote, however, Lincoln received considerably less than one half.

At last the party opposed to slavery, which in 1840, under the name of the Liberty Party, cast only 7,000 votes, had gained control of the government, while the party which had ruled the country with only brief interruptions since the election of Jefferson had fallen from power, and many a year was destined to pass before it should again elect a chief magistrate of the Republic. The people of the South were hardly surprised at the result, but they were filled with disappointment and sorrow. It remained now to see if they were ready to carry into execution their resolves made before the election and secede from the Union.

Chapter XXVIII

SECESSION OF THE SOUTHERN STATES

1860–1861

REUBEN DAVIS, a member of Congress from Mississippi in 1860, relates that when the news of Lincoln's election reached Washington members from the South purchased long-range rifles to take home with them, and some rejoiced that the end was near.[1] In all the cotton States the political leaders at once made ready to carry out the secession threats which they had uttered during the presidential campaign. As was to be expected, South Carolina took the initiative. As early as 1852 she had, through a convention, declared emphatically in favor of the constitutional right of a State to withdraw from the Union at will without hindrance or molestation from any authority whatsoever.[2] Of all the slave States her people were the most enthusiastic in favor of a Southern Confederacy, and her statesmen were the most pronounced advocates of disunion.

The State legislature, which had assembled at Columbia the day before the election for the purpose of choosing presidential electors, remained in session, upon the advice of the governor, to await the news of the result, so as to be ready to take such action as the situation demanded. When the news of Lincoln's election came, the populace broke forth in cheers for a Southern Confederacy, the Federal judge and the Federal attorney for the District of South Carolina promptly telegraphed their resignations to Washington and a meeting of enthusiastic citizens at Charleston memorialized the legislature to order a State convention for the purpose of considering South Carolina's relations with the United States. The legislature promptly complied with the popular mandate by a unanimous vote, and its action was followed by a remarkable outburst of enthusiasm upon the part of the citizens of the State. At Charleston, in particular, fireworks and illuminations, the display of palmetto flags, the raising of liberty poles,

[1] Davis, "Recollections of Mississippi," p. 380.

[2] See Cluskey, "Political Text-Book," p. 554, for copy of the ordinance.

torchlight processions, booming cannon and martial music, all gave evidence of the popular endorsement of the action of the legislature in calling a convention. The resignation, at this juncture, of South Carolina's senators in Congress contributed further to the general rejoicing. There seems to have been but one sentiment in the State on the all-absorbing question of the hour, and that was the immediate duty of the people to prepare for secession. No other course, it was declared, was consistent with the honor and welfare of the commonwealth, and if there were any who believed otherwise their views were not made known.

On December 17 the convention met at Columbia, but soon adjourned to Charleston, on account of a smallpox epidemic. The convention was composed of the most distinguished men of the State, ex-governors, judges, lawyers, business men, and wealthy planters. On the 20th it adopted, by a unanimous vote, an ordinance repealing the ordinance of South Carolina of 1788, by which the Federal Constitution was adopted, and dissolving the "union now subsisting between South Carolina and the other States, under the name of the United States of America." The popular demonstrations which had followed the action of the legislature in calling the convention were tame as compared with those which now took place. As the news spread, the city went wild with delight. Bells pealed forth the glad tidings and the echoes of booming cannon filled the air. Soon the streets were alive with thronging multitudes, who cheered until they were hoarse, and men thanked God that South Carolina was at last an independent republic. Cockades and palmetto flags appeared everywhere and signs of rejoicing were almost without limit. Apparently not a voice of dissent was raised by any living soul. So far as South Carolina was concerned, it was a spontaneous, enthusiastic and unanimous movement, and certainly no one can say, as was said of the secession movement in some of the other States, that it was not a reflection of the popular will.[3]

After passing the ordinance of secession, the convention adopted resolutions authorizing the governor to appoint customs officers and postmasters for the State, and prescribing the form of an official oath of allegiance to the constitution of the State. A "Declaration of the causes which justify the secession of South

[3] For a good account of the popular enthusiasm, see Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. iii. p. 109

Carolina from the Federal Union" was then adopted. This declaration asserted that the Union being a compact in which there was no common arbiter in cases of dispute, and the States of the North having, in the judgment of South Carolina, failed to keep their part of the agreement, she was left free to withdraw from the compact at will. Fifteen States, the declaration continued, had for years past deliberately refused to fulfill their constitutional obligations by passing laws which prevented the rendition of fugitive slaves and by placing every obstacle in the way of the enjoyment of the South of her constitutional rights. "These States," it continued, "have assumed the right of deciding upon the propriety of our domestic institutions; they have denied the rights of property established in fifteen of the States and recognized by the Constitution; they have denounced as sinful the institution of slavery; they have permitted the open establishment among them of societies whose avowed object is to disturb the peace and destroy the property of the citizens of other States; they have encouraged and assisted thousands of our slaves to leave their homes; and those who remain have been incited by emissaries, books, and pictures to servile insurrection." The declaration further asserted that the agitation against slavery had continued with increasing bitterness for twenty-five years, "until at last the agitators had succeeded in electing a President whose opinions and purposes were hostile to slavery and who had publicly declared that the Union could not endure permanently half slave and half free." [4]

On the same day on which the declaration of grievances was adopted the convention adopted an address to the people of the slave-holding States, declaring that all confidence in the North was past, and inviting them to join South Carolina in forming a confederacy of the slaveholding States. On the same day also the governor issued a proclamation declaring South Carolina to be a "separate, sovereign, free, and independent State," with the right to levy war, conclude peace, negotiate treaties, and do all acts whatsoever that rightfully appertain to a free and independent State. Ordinances were then adopted by the convention for the dispatch of commissioners to the other slaveholding States, to invite their coöperation in the formation of a Southern Confederacy; for transferring to the legislature the powers formerly exercised by Congress, and to the State courts the former jurisdiction of the

[4] "Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia," for 1861, p. 651.

Federal courts; for authorizing the governor to appoint and receive ambassadors and ministers, and for making provisional arrangements for the administration of the customs service.

The convention adjourned on January 5. During all this time the legislature had continued in session, but transacted no business of importance until after the adjournment of the convention. Now that the latter had dissolved, the legislature proceeded to put the State on a war footing, adopted a flag for the State, unanimously passed a resolution declaring that any attempt by the Federal government to reënforce the forts in Charleston harbor would be considered an act of hostility, and passed an act to stay the collection of all debts due from citizens of South Carolina to citizens of the non-slaveholding States. It was clear from these proceedings that the secession movement had passed beyond the stage of bluster and threat. The thoroughness and unanimity with which the South Carolinians had gone about their work created a profound impression in the North, while it received the general approval of the people of the States of the far South.

Hardly behind South Carolina in the secession movement was Mississippi. The events of the last ten years had marked the almost total disappearance of the strong Union sentiment which, as we have seen, had led the State convention of 1851 to declare that the alleged right of secession was wholly unsanctioned by the Constitution.[5] Shortly after Lincoln's election the governor called an extraordinary session of the legislature, which promptly ordered the election of delegates to a convention to be held at Jackson, January 7, for the purpose of adopting "such measures for vindicating the government of the State and the protection of its institutions as shall appear to be demanded." The legislature at the same time authorized the governor to appoint commissioners to visit the other slave States and inform them of the action of Mississippi and to invite their coöperation in the adoption of efficient measures for their defense and safety. These commissioners at once proceeded to the various Southern capitals, where they were formally received by the legislatures and executives. To the legislatures in joint session they delivered their messages and made stirring appeals for the united action of all the slave States in the great revolution which was about to be inaugurated. The convention which met at Jackson, January 7, was practically unani

[5] Claiborne's "Life of John A. Quitman," vol. [illegible] xii.

mous in favor of secession, although about one-third of the delegates favored making the operation of the ordinance of secession contingent upon the joint coöperation of a certain number of other slave States. As against the North, they were all united and in favor of resistance, differing among themselves only as to the expediency of acting without the coöperation of the other States. On January 9 an ordinance similar to that of South Carolina was adopted by a vote of 84 to 15.[6] A few days later the Mississippi senators and representatives in Congress took formal leave of their respective houses and returned to Mississippi; the United States district judge for Mississippi forwarded his resignation to the President, and the Mississippians in the army of the United States surrendered their commissions and returned home to enter the service of the State. United States marshals, postmasters, and land officers were requested by the convention to continue in the discharge of their duties and to render an account to the sovereign State of Mississippi. Although the people of the State were not given an opportunity to vote for or against the ordinance of secession, it seems to have met the general approval of the entire commonwealth. On the night following the adoption of the ordinance the State capital was brilliantly illuminated and "the Bonnie Blue Flag" was sung for the first time in a Jackson theater by its author, who had witnessed the drama of secession. One of the returning members of Congress relates that the rejoicing was so great that he was rarely out of the sound of booming cannon from the time he entered the State until he reached his journey's end.

In the other slave States the procedure of withdrawal was essentially the same as in South Carolina and Mississippi, although in hardly any of them was the unanimity of sentiment so great. In Georgia, in particular, a strong Union feeling existed and an energetic effort was made by some of the old Whig leaders to stay the secession movement. The leader of this sentiment was Alexander H. Stephens, long a representative in Congress, one of the leaders of the Georgia bar, and soon to become the Vice President of the Southern Confederacy. He made a speech before the legislature of Georgia in which he declared that the grievances of the Southern people were not such as to justify the disruption of the Union which our fathers had established; he asserted that since the establishment of the Republic Southern men had held a

[6] "Convention Journal," p. 16.

majority of the high executive, judicial, and administrative offices of the nation, in virtue of which they had largely shaped the policies of the government to suit themselves; that, moreover, the election of no man, constitutionally chosen to the Presidency, was sufficient cause for any State to separate from the Union, and to withdraw for such a cause would put the State in the wrong. The only substantial grievance, he asserted, which the South had was the personal liberty laws of some of the Northern States, which had been passed for the purpose of throwing obstacles in the way of the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law. This grievance, he thought, could be redressed in the Union, and he therefore appealed to the legislature to exhaust every other remedy before resorting to secession. "Let the fanatics of the North," he said, "break the Constitution, let not the South be the one to commit the aggression." "Whatever fate is to befall this country, let it never be laid to the people of the South that we were untrue to our national engagements. If the Republic is to go down, let us be found to the last moment standing on deck with the Constitution of the United States waving over our heads." [7]

This speech attracted wide attention throughout the country and was regarded as the most convincing argument against the expediency of the immediate secession that ever emanated from the mind of any Southern man. Stephens and his followers bestirred themselves to secure the election of delegates who were opposed to immediate secession, but without success. The people, he said, were wild with passion and had gone mad on the subject of secession, knowing not what they did. On January 19 the ordinance of secession was adopted, but there were 80 delegates who voted against it. All except six members, however, signed the ordinance, and pledged their services to the defense of the State. Ordinances of secession were adopted in Florida on January 10, by a vote of 62 to 7; in Alabama on January 11, by a vote of 61 to 39; in Louisiana on January 26, by a vote of 113 to 17, the popular vote in favor of immediate secession being 20,448 to 17,296 against it; in Texas on February 1, by a vote of 166 to 7. The current of secession now stopped and no further withdrawals followed until after the inauguration of Lincoln's policy of "coercion."

In all the seven States which had thus far seceded the methods of procedure were the same, except in the case of Texas. The

[7] Stephens, "War Between the States," vol. ii. p. 279.

governor of that State was the veteran General Sam Houston, the father of the Texas Republic and a staunch Union man. He refused to call an extraordinary session of the legislature in accordance with the demands of the secessionists, whereupon they issued an unofficial call themselves. In this irregular manner the legislature was assembled, a convention was called, scarcely one-half the counties of the State taking any part in the election of delegates, and an ordinance of secession was adopted. In order to atone for this irregularity, it was decided to submit the ordinance to the voters of the State for their approval or disapproval, and it was adopted by a vote of 34,794 to 11,235. The voters virtually had no choice, however, since the convention had already decided to join the Confederacy and had elected delegates to the Confederate congress. Before the convention adjourned it declared the office of governor vacant, General Houston having refused to join in the secession movement.

Simultaneously with the adoption of the ordinances of secession most of the Southern men who held positions in the Federal service resigned them and returned home, on the theory that their primary allegiance was due to their States. They had taken oaths to support the Constitution of the United States with this understanding of the meaning of the Constitution, and insisted therefore that they could not be regarded as traitors. Southern senators and representatives set the example, most of them making farewell addresses to their respective chambers as they took their final leave. The parting address of Jefferson Davis, by reason of his acknowledged leadership and the dignified, earnest manner in which he spoke, was particularly impressive. When he rose to speak the galleries were crowded with spectators, an air of solemnity pervaded the occasion and tears came to the eyes of many of his hearers. He expressed regret at the necessity which had forced his State to withdraw from the Union, declared that he had no feeling of hostility toward the people of the North, wished to apologize for any offense which he might have given to senators in the course of debate, and asserted that if it was destined that peaceful relations between them and the people of the South should not prevail, the latter, putting their trust in God and their strong arms, would vindicate the right as best they could.[8] Many Southerners in the executive departments likewise resigned,

[8] Globe, "Thirty-sixth Congress," second session, pt. i. p. 487.

as did some two hundred and forty-five officers of the United States Army and a considerable number of those in the naval service.[9]

The resources of the Confederacy were further augmented by the seizure upon the part of the State authorities of practically all the property of the United States in the seceding States, immediately before or after the passage of the ordinances of secession. This property was transferred to the Confederate government as soon as the State in which it was situated became a member of the Confederacy. The theory upon which the secessionists justified the seizure was, that such property had been acquired at the common expense and was the common property of all the States, and upon the withdrawal of a State from the Union it should retain a proportionate share of such property. In every case it was announced that the property so seized should be held until an accounting could be had with the United States, and if the balance was against the State that amount should be paid into the Federal treasury. The property ultimately seized consisted of twenty-one forts on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, the most important being Forts Caswell and Macon in North Carolina; Forts Pinckney, Moultrie and Sumter in South Carolina; Forts Pulaski and Jackson in Georgia; Forts Barancas and McRae in Florida; Fort Morgan in Alabama; Forts St. Philip, Jackson and Livingston in Louisiana; and Fort Brown in Texas. The same fate happened to the arsenals at Augusta, Baton Rouge, Charleston, Fayetteville, Little Rock and Mount Vernon, most of which were well stocked with arms and ammunition.[10]

At San Antonio one and a half million dollars' worth of army stores and other property were handed over to the Texas authorities by General Twiggs of the United States Army, for which conduct he was promptly dismissed from the service of the United States. Later seizures of great value to the South were the navy

[9] Cullum, "Biographical Register of the Graduates of West Point." Only one of the justices of the Supreme Court, Campbell of Alabama, resigned, although there were several Southern members on the bench.

[10] Colonel H. K. Craig, of the Ordnance Department, reported to the Secretary of War, January 15, 1861, that, in pursuance of an order of December 30, 1859, 115,000 muskets had been transferred from Northern arsenals to arsenals in the South. Most of these, however were condemned as well nigh worthless being valued at $2.50 each. The South, says Rhodes ("History of the United States," vol. iii, p. 238), did not get her full quota of new arms. After the election Floyd, the Secretary of War, sold a large number of muskets to the Southern States.—"*Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia*," for 1861, p. 123

yards at Norfolk and Pensacola. The seizure of the United States mints at Charlotte, North Carolina, and New Orleans, Louisiana, were also valuable acquisitions; the latter having on hand at the time over half a million dollars in coin. The customs houses, marine hospitals, court houses, post offices, light-houses and other public buildings were seized in all the seceded States where such property existed. Altogether it was estimated that more than thirty million dollars' worth of United States property was thus seized, but which, if the Southern theory of the Union was sound, properly belonged to the people of the South.

Secession having become an accomplished fact, steps were taken at once to form a Southern Confederacy. A congress representing the several States was proposed by the convention of South Carolina, and accordingly delegates were chosen by all the conventions in other States which had passed ordinances of secession. On February 4 delegates from all these States, except Texas, met at Montgomery, Alabama, and four days later adopted the Constitution of the United States, with certain amendments, as the provisional constitution of the Confederacy, to continue in force for one year or until superseded by a permanent one. Having adopted a provisional government for the Confederacy, the convention assumed the authority of electing a provisional President and a Vice President. To these offices Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, and Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, respectively, were unanimously elected.

Since the death of John C. Calhoun, Mr. Davis had been the recognized leader of the Southern particularistic school of statesmen. He was a ripe scholar, a polished gentleman of the old school, and an able orator. A Mississippi planter of wealth, with both leisure and inclination for reading, he had devoted years to the study of political and economic history, and was consequently well equipped for a distinguished career in the national legislature. He was also a graduate of West Point, had seen service in a small way in the Black Hawk War with his great rival, Lincoln, and more especially in the Mexican War, where he won distinction for gallantry at the battle of Buena Vista. He had served in both houses of Congress and had filled the position of Secretary of War during Pierce's administration with distinguished ability. In his political science he was a disciple of Calhoun, believing in the sovereignty of the States and the right of secession. But it was as the cham-

pion of the peculiar interests of slavery that he was most conspicuous. He resisted every attempt to restrict slavery to those parts of the country where it already existed and demanded for the slaveholder the right to emigrate with his slave property into any territory of the United States. It mattered not to him whether a single slaveholder would ever find it to his interest to emigrate with his slaves to the distant Territories of the Northwest; he insisted upon the right to do so as one guaranteed by the Constitution and one which could not be yielded without a sacrifice of principle. Of all the Southern statesmen he was perhaps the ablest if not the most extreme advocate of slavery extension.

Unlike him in many respects was the Vice President, Mr. Stephens. Born of humble parentage, he lacked the early opportunities which Davis had enjoyed. Physically he was the opposite of Davis, being low of stature, frail of body (his weight was somewhat less than one hundred pounds), and feeble in health. Taking up the practice of law, he rapidly rose to the head of his profession in Georgia, was elected to Congress, where he served sixteen years, and retired voluntarily in 1850 to resume his professional duties. He was an old-line Whig in his politics and, as we have seen, exerted himself to prevent the secession of Georgia, but having failed, in obedience to his sense of duty, as he understood it, he followed his State and became a secessionist. He was elected as Vice President partly to appease the conservative Whig sentiment, and partly because it was felt that one of the chief offices of the Confederacy should go to the Empire State of the South.

Mr. Davis was on his plantation in Mississippi when he received the news of his election to the Presidency of the Southern Confederacy, and at once proceeded to Montgomery, which had been selected as the temporary capital. His journey to Montgomery was a continual ovation, and the signs of rejoicing all along his route were numerous and vigorous. On February 22, 1862, he was inaugurated with imposing ceremonies, attended by the "grandest pageant ever seen in the Southern States."[11] In his inaugural address Mr. Davis asserted that necessity, instead of choice, had led the Southern States to resort to secession, expressed the hope that their separate existence would not be obstructed by any hostile opposition, and declared that if it should be otherwise the South must prepare to meet the emergency and maintain by the final

[11] "Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia" for 1861, p. 157.

arbitrament of the sword the position which it had assumed among the nations of the earth. The constitution formed for the Confederacy, he asserted, was that formed by the fathers for the Union, the changes made being only such as were necessary to adapt it to the construction which the fathers had intended should be put upon it.

After the inauguration, the provisional Congress proceeded to organize the government of the Confederacy and to provide measures of defense, for it was by this time clear that the seceded States would not be permitted to depart in peace. Acts were passed declaring for the free navigation of the Mississippi (a measure designed to attach, if possible, the States of the Northwest to the Confederacy), for raising provisional forces for the Confederate States, for authorizing a loan of $15,000,000, and for the appointment of three commissioners to proceed to Washington and negotiate a treaty of friendship with the government of the United States. Acts were also passed for adopting a Confederate flag and for organizing the several executive departments. The Cabinet members selected by Davis were: Robert Toombs, of Georgia, Secretary of State; C. G. Memminger, of South Carolina, Secretary of the Treasury; L. P. Walker, of Alabama, Secretary of War; Stephen R. Mallory, of Florida, Secretary of the Navy; John H. Reagan, of Texas, Postmaster General; and Judah P. Benjamin, of Louisiana, Attorney General. Only two of these were men of special note, Toombs and Benjamin. Benjamin was born in the West Indies, of Jewish parentage, studied three years at Yale, became the leader of the Southern bar, and represented Louisiana in the United States Senate eight years, resigning in 1861, when his State seceded. He possessed remarkable industry and administrative ability, and was often referred to as the "brain of the Confederacy." Later during the war he served successfully as Secretary of War and as Secretary of State.[12]

The work of forming a Southern Confederacy was completed by the adoption of a permanent constitution in March. It was framed by the Confederate Congress and submitted to conventions in the States which had seceded and by them ratified in April. It differed from the Federal Constitution scarcely more than the teach-

[12] Upon the downfall of the Confederacy in 1865 Benjamin escaped to England, took up his residence in London and soon rose to the position of one of the leaders of the English bar, becoming Queen's Counsel in 1872. He died in Paris in 1884.

ings of experience under the old instrument showed to be desirable and the necessities of adaptation to the States rights interpretation required. In place of the word "Union" the word "Confederacy" was substituted; the favor of Almighty God was invoked in the preamble; the terms of the President and Vice President were fixed at six years, and they were declared ineligible to a reelection; bounties and protective tariffs for the encouragement of particular industries were forbidden; aliens were excluded from the exercise of the suffrage; Confederate officers whose jurisdiction lay within the limits of a State were made liable to impeachment by the legislature of such State; Congress was empowered to grant the privilege to Cabinet officers of seats on the floor of either House; the President was empowered to veto particular items in appropriation bills; and Congress was forbidden to appropriate money except by a two-thirds majority, unless asked for by the head of a department. A clause was also added forbidding the importation of African slaves from foreign countries, and empowering Congress to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any State not a member of the Confederacy. The first of these provisions was a declaration to the world that the South had no desire to reopen the slave trade, while the latter was designed to induce Virginia and Maryland, two States which furnished the more southerly commonwealths with negroes, to cast their lots with the Confederacy. There were provisions for removing several ambiguities in the Federal Constitution, particularly as regards the protection of slave property, and it was noticeable that no circumlocution was employed wherever references to slaves and slavery were made as was the case in the Constitution of the United States. With the adoption and ratification of the permanent constitution the organization of the Confederacy was complete, although four other States soon afterward became members. Two powerful governments were now claiming the allegiance of the eight million people of the South. At last secession and a Southern Confederacy, the things so long threatened, were accomplished facts, so far as the people of the South could make them such. The great question which had been continually asked during the progress of the secession movement and which now demanded answer, was whether the Southern States would be allowed to depart in peace or whether the United States would deny the right of secession and use its armed power to maintain the Union unimpaired.

Already, before the presidential election in November, it being reasonably certain that Lincoln would be chosen, the veteran General Winfield Scott, commander of the United States Army, himself a Southern man and fully understanding the intentions of his countrymen of the South, wrote the President from New York, advising him to garrison immediately the Southern forts, so as to make it impossible to take them by surprise. The Secretary of War, to whom General Scott's communication was referred, was John B. Floyd, of Virginia, who soon afterward resigned to join the secessionists of his State. Floyd naturally did not attach any importance to General Scott's advice, or at least he so professed, and he easily persuaded the President, who was largely under Southern influence, that reënforcement of the Southern forts would only serve to irritate the Southerners and provoke them into rebellion. Within a week after the election no well-informed person could doubt for a moment that South Carolina would soon pass an ordinance of secession, and probably attempt to seize the three forts in Charleston harbor, namely, Moultrie, Castle Pinckney, and Sumter. The latter had just been completed at a cost of some ten million dollars, and commanded the entrance to the harbor. The President was promptly informed of the movements in South Carolina, and was urged to reënforce the garrison of Fort Moultrie, which was the only one of the three occupied at the time. The three Northern members of the Cabinet and also one Southern member, Mr. Holt, of Kentucky, advised the President to act at once, and cited for his guidance the precedent of General Jackson, who met nullification at the threshold in 1832.

Buchanan, who was growing old, had conscientious scruples as well as doubts concerning his power to "coerce" a State, and easily yielded to the influence exerted over him by three Southern members of his Cabinet, Howell Cobb, of Georgia; John B. Floyd, of Virginia, and Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi. At this point he called upon the Attorney General, Jeremiah Black, an able jurist from Pennsylvania, for an opinion concerning the power of the executive in the premises. The Attorney General replied on November 20, in an opinion which is a curious mixture of sophistry and ambiguity. He began by saying that "the will of a State cannot, while it remains in the Confederacy, absolve its people from obeying the constitutional requirements of the central government," and that although the President had the power to use the army and

navy to protect the public property of the United States, to collect the duties and execute other Federal laws, it was doubtful if he could send troops into a State if there were no United States courts or officers there to aid. The right of the general government to preserve itself in its whole constitutional vigor by repelling a direct and positive aggression upon its property or officers, he said, was undeniable, but at the same time the United States could not make war upon a State. After vainly trying, as it would seem, to reduce the President to impotency, he admitted that the only course for the President was to execute the laws to the extent of the defensive means placed in his hands, and this was all that was necessary for him to say. Buchanan, however, still hesitated, although the commanders of the Charleston forts were warning him daily that, without reënforcements, the forts could not be held.

Congress met on December 4, and the President sent in his annual message, which was given up almost entirely to the Southern question. He began by picturing the great discontent throughout the Southern States, threatening, as it was, the destruction of the Union, and for which he threw responsibility upon the people of the North. Their incessant and violent agitation of the slavery question for the last quarter of a century, he said, had at last produced its natural effects. It had arrayed the two sections against each other and, by exerting a malign influence on the slaves, had destroyed the security of Southern home life. He then reviewed the rise and growth of abolitionism, and declared that by the circulation of inflammatory appeals among the slaves they had been stimulated to insurrection, and by means of sermons, lectures, and editorials the general peace of the country had been disturbed by agitators. All that the Southern people had ever contended for, he said, was to be let alone and permitted to manage their domestic institutions in their own way.

Taking up the present situation, he argued that the election of Mr. Lincoln afforded no just cause for dissolving the Union and destroying the "noblest system of government ever devised by mortals, the grandest temple ever dedicated to human freedom since the world began." With regard to secession, he said that no State had a right to secede; the Union was not a rope of sand to be dissolved at the pleasure of a single discontented State, but was intended by its founders to be perpetual. Then, with a slight increase of vigor, he declared that in his opinion no attempt "coer-

be made to expel the United States from the possession of its forts and other property; but if he were mistaken as to this, the officers in command, having received orders to act strictly on the defensive, would protect that which rightfully belonged to the United States. Instead of stopping with this declaration, which was all that the situation required, he went on to argue that Congress had no power under the Constitution to "coerce" a State into submission, if it made an attempt to withdraw. It may be safely asserted, he declared, that the power to make war against a State is at variance with the whole spirit and intent of the Constitution; but even if the power were undoubted it would be inexpedient to exercise it under the circumstances. Strictly speaking, his line of argument on this point was not so much unsound as it was wholly irrelevant. It was a mental confusion of coercion of a State with enforcement of the laws. No one who had the slightest understanding of the Constitution contended that the President had any authority to make war on a State; on the other hand, no one could deny his right and duty to enforce the laws and protect the property of the United States, whatever that might involve. "It showed," said Senator Seward, "that it is the duty of the President to execute the laws — unless somebody opposes him; and that no State has the right to secede — unless it wants to." The message concluded with the recommendation that an "explanatory amendment" to the Constitution be adopted, expressly recognizing the right of property in slaves wherever slavery existed, making it the duty of the United States to protect that right in the Territories, and providing greater facilities for the reclamation of slaves escaping into free States.

Congress at once entered upon a consideration of the President's recommendations with a view to bringing about, if possible, a compromise of the question at issue between the North and the South. From the speeches of the Southern members delivered on the first day of the session, it was clear to any thinking man that the grievances of the South were such as could not be redressed by any action of Congress. The overt act of the North had been the election to the Presidency of a man who had advocated the "irrepressible conflict" doctrine and had declared it to be the "purpose of the North to make war upon the South until its social system should be destroyed." "This," said Senator Clingman of North Carolina "is the great, remarkable, and dangerous fact that

has filled my section with alarm and dread for the future." Over and over again it was asserted that Mr. Lincoln was a dangerous man and entertained views and opinions which were destructive to the peace and safety of the Southern States. Furthermore, the Republicans were told that it was too late to make concessions. Senator Brown, of Mississippi, facing his Republican colleagues, said, "I can say to you, with all the calmness and dignity that I can summon, that we will not submit to the election of Lincoln," and Senator Iverson, of Georgia, stated that nothing this side of heaven could keep the South from seceding. "You talk," he said, "about concessions. . . . You talk about repealing the personal liberty bills as a concession to the South. . . . Repeal them all to-morrow, sir, and it would not stop this revolution."

In all the speeches delivered by Southern members the idea was reiterated that the North had greatly wronged the South by its hostile sentiment toward slavery. In other words, the offense of the North had consisted, not so much of overt acts as unfriendly opinions toward the people of the South. This view was expressed by Senator Iverson, who said that "the personal liberty laws were not obnoxious to the slaveholders on account of their practical effect, but on account of the evidence which they afforded of the deep-seated widespread hostility to their institutions." Likewise Senator Jefferson Davis asserted that the grievances of the South could only be redressed in the hearts of the Northern people. Turning to his Republican colleagues, Mr. Davis called upon them to say if their people were not hostile; if they had the fraternity which animated their fathers who founded the Union; if they were prepared to do their Southern brethren justice; and to abandon their opposition to the Constitution. "Give us that declaration," he said; "give us evidence that you will restore us to our original position, when mutual kindness was the animating motive, and then we may hopefully look for remedies which may suffice."

On no subject was the slaveholder so keenly sensitive as on Northern criticism of slavery as an institution. The Southern feeling on this point was expressed by Senator Clay, of Alabama, in his farewell speech to the Senate on January 21, 1861. He said: "The platform of the Republican party of 1856 and 1860 we regard as a libel upon the character and a declaration of war against the lives and property of the Southern people. No bitterer or more offensive calumny could be uttered against them than is expressed

in denouncing their system of slavery as one of twin relics of barbarism with polygamy. It not only reproaches us as un-Christian and heathenish, but imputes a sin and a crime deserving universal scorn and universal enmity. No sentiment is more insulting or more hostile to our domestic tranquillity, to our social order, and to our social existence than is contained in the declaration that our negroes are entitled to liberty and equality with the white man. It is in spirit, if not in effect, as strong an incitement and invocation to servile insurrection, to murder, arson, and other crimes, as any to be found in abolition literature."

Notwithstanding the declarations of the more extreme Southerners concerning the fixed determination of the people of the South to withdraw from the Union, various compromise schemes were proposed in the hope of averting the conflict which now seemed inevitable. The most important of these was that introduced by the venerable Kentucky Senator, Mr. Crittenden, an old-line Whig, of strong Union proclivities and the successor of Henry Clay in the Senate. His proposition was for a constitutional amendment, extending the Missouri Compromise line, 36° 30′, to the Pacific Ocean, prohibiting slavery in all the territory north of the line and recognizing its existence below that line as beyond the power of Congress or of any territorial government to interfere with in any manner whatsoever.

Other provisions of the proposed amendment prohibited Congress from abolishing slavery in the Federal District of Columbia without compensation and without the consent of the inhabitants of the District, and of those of Maryland and Virginia; provided a scheme of compensation out of the national treasury for the benefit of owners who were prevented from recovering their fugitive slaves by the action of rescuing mobs in the North; prohibited Congress from interfering with the transportation of slaves between the slaveholding States and Territories; and earnestly recommended to the Northern States the repeal of the Personal Liberty Laws. No future amendment was ever to be made which would affect these amendments, nor was any amendment ever to be made which would empower Congress to interfere with slavery in any State where it already existed. These propositions were referred to a special committee of thirteen eminent senators representing both parties and sections. After laboring earnestly for more than a week to formulate some basis of compro-

mise, the committee reported on the last day of the year that it was unable to reach an agreement.

The Republican members rejected the Crittenden proposal on the ground that it sanctioned the extension of slavery and introduced unamendable provisions in the Constitution. Davis and Toombs, though favoring it, voted in the negative, preferring not to give their approval to any compromise measure which the North would not support. It seems clear that the responsibility for defeating this compromise rested upon the Northern senators.[13] However this may be, it is practically certain that the adoption of the compromise would not have effected a permanent adjustment of the difficulties between the two sections, but only a temporary postponement of the conflict which was bound to come, sooner or later. The most that the Republicans would consent to in the way of compromise was an amendment prohibiting any alteration of the Constitution which should authorize Congress to abolish or interfere with slavery in the States, a modification of the Fugitive Slave Law so as to allow a jury trial to the fugitive, and a congressional recommendation to the States for the repeal of the Personal Liberty Laws which contravened the Constitution or the laws of the United States. These propositions were not taken seriously by the Senate. The first and third furnished no additional security to slave property, while the second would actually diminish such as already existed. It was a real stretch of the imagination to call them a "compromise."

In the House of Representatives a select committee of thirty-three, one member from each State, was appointed to consider the Southern question and formulate, if possible, a plan of adjustment; but it likewise was unable to agree upon any measure which would secure the approval of both sides. Upon the failure of this attempt at compromise, some twenty senators and representatives from the slave States met at the house of Reuben Davis, a representative from Mississippi, and prepared and issued a manifesto to their constituents. In this they advised them that further argument was useless, that all hope of relief in the Union was gone, that the South should not be further deceived by Northern pretenses, that the honor, safety, and independence of the Southern people were to be found only in a Southern Confederacy, and that the "sole and primary aim of each slaveholding State ought to be

[13] See Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. iii. p. 154.

its speedy and absolute separation from an unnatural and hostile union." Telegraph dispatches from the leaders at Washington now flew thick and fast to the Southern capitals, advising secession without further delay. On January 5, 1861, the Senators from seven of the slave States held a caucus at Washington and adopted a resolution declaring that, in their opinion, the Southern States should, as soon as possible, secede from the Union; that provision should be made for a convention to organize a Confederacy of the seceding States, and that representatives and senators in Congress should be instructed whether to remain at Washington or to resign their seats and return home.

There were those, however, who had not yet abandoned all hope of compromise, and in pursuance of a call issued by the legislature of Virginia, a convention of delegates representing thirteen free and seven slaves States met at Washington, February 4, the very day on which the Confederacy was organized at Montgomery, to take into consideration measures for the adjustment of the unhappy differences between the two sections. The convention consisted of many able and patriotic men, who were fully impressed with the danger which threatened the nation and who were ready to make any reasonable concession to save their country from the horrors of civil war. It was organized by the election of the venerable ex-President, John Tyler, as the presiding officer, and for more than three weeks everything that patriotic men could do was done to agree upon some compromise. It finally decided upon a series of proposed amendments, which were recommended to Congress, but the most important one, that relating to slavery in the Territories, had received the approval of only a bare majority of the delegates, and the whole scheme fell through. This was the last notable effort at compromise. It was now clear that further efforts of the kind were useless and that the only means of settling the differences was by the arbitrament of the sword.

Meantime the vexatious question of the forts in Charleston harbor was occupying the attention of the President. One of the acts of the secession convention of South Carolina had been to appoint three commissioners to proceed to Washington to treat with the government of the United States for the delivery of the forts, magazines, light-houses, and other Federal property within the limits of the State and to negotiate other arrangements. Shortly after the commissioners reached Washington the "alarming" news

was received that Major Robert Anderson, commander of Fort Moultrie, had secretly transferred his forces to Fort Sumter and had dismantled Moultrie and spiked his guns. Major Anderson made the change upon his own authority, in the full belief that he could not effectively defend himself in Moultrie, if attacked, and being fully satisfied of the more advantageous position of Sumter. "Being in command of all the forts in the harbor, I had the right," he said, "to transfer my force from Moultrie to Sumter."

Nevertheless, the people of South Carolina were filled with indignation at the Major's action and, believing that he had acted in pursuance of instructions, they immediately charged the President with bad faith. Soon after the secession of South Carolina her representatives in Congress had waited on the President and secured from him what they understood to be a promise that the military status in Charleston harbor should not be changed pending negotiations between the representatives of South Carolina and the United States for the adjustment of questions relative to the forts and other public property. When, therefore, the commissioners were informed of the change from Moultrie to Sumter, they addressed an extraordinary communication to the President, reciting the act by which South Carolina had "resumed" the powers she had delegated to the United States, and informing him that they would have been prepared to enter upon negotiations for the mutual settlement of all questions in dispute, but that the events of the last twenty-four hours made that impossible. "Until these circumstances," ran the communication, "are explained in a manner which relieves us of all doubt as to the spirit in which these negotiations shall be conducted, we are forced to suspend all decision as to any arrangements by which our mutual interests might be amicably adjusted." In conclusion, the President was urged to order the immediate withdrawal of the troops from Charleston harbor, otherwise negotiations would be impossible.[14] The President did not take offense at the extraordinary character of the communication, and informed the commissioners that, while he could not receive them as envoys from a foreign government, he was willing to meet them as private gentlemen and to communicate to Congress any proposition they might have to make to that body. He denied that he had made any pledge as to the status

[14] "Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia" for 1861, p. 702.

of the forts at Charleston, asserted that Major Anderson had acted upon his own responsibility, and stated that his first impulse had been to order the Major to return to Moultrie, but before any action could be taken other events had happened in South Carolina which materially altered the situation.

Immediately after the removal to Sumter, the governor of South Carolina sent a message to Major Anderson, in which he recited the terms of the alleged agreement with the President and demanded his return to Fort Moultrie. The Major replied that he knew nothing of the agreement, that he had transferred his command to Fort Sumter, not for the purpose of irritating the South Carolina authorities, but as a means of defense, and that, although his sympathies were with the people of the South, a fact which was well known, his duty as an officer of the United States was plain, and he therefore declined to accede to the request. Thereupon the South Carolina authorities took possession of Fort Moultrie and raised the palmetto flag over it. At the same time the customs house, the arsenal, containing half a million dollars' worth of ammunition, and other public property in Charleston was seized by the State officials. In view of these transactions, the President informed the commissioners on December 30 that he could not and would not withdraw the troops from Charleston harbor. The commissioners thereupon sent the President a communication in reply, charging him with violating his pledge in a dishonorable manner and accusing him of misrepresentation, which conduct, they said, had made war inevitable. The communication was returned with the indorsement that its character was such that the President had declined to receive it.

Thenceforth Buchanan's course was changed. Cobb and Floyd had already resigned, and Thompson followed a few days later, their places being filled by Union men. With a united Cabinet insisting upon a firm, positive course, and the people of the North demanding the reënforcement of the garrison at Sumter, Buchanan yielded and made ready to send a merchant steamer, the *Star of the West,* to Charleston with two hundred and fifty men and a quantity of arms, ammunition, and other supplies for the relief of Major Anderson. This steamer arrived off Charleston in the early morning hours of January 9, and while proceeding slowly up the channel within two miles of Sumter, was fired upon by a masked battery situated on Morris Island, which had been

made ready in expectation of the attempt to supply the fort with reenforcements. Having no means of defense and being threatened with capture or destruction, the *Star of the West* turned about, steamed down the channel under a heavy fire, and returned uninjured to New York.

The South Carolina legislature promptly passed resolutions declaring that any attempt to reënforce Fort Sumter would be considered an act of hostility and approving the action of the troops who had fired on the *Star of the West*. A few days after the failure of the attempt to reënforce Major Anderson the governor of South Carolina sent a messenger to induce him to deliver up the fort to the State authorities, with the pledge that it should be accounted for to the United States. The Major replied on January 11 that he had no power to comply with the request. The governor thereupon dispatched a commissioner to Washington to make a formal demand upon the President for the surrender of the fort. Upon his arrival at Washington he was induced by certain Southern senators and representatives to postpone the delivery of his letter until the proposed Confederacy should be formed. Early in February the demand was made, accompanied by a warning that the attempt to reënforce Sumter would be regarded as an act of war. On February 6 the President made his final reply through the Secretary of War, Mr. Holt, affirming the right and duty of the government to reënforce the garrison, and concluding with these words: "If with all the multiplied proofs of the President's anxiety for peace and of the earnestness with which he has pursued it, the authorities of that State shall assault Fort Sumter and peril the lives of the handful of brave and loyal men shut within its walls, and thus plunge our common country into the horrors of civil war, then upon them and those they represent must rest the responsibility." Thus did the President throw down the gauntlet to the secessionists of South Carolina. They took it up and began elaborate preparations for capturing the forts, and when the government of the Confederacy took charge in March the guns of five hostile forts were pointing toward Sumter. By permission of the State authorities, the women and children of the fort were removed and taken to New York.

In the meantime Buchanan's administration had expired and Lincoln was in control of affairs at Washington. On February 11 he set out from Springfield on his journey to Washington. At

the railroad station he made a farewell address to his fellow townsmen, saying that he was about to enter upon the discharge of a duty greater than that which had ever devolved upon any other man since the days of Washington. All along the route he was greeted by multitudes of enthusiastic citizens eager to hear every word he had to say upon the great question of the hour. Speeches were made at Toledo, Indianapolis, Cincinnati, Columbus, Cleveland, Pittsburg, Buffalo, Albany, Poughkeepsie, New York, Trenton, Philadelphia, and Harrisburg, but on the whole they were disappointing to those who expected words of wisdom from the President-elect, who had maintained a studious silence since his election. There was hardly an intimation of his policy, while his speeches contained much that was commonplace, and on several occasions his journey was attended by incidents which called forth expressions of ridicule from the press. He declared again and again that there was no crisis except an artificial one, that nothing was going wrong, that nobody would be hurt, and advised the people to keep cool. The impression which these speeches made was rather unfavorable throughout the country, but the truth is, Lincoln had purposely avoided anticipating his inaugural address and had committed no other offense than to follow his Western stump-speech methods in addressing educated audiences in Eastern cities. Those who criticised soon discovered that they had misjudged the real character of the man.

While at Harrisburg Mr. Lincoln received warnings from several sources that he was in danger of being assassinated while passing through Baltimore. The warnings were such that he could not wisely ignore them, and yielding to the earnest solicitations of his friends, he set out from Harrisburg on the night of February 22, instead of the following morning, as originally planned, and attired in a Scotch plaid cap and cloak he passed through Baltimore unrecognized, and reached Washington in the early morning hours of February 23. This manner of entry into the Capital was the subject of much ridicule on the part of Mr. Lincoln's opponents,[15] and was submitted to by Lincoln himself only to quiet the apprehensions of his friends, and, indeed, subsequent events showed that the precautions were not entirely unwarranted. On March 4 he was inaugurated without incident, except that the ceremonies were marked by an extraordinary military display. Rumors had

[15] See E. A. Pollard, "The Lost Cause," p. 103.

reached the ears of General Scott that an attempt would be made to interfere with the inauguration, in consequence of which he had taken unusual precautions to prevent disturbances. More than 2,000 troops paraded the streets, sentinels were posted on places of eminence, and artillery commanded Pennsylvania Avenue and the Capitol. The President moved to the Capitol in a hollow square of cavalry and delivered his inaugural address behind a row of bayonets. In his speech he assured the Southern people that they need have no apprehension on account of the accession of a Republican administration; he reiterated what he had said as a private citizen, that he had no purpose or inclination to interfere either directly or indirectly with the institution of slavery, believing as he did that he had no lawful right to do so; declared that the union of the States was perpetual, being older than the Constitution itself; that no State upon its own motion could get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect were legally void; and that acts of violence against the authority of the United States were insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances. Concerning his future policy he declared that he would act on the assumption that the Union was unbroken and would take care to the extent of his ability faithfully to execute the laws of the Union in all the States. In this, he said, there need be no blood shed or violence; indeed, there would be none, unless it was forced upon the government. The power confided to him, he continued, would be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places of the United States and to collect the customs duties, but beyond what might be necessary for these purposes there would be no invasion, no using of force among or against the people anywhere. As a further concession to Southern sentiment he announced that wherever hostility to the United States was so great as to deter competent resident citizens from holding the Federal offices, he would not force obnoxious strangers upon them, but would forego the use of such offices. Even the mails should continue to be sent to all parts of the Union unless repelled. In conclusion he said: "In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of the civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection

The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone, all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

Conservative Republicans and Northern Democrats alike approved the address. Only a few radicals criticised it for the concessions which it offered to the South — concessions which, it was said, only served to encourage the secessionists. But Mr. Lincoln had a distinctly conciliatory frame of mind and he wished if possible to allay every apprehension that it was the purpose of the government to do anything more than might be absolutely necessary to enforce the laws, collect customs duties, and protect the public property of the United States. But nevertheless the address was construed in the South as a declaration of war against the slave States.

For his official advisers the new President chose William H. Seward, of New York, his chief rival for the nomination, to be Secretary of State; Salmon P. Chase, a Free Soil Democrat of Ohio, to be Secretary of the Treasury; Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, to be Secretary of War; Gideon Welles, of Connecticut, to be Secretary of the Navy; Caleb Smith, of Indiana, to be Secretary of the Interior; Edward Bates, of Missouri, to be Attorney General; and Montgomery Blair, of Maryland, to be Postmaster General. The selection of the Cabinet had been rather difficult owing to the various interests involved and the several shades of opinion concerning the question of peace or war, but it was done with tact and without causing offense to the Republican leaders.

In the meantime the Confederacy had been organized and its government was making diligent preparation for war. Provisions were made for raising troops, for organizing a navy, for establishing a post office, for borrowing money, and for sending a commissioner to Europe to negotiate treaties. A commission of three members was also appointed to proceed to Washington to conclude an agreement with the United States for adjustment of matters relating to the public property, the public debt, and the like. Shortly after the inauguration, the commissioners applied to the Secretary of State through Senator Hunter, of Virginia, who acted as intermediary, for an interview with Lincoln. Their com-

munication stated that they were the representatives of an "independent nation, *de facto and de jure*," which possessed a "government perfect in all its parts and endowed with all the means of self-support," and that they wished to effect a "speedy adjustment of all questions in dispute on terms of amity, good-will, and mutual interest." Three days later, that is to say, March 15, Seward prepared a reply (which, however, was not delivered until April 8), in which he reviewed the statements set forth in the letter of the commissioners and denied that the acts of the seceded States amounted to an accomplished revolution, or that the Confederacy was an independent nation, and asserted that it was only "a perversion of a temporary and partisan excitement to the inconsiderate purposes of an unjustifiable and unconstitutional aggression upon the rights and the authority vested in the Federal government." Referring the commissioners to the President's inaugural address, the Secretary of State declared that he was prevented thereby from assuming that the Confederate States had in fact withdrawn from the Union, or that they could withdraw in the manner described by the commissioners. Under these circumstances, he said, the Secretary of State was unable to comply with the request for an official interview, since it might be construed into a recognition of the Confederacy and embarrass the administration.

During the twenty-three days between the preparation of this reply and its delivery the Secretary of State, however, consented to communicate verbally with the commissioners through the friendly mediation of Justice Campbell, of the United States Supreme Court, and a native of Alabama. In this circuitous method the commissioners were given assurances, as they understood, but without the approval of Lincoln it subsequently developed, that Fort Sumter would be evacuated. In fact, on March 15, in the course of an interview with Justice Campbell, Seward informed him that before he could dispatch a letter, which he then held in his hand, to Montgomery, the telegraph would have carried to the President of the Confederacy news of the evacuation of Sumter. Relying upon what they understood to be a pledge of the administration, the commissioners did not insist upon an official interview, but discovering early in April that preparations were being made for an expedition to Sumter, they requested the delivery of an answer to their communication of March 12. When

this was received they expressed surprise at the information contained therein, in view of the assurances which had been given them, and asserted that the Secretary had been playing a game for the purpose of gaining time. On April 7 Justice Campbell asked Mr. Seward what was the meaning of the reports coming to his ears of military preparations, and if his assurances of evacuation were to be observed. Seward replied laconically: "Faith as to Sumter fully kept — wait and see."[16] On this day the Federal fleet sailed for Charleston, and on the following a messenger sent by the Department of State notified the governor of South Carolina that an attempt would be made to supply Fort Sumter with provisions only, and if no resistance should be offered no effort would be made to throw in men, arms, or ammunition without further notice, or in case of an attack upon the fort. In view of these events the Confederate authorities maintained that they had been hoodwinked and deceived by the administration at Washington, a fact which led Jefferson Davis to declare in his message to the Confederate Congress that "the crooked paths of diplomacy can scarcely furnish an example so wanting in courtesy, in candor and directness as was the course of the government at Washington toward the commissioners."

The Federal fleet was now approaching Charleston. What action would the Confederate authorities take? Davis and his Cabinet were not united as to the course to be followed. Toombs, the Secretary of State, strongly opposed attacking the fort. He declared that it would inaugurate the greatest civil war that the world had yet seen; that it was suicidal and would "stir up a hornet's nest from which the legions now quiet would swarm out and sting us to death." But against this it was said that the occupation of the fort by a foreign and hostile power was inconsistent with the sovereignty of the Confederacy, and dangerous to its safety. After long and thoughtful deliberation they decided to demand the surrender of the fort, and, if the request was refused, to reduce it.

General Beauregard, who had been placed in command of the provisional army of the Confederacy, with headquarters at Charleston, was so instructed, and on April 11 he sent two aides to Major Anderson to demand the evacuation of the fort. The Major promptly replied that he regretted that the demand was one

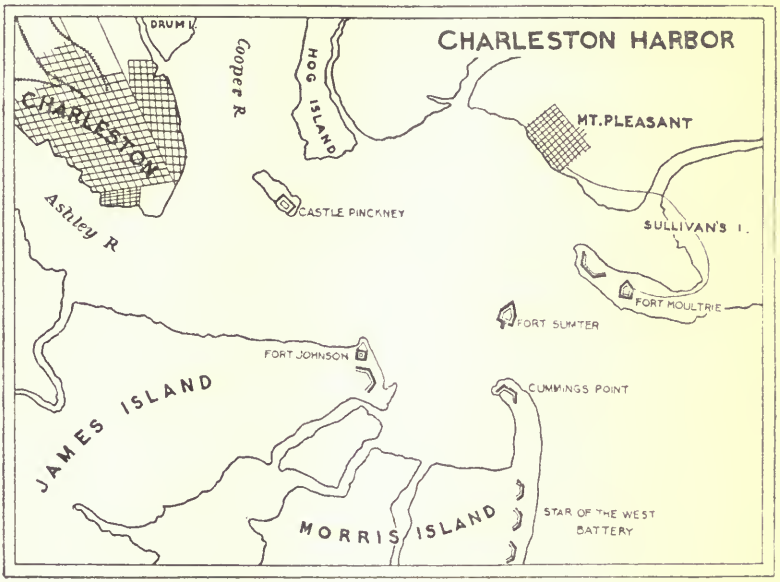
[16] Bancroft, "Life of Seward," vol. ii. p. 140.

with which his sense of honor and obligation to his government prevented compliance. At the same time the aides were informed verbally that if they did not batter the fort to pieces the garrison would be starved out in a few days. In view of this verbal observation General Beauregard, after communicating with the Confederate Government at Montgomery, decided to offer Major Anderson another proposition before proceeding to attack him. Accordingly, toward midnight of April 11, aides were again sent to propose that if he would state the time at which he would evacuate and agree not to use his guns against them in the meantime, the Confederates would abstain from firing upon the fort. Major Anderson held a long conference with his officers and it was past two o'clock in the morning when he replied that he was willing to evacuate on the 15th should he not receive, prior to that date, instructions to the contrary from his government, or additional supplies. The aides, without consulting General Beauregard, rejected these conditions, and at 3:20 A. M. the following day notified Major Anderson that within one hour from that time their batteries would open fire on the fort. Surgeon Samuel W. Crawford, one of the officers of the fort, records that the scene was calm and the night still under the bright starlight when, at half-past four in the morning, the sound of a mortar from a battery at Fort Johnson broke upon the stillness.[17] It was a signal shell giving notice to the batteries to open fire.

The first shot was fired by Captain George James, who commanded the battery; the shell rose high in the air, and curving in its course, burst almost directly over the fort. After a deathly silence of a few moments a gun discharged from the iron-clad battery on Cummings Points, fired by Edward Ruffin, a Virginia volunteer. Hardly had its echo died upon the air when the mortars commenced, followed in succession by the batteries, until the fort was surrounded by a circle of fire. It was not until seven o'clock that Fort Sumter replied, the battery commanded by Captain Doubleday being the first to respond. All day the bombardment continued, and by evening it was evident that Fort Sumter was badly damaged. Throughout the dark and rainy night which followed the Confederate batteries kept up their fire at regular intervals, making a grand and terrible spectacle. Early in the morning of the following day the cannonading was renewed in earnest by

[17] Crawford, "The Story of Fort Sumter," p. 127.

both sides. Soon smoke was seen issuing from Sumter, and the Confederate batteries increased their fire in the hope of bringing the enemy to terms. Sumter's guns continued with less regularity and at longer intervals, and before the afternoon was well advanced the condition of the garrison had become pitiable. The interior of the fort was a heap of ruins, most of the guns were out of working order, with smoke so dense in the casemates that the men were unable to work those that remained, and the fire had spread



until the entire stock of powder, except five barrels, had to be thrown into the sea.

The flag-staff having been cut away, so that the flag could no longer be seen, General Beauregard sent messengers to inquire if the garrison were in distress and if they wished aid. Further resistance being useless, Major Anderson accepted terms and surrendered the fort. The Stars and Stripes were lowered and the Stars and Bars, the Confederate emblem, hoisted in its place. It is a singular fact that not a single life was lost on either side, in spite of the long and terrific bombardment. After the surrender the garrison was placed aboard the steamship *Baltic* and carried to New York. The story of the attack was briefly told in Major

1861

Anderson's official report to the government: "Having defended Fort Sumter for thirty-four hours, until the quarters were entirely burnt, the main gates destroyed by fire, the gorge walls seriously injured, the magazine surrounded by flames, and its door closed from the effects of heat, four barrels and three cartridges of powder only being available, and no provisions remaining but pork, I accepted terms of evacuation offered by General Beauregard — being the same offered by him on the 11th instant, prior to the commencement of hostilities — and marched out of the fort on Sunday afternoon, the 14th instant, with colors flying and drums beating, bringing away company and private property, and saluting my flag with fifty guns."

While the bombardment was taking place a portion of the Federal fleet, consisting of eight vessels and 1,380 men, within hearing distance of the guns, lay outside the harbor, but took no part in the fight, being powerless, it was alleged, to aid their hard pressed comrades. The raising of the Confederate flag over the fort caused great rejoicing in Charleston; bells were rung, cannon were fired, and special services were held in the churches in honor of the victory. In the North Major Anderson was welcomed as a returning hero, salutes were fired in his honor and swords were voted him by various public and private bodies. The South had at last spoken; what would be the reply of the North!

Chapter XXIX

THE OUTBREAK OF THE CIVIL WAR
1861

I

NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN SENTIMENT

THE prophecy of Secretary Toombs that the firing on Fort Sumter would inaugurate the greatest civil war of modern times proved to be literally true. Up to this event the diversity of sentiment in the free States with regard to the duty of the government had been painfully distressing to staunch Unionists. The Northern Democrats as well as many Republicans had hardly made up their own minds whether the government had any constitutional power to prevent the slave States from seceding or not, and if so, whether it was expedient to exercise the power. Horace Greeley, the editor of the *New York Tribune*, one of the leading Republican journals of the country, spoke for a large class of Northern people, when on November 9, 1860, he wrote: "We hold, with Jefferson, to the inalienable right of communities to alter or abolish forms of government that have become oppressive or injurious; and if the cotton States shall decide that they can do better out of the Union than in it, we insist on letting them go in peace. The right to secede may be a revolutionary right, but it exists nevertheless; and we do not see how one party can have a right to do what another party has the right to prevent. We must ever resist the right of any State to remain in the Union and nullify or defy the laws thereof; to withdraw from the Union is quite another matter. And whenever a considerable section of our Union shall deliberately resolve to go out, we shall resist all coercive measures designed to keep her in. We hope never to live in a republic whereof one section is pinned to the residue by bayonets."

Again, as late as April 9, 1861, Wendell Phillips declared from a public platform that the Southern people had a right to decide for themselves whether they should have a separate gov-

ernment, and asserted that Lincoln had no right to a single soldier in Fort Sumter. Mr. Greeley, however, soon changed his mind on this question, as did many other Republicans, and whatever secession sentiment existed in the North on April 12, 1861, it apparently vanished with the news of the bombardment of Fort Sumter. "That event," said James Russell Lowell, "brought the free States to their feet as one man." It united the people of the North as the election of Lincoln had already united those of the South. The prevailing sentiment now was summed up in General Dix's famous telegram to a New Orleans customs officer: "If anyone attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot." President Lincoln, who had declared that his path of duty under the Constitution was as plain as a turnpike road, issued a proclamation the day after the fall of Sumter reciting that the execution of the laws of the United States was being opposed in certain States by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings and calling for 75,000 of the militia of the States to serve for three months to suppress the said combinations and regain possession of the forts and other property which had been seized by the authorities of the seceding States. By the same proclamation all persons opposing the laws were commanded to disperse and retire peaceably to their homes within twenty days. At the same time Congress was summoned to meet in extraordinary session on July 4.

The response of the Northern States was prompt and generous. Northern Democrats like Douglas, Whigs like Everett, and others whose sympathies had either been with the people of the South, or averse to strong measures against them, at once announced their intention of supporting the President. Men from all walks of life — farmers, mechanics, clerks, students, clergymen, college professors, merchants, all promptly volunteered for the defense of the Union. Two days after the publication of the proclamation the Sixth Massachusetts passed through New York on its way to Washington. On April 19, while attempting to cross the city of Baltimore in horse cars, they were attacked by a mob and a fight ensued, in which four soldiers and nine citizens were killed and many wounded. Finding the car tracks obstructed, the soldiers left the cars and made their way to the station on foot, fighting their way as they went and keeping back the surging mob with their bayonets. Finally, boarding the waiting train, they

moved off amid hootings and taunts and pelted with flying stones, which they answered by a volley of musketry from the car windows, killing a prominent merchant who was a spectator of the affair. Great excitement now reigned in Baltimore, and the inhabitants decided not to permit the transportation of any more Union troops through the city for the purpose of making war on their Southern brethren, as they said, and by order of the Baltimore municipal authorities the bridges on the railroads leading to the city from the North were destroyed, thus making it necessary to transport the troops by sea to Annapolis, and then overland to Washington.

The destruction of the railroad bridges was followed by the cutting of the telegraph wires, the effect of which was to destroy all direct communication between Washington and the North. This was a source of great embarrassment and apprehension to the government. The tardiness and difficulty with which the troops reached Washington led almost to a panic among the Federal authorities, who feared an attack upon the undefended capital, by the Confederate forces, then rapidly gathering in Virginia. Meantime, the excitement in Maryland continued. The governor demanded that no troops be sent through Baltimore, and the President was virtually compelled to assent. Mass meetings were held in the city and the municipal council appropriated $500,000 for defense. The legislature protested against the occupation of the State by Federal troops, but declined to call a State convention or to take measures for the defense of the State against Federal occupation. By an energetic display of Federal authority the State was brought under Federal control and the enthusiasm for the Southern cause was quickly suppressed. Baltimore was practically placed under military government, the writ of habeas corpus was suspended, prominent secessionists were arrested and thrown into military prison, with the result that within a month after the riot the governor was raising troops for the Union army and the trains were running regularly between Philadelphia and Washington. The Union cause in Maryland had triumphed, a counter-revolution had set in, and all efforts of the secessionists to secure her adhesion to the Confederacy were abandoned.

The unanimity with which the people of the North responded to Lincoln's call for volunteers was no greater than the enthusiasm which animated the people of the Southern States in rallying to

the defense of the Confederacy. Lincoln's proclamation was construed as a declaration of war against the South, and accordingly her people rose as one man to resist the invasion. Jefferson Davis promptly issued a call for volunteers, invited applications for privateering commissions as a means of supplying the lack of a navy, convoked the Confederate Congress for April 29, and dispatched commissioners to Europe to negotiate treaties for the recognition of the independence of the Confederacy. The call for volunteers was responded to with such enthusiasm that the Southern governors were compelled to announce early in May that no more enlistments would be allowed for the present. Transportation companies tendered the free use of their cars for moving troops, offered to transport supplies at reduced rates and take their pay in Confederate scrip, while well-to-do citizens drew their personal checks for money to be used in the equipment of military companies. In his message of April 29 Mr. Davis declared that already 19,000 men were assembled at various camps in the South and that 16,000 more were *en route* for Virginia. Men of the highest official and social position, he said, were serving as volunteers in the ranks.

At this juncture Southern hopes were raised by new accessions to the Confederacy. In Virginia a State convention had been in session at Richmond since February 13, but early in April had voted down a proposition to submit to the popular vote an ordinance of secession. Lincoln's call for troops, however, caused a revulsion of sentiment, and on April 17 the convention adopted an ordinance of secession by a vote of 88 to 55. Loud and prolonged cheering followed, the Confederate flag was raised, the United States customs house was seized, and a call was at once issued for volunteers. A few days after the adoption of the ordinance of secession preparations were begun for the seizure of the Gosport navy yard near Norfolk, with its great dry dock, its ships, shipbuilding material, arms, ammunition, and several war vessels, together with the armory and arsenal at Harper's Ferry, with their thousands of rifles, muskets, and other munitions of war. With the approach of the Virginia troops, however, the Federal authorities fired the armory and arsenal of Harper's Ferry and scuttled some of the vessels and other property at the navy yard. A considerable amount, however, was saved and this was taken possession of by the Virginia troops.

On the 25th of the same month commissioners of the State concluded with Alexander H. Stephens, acting for the Confederate Government, a convention by which Virginia became a member of the Confederacy. The adhesion of Virginia to the cause of the Confederacy was a subject of general rejoicing throughout the South, and President Davis in his message of April 29 congratulated Congress that this "honored commonwealth, so long and justly distinguished among her sister States and so dear to the hearts of the thousands of her children, has united her power and her fortunes with ours and has become one of us." Thousands of troops from the other seceded States were now rushed forward, while Union troops poured in from the North, so that before the end of the year two armies faced each other on the soil of this ancient commonwealth. Foreseeing that Virginia was destined to be the main ground of contention between the two opposing forces, and to assure Virginia and the border States that their frontiers would be defended, the Confederate Government was transferred to Richmond in May, and this city continued to be the capital until the downfall of the Confederacy in April, 1865.

North Carolina soon followed the example of Virginia and cast her lot with the Confederacy. In the latter part of January the question of whether a State convention should be called was submitted to popular vote and was decided in the negative by a small majority. No further action was taken until after Lincoln's call for volunteers. In reply to the President's requisition for the State's quota of troops the governor wrote: "You will get no troops from North Carolina for the purpose of subjugating the States of the South. I can be no party to this wicked violation of the laws of the country and to this war upon the liberties of a free people." Immediately there was a change of sentiment in favor of secession. Several forts which had been seized early in the year and restored to the Federal authorities by direction of the governor were now taken possession of under his orders, the legislature was called in extraordinary session, and it ordered by a unanimous vote the election of delegates to a State convention which should have plenary and final powers. Other acts of the legislature stayed the collection of debts, authorized the raising of 10,000 troops, and appropriated $5,000,000 for the defense of the State. The convention was duly elected, met on May 20, and on the same day unanimously passed an ordinance of secession. At

the same time the Confederate constitution was ratified by the convention and representatives in the Confederate Congress were chosen and a State flag adopted.

Tennessee next joined the Confederacy, by methods more liable to criticism and with less unanimity than any of the other slave States. The people of the Eastern or mountainous portion of the State were overwhelmingly opposed to secession, as throughout the State in general there was a desire that Tennessee should maintain a position of neutrality as regards the North and the South — that her soil should be free from the invasion of either belligerent. A number of her prominent citizens, notable among them John Bell, leader of the Southern Unionists and candidate for President on the Constitutional Union ticket in 1860, united in an address condemning secession in the most unqualified terms and declaring it as their judgment that the State should join neither side in the impending conflict. A few days afterwards, however, Bell virtually gave in his adhesion to the cause of the secessionists, leaving the Unionists of Tennessee without a leader. The governor of the State, Isham G. Harris, was strongly in sympathy with the secessionists. In answer to Lincoln's requisition he replied that Tennessee would not "furnish a man for the purpose of coercion, but 50,000 if necessary for the defense of our rights and those of our Southern brothers." The governor recommended that the legislature pass an ordinance of secession "to be submitted to the popular vote" "without encumbering the people of the State with the election of delegates to do that which it is in the power of the legislature to enable them to do directly for themselves."

On May 6 the legislature passed a secession ordinance, and on the following day it concluded in secret session a military league between Tennessee and the Confederacy by which the State troops were transferred to the Confederate authorities. A declaration of independence was also adopted and the Confederate constitution was ratified. On June 8 the popular vote on the ordinance of secession and the Confederate constitution was taken, with the result that they were both ratified by a majority of over 57,000 votes, the vote in east Tennessee being more than two to one against secession. In this part of the State a condition approaching a reign of terror now ensued. The Unionists were roughly treated, their houses burned, their crops destroyed, their families

persecuted, and themselves driven from the State; and a goodly number were forced by a pressure which they could not well withstand to enlist in the Confederate army. Their fate, however, was little different from that of Confederate sympathizers in Missouri, Maryland, and Kentucky.

The last of the Southern States to join the Confederacy was Arkansas. In February the question of whether a State convention should be called, and, if so, whether an ordinance of secession should be adopted were submitted to a popular vote. The first question was determined in the affirmative, but there was a majority of over five thousand votes against secession. The convention assembled on March 4, and on the 17th unanimously adopted a resolution to submit again the question of "secession" or "cooperation" (secession only when joined by other border States) to a vote of the people on August 17. The hopes of the Unionists, however, were soon blasted by the events following the fall of Sumter. The governor's answer to Lincoln's requisition for troops was that he would get none in Arkansas. "The people of this commonwealth," he said, "are freemen, not slaves, and will defend to the last extremity their honor, lives, and property against Northern mendacity and usurpation." The President of the convention now reassembled that body on May 6, and it promptly passed an ordinance of secession with but a single dissenting vote. The convention then adopted the usual measures for putting the State on a war footing, confiscating debts due Northern creditors, and ratifying the Confederate constitution. The United States arsenal at Little Rock and the government property at Fort Smith were promptly taken possession of by the State authorities.

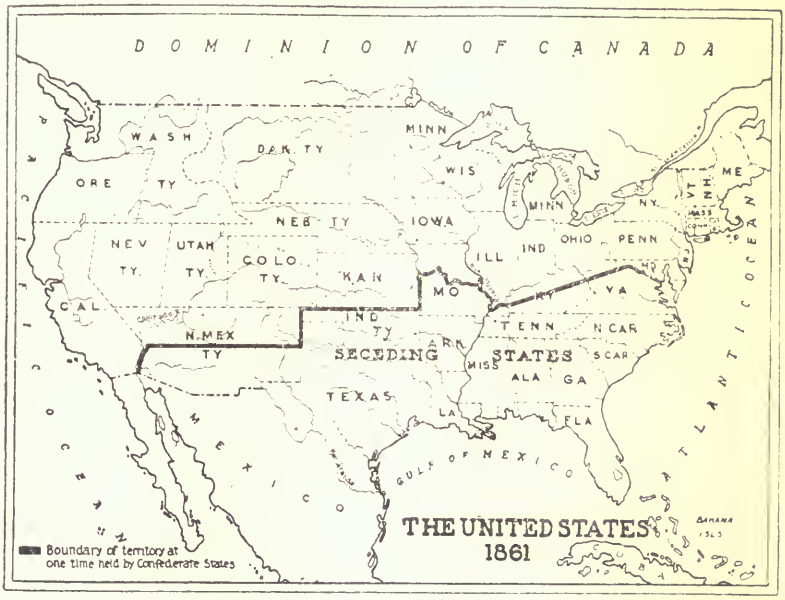
The joining of Arkansas to the Confederacy was the last accession to the Southern cause. The secessionists made strenuous exertions to secure the adhesion of the three border States of Missouri, Kentucky, and Maryland, but without success. The governor of Missouri, Mr. Jackson, in his message to the legislature insisted that Missouri must stand by the other slave States, and upon his recommendation a convention was called to meet on February 28. A large majority of the delegates chosen were Unionists and they passed unanimously a resolution declaring that there was no good cause for Missouri to dissolve her connection with the Federal Union. A large proportion of the people of the State, however, sympathized with the cause of the Confederacy and

they had an active leader in Governor Jackson. His reply to Lincoln's call for troops was: "Your requisition is illegal, unconstitutional, and revolutionary in its object, inhuman and diabolical, and cannot be complied with." He was supported in his attitude by the legislature, and under its direction he organized an army to repel the invasion of the Union troops and undertook to get possession of the United States arsenal at St. Louis.

The Union party had an equally alert leader in Francis P. Blair, Jr., a brother of President Lincoln's Postmaster General, a young man of courage and influence. The party as a whole received an accession of strength in the large German element of Missouri, which probably turned the scale. Blair was ably assisted by General Nathaniel Lyon, commander of the United States forces at St. Louis, and for the next few months the history of Missouri was the history of a contest between these two leaders on the one side and Governor Jackson on the other. Blair and Lyon, however, foiled the attempts of the secessionists to get possession of the arsenal at St. Louis, and in May captured the Confederate post, Camp Jackson, with a quantity of arms and ammunition. Meanwhile the secessionists were making preparations for war; the governor called for 50,000 men to resist the "unconstitutional edicts of the military despotism" at Washington, but the responses were few, and on June 15 the capital of the State fell into the hands of the United States military authorities. In July the convention which had resolved against secession in March now reassembled, deposed Governor Jackson and established a Unionist government. Thus Missouri was lost to the Confederacy.

Next to Maryland, Kentucky of all the border States afforded the Federal authorities most concern, because of its central position and hence its strategical value. The people of this State, divided as they were in their sympathies, believed that it would be possible for them to maintain an attitude of neutrality toward both contestants, and they endeavored to prevent the troops of either belligerent from occupying their territory. At first both governments gave a quasi recognition to Kentucky's neutrality, but in the end it proved impossible on account of the geographical position of the State. The governor, Beriah Magoffin, was a staunch secessionist, and he replied, to Lincoln's requisition, that Kentucky would furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister States. Subsequently he issued a proclamation warning the authorities of the

United States and of the Confederacy not to occupy any place or post in the State with troops, and forbidding all citizens from making hostile demonstrations against the authority of either belligerent, but in the meantime to prepare for defense against invasion from any quarter. Soon, however, Union troops were pouring in from the North, and the Confederates with equal promptness occupied the southern part of the State. The governor solemnly protested and urged their withdrawal, but to no avail.



Major Robert Anderson and Generals Nelson and Rousseau were sent into the State by President Lincoln to organize and command the Union forces, and through their activity Kentucky was soon under Union influence. The legislature refused to order a State convention, declined to coöperate with the governor in his military preparations, and passed various measures intended to establish the loyalty of the State. At the congressional elections in July the Unionists won nine of the ten seats, and in August a Union legislature was chosen. Late in the year the secessionists held a "sovereignty convention" at Russellville, which adopted a declaration of independence and an ordinance of secession and elected a

provisional government, but the occupation of the State by Union troops made the whole procedure a farce.[1]

In the meantime preparations were astir on both sides of Mason and Dixon's line for the impending conflict. The call of Jefferson Davis for privateers to prey on the commerce of the United States was followed by a proclamation from Lincoln on April 19, declaring the Southern ports in a state of blockade and announcing that all persons acting as privateers under the "pretended authority" of the Confederate States would be treated as pirates whenever they should fall into the hands of the Federal authorities. In his message of April 29 Mr. Davis adverted to this proclamation as the announcement of a "paper blockade" in violation of the law of nations and calculated to inaugurate a war of extermination on both sides. The enlistment of privateers proved to be one of the Confederacy's chief sources of strength, and Lincoln's threatened punishment was never resorted to on account of Davis's threat that the Confederate authorities would retaliate on an equal number of Union soldiers whom they might capture.

The proclamation of the blockade by the President of the United States was equivalent to a recognition of the Confederacy as a belligerent, and it was soon followed by a proclamation of neutrality by the Queen of Great Britain, which was likewise a recognition of the belligerency of the South. The United States Government protested vigorously against the action of the British Government in according belligerent rights to the Confederates, but there is no longer any doubt that it was clearly justified by the law of nations. It was necessary both for the protection of British interests on the high seas and as a warning to British subjects of their duties as neutrals.[2] The recognition of the belligerency of the Confederate Government gave it substantial advantages. It changed the status of those who took out letters of marque and reprisal from privates to privateers, assured to Confederate captives the right to be treated as prisoners of war, rather than as rebels, and otherwise gave the Confederacy an international standing which aided it in negotiating loans. While the United States was disposed for a time at least to regard the act of the British Government as an evidence of unfriendliness, chiefly on account of the undue haste with which the recognition had been accorded, the

[1] Read Shaler, "Kentucky," in the American Commonwealth Series.

[2] Hall, "International Law," 4th ed. p. 30.

Federal authorities were reminded that the United States Government, almost alone among the great nations of the world, had refused in 1856 to become a party to the Declaration of Paris that "privateering is abolished." The example of Great Britain in recognizing the belligerency of the Confederacy was soon followed by that of practically all of the other important powers of Europe. But while the commissioners sent abroad by the Confederate Government bestirred themselves actively at the various European capitals to secure a recognition of the independence of the Confederacy, their efforts were without success.

II

COMPARATIVE STRENGTH AND RESOURCES

Before taking up the military operations of the war it is worth our while to examine briefly the comparative resources of the two belligerents with a view to ascertaining their elements of strength and of weakness for the great contest which was about to ensue. So far as numbers were concerned the North had the overwhelming advantage. According to the census of 1860 the population of the eleven seceding States was 9,103,014, of whom 4,000,000 were negroes, mostly slaves. The population of the non-seceding States was 22,045,557, the odds thus being more than four to one in favor of the North so far as white population was concerned.[3] The military population of the two belligerents was about 4,600,000 in the North and 1,065,000 in the South. This disproportion of numbers was a serious drawback to the Confederacy. It was only by the most rigorous conscription that it was able to recruit its armies during the later years of the war, and even then it frequently happened that the regiments were filled with mere boys of sixteen and seventeen and even decrepit old men. Hardly at any time during the war were the Confederate enlistments more than one-half those of the United States. The following is a statement by a well known military historian of the comparative strength of each army at different periods of the war:[4]

[3] Of course in counting the border slave States, which did not secede, among the resources of the Union, the fact must not be overlooked that they furnished large military contingents to the Confederacy.

[4] Dodge, "Bird's-eye View of the Civil War," p. 323.

	Union.	Confederate About.
Jan. 1, 1861	16,367	.....
July 1, 1861	186,751	98,000
Jan. 1, 1862	575,917	350,000
Mar. 31, 1862	637,126	353,000
Jan. 1, 1863	918,191	441,000
Jan. 1, 1864	860,737	471,000
Jan. 1, 1865	959,460	418,000
Mar. 31, 1865	980,980	175,000
May 1, 1865	1,000,516	.....

From a printed statement issued by the War Department in January, 1892, showing the number of men called for by the President and the number of men furnished by each State and Territory during the Civil War, it appears that the number of men furnished by the several States and Territories for the Union army and navy during the war was 2,778,304. It should be borne in mind, however, that this number represents enlistments (credits) and not the actual number of individuals in the service, which latter has never been officially determined, no compilation ever having been made of the number of reënlistments. It is estimated by the Record and Pension office, however, from the best data obtainable, that the number of individuals in the service in the Union army and navy during the war was 2,213,365, without regard to length of service.

No compilation has ever been prepared by the department from which even an approximately accurate statement can be made concerning the number of troops in the Confederate army, and it is impracticable to make such a compilation, because of the incompleteness of the collection of Confederate records in the possession of the department. In Livermore's "Numbers and Losses" their strength is estimated by various authorities at from 600,000 to 1,500,000. Rhodes estimates that the number of men in the Union army was equivalent to 1,556,678 serving three years; in the Confederate army 1,082,119.[5]

Of the Union enlistments, 178,000 were whites from the slave States and 99,000 negroes, mostly from the same States.[6] But the advantage which the North enjoyed in numbers was to some

[5] Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. v, p. 180.

[6] Printed statement of the Record and Pension Office of January, 1892, p. 8.

extent offset by that which the Confederates had in fighting a defensive war on their own grounds and among friends. The intimate knowledge of the country over which they fought, their adaptability to the Southern climate and the encouragement and the support of the surrounding population were advantages of great significance to the Southern soldiers. The history of many wars in the past shows that relatively small armies, acting on the defensive, have resisted invasions of much larger ones. The people of the South always contended that they were fighting for their liberty, their independence, and their honor, a "just and holy cause," said President Davis, in his message of April 29, and history teaches that a people who are animated by such convictions are difficult to conquer.

To overcome the Confederates it was necessary for Northern armies to penetrate the heart of the South, where they were surrounded on all sides by enemies and plagued by a climate to which they were ill-adapted, at the same time maintaining uninterrupted connections with their bases of supplies at the North. Whatever they conquered in the South had to be held, or the conquest was worthless, and this required large numbers of additional troops. Furthermore, the South had an advantage, too often overlooked, in its slave population, most of whom remained quietly on the plantations during the war, cultivated the crops and with remarkable faithfulness raised food supplies for the families of their masters who were absent in the service of the Confederacy. Moreover, the slaves rendered valuable service in the Confederate army as body-servants, teamsters, hostlers, cooks, and in the erection of fortifications.

Another advantage of the North was its great wealth and the variety of its industries. Nearly all the important establishments for the manufacture of cotton and woolen goods, boots, shoes, hardware, farming implements, drugs, medicines, firearms, ships, etc., were north of Mason and Dixon's line. The South was almost wholly an agricultural region and was therefore dependent upon the North or upon foreign countries for most of the necessaries of life which could not be produced on the farm. Manufacturing on a large scale had never flourished in the South; the Southern people had devoted their main energies to the production of cotton — a commodity which they with more of pride than of boastfulness christened the "king of staples," and the demand for which abroad

they fully believed would lead the European nations to recognize the Confederacy and demand the raising of the blockade.

But in this view they overestimated the power of King Cotton, and throughout the long years of the war the Confederacy was practically shut in from all intercourse with the outside world by a cordon of blockading vessels extending from the mouth of the Potomac to the Rio Grande. The South now for the first time realized the meaning of its dependence on the outside world. Arms, munitions and all kinds of military supplies, clothing, shoes, medical and hospital needs, could only be procured by blockade running, a most hazardous and uncertain business.

At first the blockade was not very effective; but as the war progressed the Southern ports were more closely invested until foreign trade was practically at an end. Millions of dollars' worth of cotton were stored up in warehouses and held in the vain hope that England, forced by necessity, would recognize the Confederacy and demand the opening of the Southern ports. But that time never came. Cotton worth its weight in gold could not be disposed of, while salt could not be purchased for $25 a bushel. The energies of the South were thus diverted from the prosecution of the war to the establishment of new industries and the creation of makeshifts and substitutes for many of the necessaries of life. It is practically admitted now that the blockade was one of the principal causes of the downfall of the Confederacy. The greatest difficulty was experienced in securing fire-arms, salt, coffee, and medicine. Old muskets, time-worn and well-nigh worthless, except as heirlooms, were brought out and pressed into service. Brass ornaments and utensils of every kind were melted down and used in the manufacture of cannon.[7]

The North, on the other hand, not only manufactured everything that was needed for the support of its armies and the prosecution of the war, but enjoyed the advantage of an unrestrained commerce with foreign nations. Possessing great wealth and enjoying the prestige of an independent nation, the government at Washington was able to borrow unlimited sums as they were needed and at reasonable rates of interest. From first to last its

[7] For excellent accounts of the industrial and social conditions in the North and in the South during the war, see Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. v, chs. xxvii and xxviii; also John Christopher Schwab, "Financial History of the Confederacy."

army was well fed and clothed, better so perhaps than any other army of modern times.

As to fighting qualities, it is sometimes said that the Southerners possessed the advantage. They were no doubt better trained in the use of arms and in horsemanship than the Northern soldiers, and it was often asserted in the South that they possessed greater physical courage. Before the outbreak of the war, indeed, it was widely believed that Northern men would not fight; but this was soon found to be a delusion, and none were more ready to testify to the courage and bravery of the Union soldier than his Southern adversary. The North, on the other hand, misunderstood the temper and determination of the Southern people. It was commonly asserted at the North that the secession of the Southern States had been brought about by a small coterie of political leaders against the real wishes of the masses of small slaveholders and non-slaveholders who were at heart in favor of the Union, and that after a short campaign they would come "trooping back" into the Union. But the fact is, the poor whites and the small slaveholders were more strongly opposed to "submission" than the slave "oligarchs." It is an error to contend, as some historians have done, that the Southern "fire-eaters" were confined to the ranks of the wealthy slaveholders. Their enthusiasm was to be found among all classes and their followers were legion. They entered upon the conflict with no other thought than to fight as long as there was any hope of success. This misconception upon the part of each side of the qualities and motives of the other constituted one of the strange features of the initial stages of the Civil War.[8]

An event that came dangerously near involving the United States in a foreign war soon after the beginning of hostilities with the South was the Trent Affair, which occurred in October, 1861. In its efforts to secure the recognition of foreign powers the Confederate Government had appointed James M. Mason, of Virginia, and John Slidell, of Louisiana, both late senators in the Congress of the United States, to represent the Confederacy at London and Paris, respectively. Escaping the Federal blockade at Charleston on the night of October 12, they reached Havana, Cuba, and took passage from there to England on the British mail

[8] Read Brown, "The Resources of the Confederacy," in his "Lower South," ch. iii.

steamer *Trent*. On the day after the *Trent* left Havana she was hailed by a United States sloop of war, the *San Jacinto*, which fired a shot athwart her bows as a signal to stop. Paying no attention to the signal, the *Trent* proceeded on her course. The *San Jacinto* then fired a shell, which exploded near the *Trent* and brought her to a halt. Thereupon Captain Wilkes sent on board a party of marines under the command of Lieutenant Fairfax, who forcibly seized the Confederate commissioners and their secretaries against the protest of the British officer and took them to Boston, where they were confined as prisoners of war in Fort Warren.[9]

The news of Wilkes's capture was received at the North with great rejoicing. Congress voted Captain Wilkes a resolution of thanks, the hospitality of the Northern cities were extended to him, and the act was approved by the Secretary of the Navy as one marked by "intelligence, ability, decision and firmness." But in England it aroused a storm of popular indignation and was denounced as an outrage upon the British flag. Public indignation meetings were held, the government was called upon to demand reparation, and extensive preparations for war were begun. Immense quantities of arms and ammunition were collected and troops were sent to Halifax to be ready for service against the United States. The British Government promptly made a formal demand for reparation and gave seven days for an answer. This sent a chill over the popular enthusiasm in the United States and many clamored for war with Great Britain, but cooler heads realized that this would be rashness in the extreme. To put down the insurrection was task enough for the government, and at the moment many seriously questioned whether that were possible.

The far-seeing Lincoln was quick to recognize that the act of Captain Wilkes was indefensible. As soon as the news was broken to him he remarked that Wilkes had done precisely the very thing that we had once fought England for doing. In his opinion there was only one course to pursue, namely, to release the commissioners, disavow the act of Captain Wilkes and wait for a more propitious time to settle accounts with the British Government. Accordingly a carefully worded answer was prepared by Secretary Seward disavowing the act of Captain Wilkes but at the

[9] See article of Lieutenant, afterwards Rear Admiral, Fairfax in "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War" ("The Century War Book"), vol. ii, pp. 135-142.

same time adding that if the safety of the Union had required the detention of the captured commissioners it would have been the right and duty of this government to detain them. Mason and Slidell were taken to England at the expense of the United States and released, but were never able to accomplish the mission for which they had been sent. The affair contributed much to the increasing tension between the United States and Great Britain, for the people of the North highly resented the manifestations of British indignation at Captain Wilkes's course, the haste with which the government presented its ultimatum and the warlike preparations which were entered upon for the enforcement of English demands. The prompt compliance of the United States, however, with the British demand was a sore disappointment to the people of the South, who fondly hoped that England might thus be induced to declare war against the North and join her forces with those of the Confederacy.[10]

III

THE BEGINNING OF THE CONFLICT

We noted the great anxiety which existed at Washington after the Baltimore riot on account of the difficulty of transporting troops from the North to the capital. For several days subsequent to the riot a condition amounting almost to a panic prevailed among the public officials in Washington lest the Confederate forces then gathering in Virginia should make a descent upon the city. Had such an attempt been made at the time it would have been impossible to offer an effective resistance with the few thousand troops then gathered for the defense of the capital. The President fully realized the effect the capture of Washington by the Confederates would have, both as regards the loss of the vast property of the government and the prestige it would give the Confederates abroad and the thought gave him great concern. His apprehension did not disappear until April 25 on which day the Eighth Massachusetts and the Seventh New York regiments reached the capital after experiencing great difficulty and fatigue in making their way through Maryland. There were then ten thousand troops in the city and great was the rejoicing among the

[10] See Bancroft, "Life of Seward," vol. ii. ch. xxxiii.

residents at the feeling of security which they were now able to enjoy.

The capital being considered safe from attack, the next move was to begin the task of retaking possession of the public property which had been seized by the Confederate authorities in the Southern States. On April 24 Federal troops crossed the Potomac into Virginia, took possession of Arlington Heights and occupied the town of Alexandria, from one of whose hotels the Federal authorities at Washington could see floating the Confederate flag. While undertaking to haul down the emblem, Colonel Ellsworth, of the New York Zouaves, was killed by the hotel proprietor, who in turn was shot by a soldier of Ellsworth's company. Unless we count the Baltimore riot as an incident of the war, this was the first blood shed in the conflict between the United States and the Confederacy. The affair aroused intense indignation in Virginia, and called forth vigorous proclamations from the governor and from General Beauregard, the Confederate commander in this quarter. General Beauregard warned the people in a public proclamation that "a reckless and unprincipled tyrant has invaded your soil — has thrown his abolition hosts among you, who are murdering and imprisoning your citizens, confiscating and destroying your property — and they proclaim by their acts, if not on their banners, that their war-cry is 'Beauty and booty.'" [11]

Meantime military operations had begun in that part of Virginia lying west of the mountains. The people of this region, owning few slaves and affected by geographical contact with Ohio and Pennsylvania, from the people of which States many of the inhabitants had descended, and separated by high mountains from eastern Virginia, were from the first opposed to secession and took no part in the movement by which the eastern part of the State had undertaken to dissolve its connection with the Union. After the popular ratification of the ordinance of secession, against which the people of western Virginia had voted with practical unanimity, delegates from some forty counties held a convention at Wheeling in June, repudiated the action of the secessionists and took steps to "reorganize" the government of the State. Seeing these evidences of opposition, the governor issued a stirring proclamation to the people of this part of the State, urging them to come to the aid of the Confederate authorities and help drive the invader

[11] "Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia" for 1861, p. 147.

from the soil of Virginia. At the same time he sent troops to protect them from a "reckless and ruthless" enemy. But they refused to heed the governor's call, and protested against his sending troops into their midst. In this situation they appealed to the Federal authorities for aid against the Virginia militia, and upon direction of the President General George B. McClellan, commander of the Ohio Volunteers, sent a detachment to drive out the Confederates and to coöperate with the inhabitants in their efforts to "reorganize" the government of the State along Union lines. General McClellan had been an artillery officer in the regular army, and had seen service in the Mexican War. In 1857, however, he had resigned his commission and accepted the presidency of a railroad company, and was residing at Cincinnati, when Lincoln issued his call for volunteers. Commissioned by the governor of Ohio as a major general of militia, he set to work at once to organize and equip the troops, and was thus engaged when he received instructions to go to the aid of the west Virginia loyalists. On May 26, General McClellan issued a rather pompous proclamation to the people of this region, telling them that Ohio troops were coming to their aid as brothers and friends, and urging them to "fly to arms" and support the general government. On June 3 a detachment of his men met the Virginia troops at Philippi and routed them.[12] This was the first battle or skirmish of the Civil War. Thereupon the loyalist convention reassembled at Wheeling, elected Francis H. Pierpoint governor, not merely of west Virginia, but of the whole State, on the theory that the old governor, having joined the Confederacy, was no longer the legal executive. It also made provision for the assembling of a legislature, which met early in July and elected two United States senators to take the place of those who had resigned after the passage of the ordinance of secession.

The President of the United States promptly recognized Pierpoint as the legal governor of the State and the Senate admitted the newly elected senators to their seats. Representatives were also chosen and were allowed to take their seats. In August an ordinance for the formation of a new State, embracing the forty-eight northwestern counties of Virginia and bearing the name of "Kanawha," was adopted, and in October it was approved by the vote of the loyalists. At the same time delegates to a constitutional

[12] "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War," vol. i. p. 127.

convention were elected, who assembled at Wheeling in November and framed a constitution, which was speedily submitted to the people and ratified, only loyalists, of course, taking part in the election. The legislature, regarding itself the constitutional legislative body of the entire State, now gave the consent required by the Federal Constitution for the formation of a new State within the jurisdiction of Virginia, and Congress, on the last day of the year 1862, passed an act for admitting the new State to the Union under the name of West Virginia. The constitutionality of this extraordinary procedure depends wholly on whether the legislature that gave its consent was the legislature of Virginia. It is clear that the legislature at Wheeling was not the legislature of Virginia, but the legislature of that part of Virginia which was seeking to become a new State. This stamps the action of Congress as unwarranted by the strict letter of the Constitution. Those historians who have defended it rely upon the right of Congress, in time of rebellion, to recognize the loyal element of a rebellious State as the true State.[13]

Meanwhile General McClellan had taken personal command in western Virginia and was rapidly clearing that portion of the State of the Confederate forces. In July they suffered defeats at Rich Mountain, Laurel Hill and Carrick's Ford.[14] The result of these victories was to save western Virginia for the Union and to establish General McClellan's reputation as a skillful military commander. In a somewhat bombastic proclamation of July 10 he summarized the results of the campaign, saying that his command had "annihilated two armies commanded by educated and experienced soldiers, intrenched in mountain fastnesses and fortified at their leisure; had killed two hundred and fifty of the enemy; taken one thousand prisoners, seven guns, fifteen hundred stand of arms, and had lost only twenty killed and sixty wounded." The victories won by McClellan were small, but their result, as we can now see, was enormous, for it not only saved West Virginia, but broke in two the great State of Virginia, which was the bulwark of the Confederacy. The loss of West Virginia could never be made good, but the defeats of the Confederates at Rich Mountain, Laurel Hill and Philippi were soon retrieved by one of the most decisive and dramatic victories of the war.

[13] Burgess, "The Civil War and the Constitution," vol. ii. p. 231.

[14] "Battles and Leaders," vol. i. pp. 128–148.

IV

THE BATTLE OF BULL RUN OR MANASSAS

Yielding to the clamors of an impatient public and confronted by the embarrassing situation arising from the early expiration of the terms of service of the militia, President Lincoln at last gave orders for the advance of the Federal army against the Confederate forces in Virginia. "On to Richmond" was the cry of restive spirits throughout the North, who believed the Confederate capital could be taken by a quick, sharp campaign and the war ended before the meeting of the Confederate Congress on July 20. The plan of attack was prepared by General Irvin McDowell, a graduate of West Point and a veteran of the Mexican War. He was to be aided in the execution by Generals Butler and Patterson. The Confederate forces in Virginia were distributed as follows: About 23,000 were at Manassas Junction under the command of General Beauregard, a graduate of West Point, who had resigned from the regular army after the adoption by Louisiana of the ordinance of secession; about 10,000 at Winchester in the Shenandoah Valley, under the command of General Joseph E. Johnston, also a graduate of West Point and a former officer in the regular army; and 10,000 under General J. B. Magruder, near Fortress Monroe. The Union forces consisted of some 35,000 men under General McDowell on the Potomac, opposite Washington; 10,000 men under General Butler at Fortress Monroe, and 20,000 under General Patterson in the Shenandoah. General McDowell's plan, which had received the approval of the President and of General Scott, was that he should attack Beauregard at Manassas while Patterson should hold Johnston's army at Winchester, so as to prevent its going to the aid of Beauregard, and Butler should in the same manner detain Magruder at Yorktown.

As soon as the President of the Confederacy received information of McDowell's advance from Washington he telegraphed General Johnston to go to the aid of Beauregard. Patterson, who was charged with preventing this junction, was a veteran of the War of 1812 and of the Mexican War, but was timid and incapable, so it was generally charged. Allowing himself to believe that Johnston's army was much larger than his own, he retreated from his position near Winchester to Charleston, twenty miles distant,

and allowed Johnston to escape in time to join Beauregard at Manassas Junction on July 20 with the larger part of his army. For this incapacity he was promptly relieved from command and a little later was retired from active service. In the meantime McDowell had decided to attack Beauregard on Sunday, the 21st, being unaware of Johnston's escape from the Shenandoah. Long before daybreak on the morning of that day his army began to move in three divisions with the intention of turning the Confederate left. Owing to delays, however, it was not until 10 o'clock that the attack began.

The Confederates were then driven back for a distance of a mile and a half and were still retreating when they were rallied on a plateau called Henry Hill by General T. J. Jackson. With a fresh brigade of Confederates he calmly awaited the onslaughts of the Union troops as they swept up the side of the hill, carrying everything before them. At this juncture the Confederate General Bee rushed up to Jackson, who sat motionless on his horse watching the movement, and exclaimed: "General, they are beating us back!" "Then, sir," replied Jackson, "we'll give them the bayonet." A few minutes later Bee, noticing the resistance which Jackson was offering to the Union troops, remarked, "There stands Jackson like a stone wall." From this time forward this unique figure, who was destined to become one of the most remarkable military commanders of the war, was popularly known as "Stonewall" Jackson.

In the meantime Generals Beauregard and Johnston, who were four miles away, hearing the firing, galloped hastily to the scene of the battle and ordered a renewal of the attack. This was about noon, and from then until three o'clock a furious contest ensued for the possession of Henry Hill, now held by the Union troops. Assault after assault was made by the Confederates in the attempt to retake the plateau. Once the Confederates, with Jackson's brigade in the lead, drove back the enemy. But their success was only temporary, the Union troops rallying and again sweeping the Confederates before them. It now began to look as if a Union victory was assured. But about three o'clock the tide was turned by the unexpected arrival of the remnant of Johnston's army which had been left in the Shenandoah Valley, consisting of over 2,000 men commanded by General E. Kirby Smith. As the troops appeared in the distance cheer after cheer went up from the Con-

federate regiments, while the Union commanders were filled with despair, for they supposed that it was Johnston's entire army, the arrival of which two days before they had not yet learned. With fresh reënforcements the Confederates now renewed the attack and the Federal troops, half exhausted, having been up since two o'clock in the morning, and supposing that a new army had appeared to attack them, broke and fled from the field panic-stricken.

The retreat soon became a disorganized route, in which a confused mass of frightened fugitives rushed madly across the fields, pursued by imaginary enemies. The commanders could do nothing to rally them. It was a case of *sauve qui peut*. Flying teams, jostling vehicles, riderless horses galloping here and there, clouds of dust, the roar of artillery, all added to the indescribable confusion. As the retreat approached Cub Run bridge a shot from Kemper's battery took effect upon the horses of a team that was crossing; the wagon was overturned in the center of the bridge and the passage obstructed. At this juncture the Confederates commenced to play their artillery upon the train of carriages and artillery wagons, reducing them to a heap of ruins. Hundreds of dusty, powder-blackened soldiers threw away their muskets and dashed down the hill in disorderly rout; the main passage of retreat was choked, and for miles the panic spread. Many officials and private citizens, including ladies, who had come down from Washington in the morning in holiday attire to witness the battle, were forced into the rout and were carried across the fields for a distance of several miles. Some, believing the Confederates would follow up their victory by active pursuit, did not cease their flight until they were safe across the Long Bridge at Washington.

But strangely enough, the Confederates showed no disposition to continue the pursuit, although it is probable that at any time within two weeks they could have easily taken Washington. President Davis, who arrived in time to see the rout of the Union troops, favored an advance, but yielded to the judgment of Beauregard and Johnston, who believed otherwise. The losses on each side in the Battle of Bull Run approximated two thousand in killed and wounded. The opinion of military critics has been general that McDowell's plan of battle was a good one, but poorly executed. Patterson's failure to hold Johnston's army in the Shenandoah, the delay in making the attack, and the opportune arrival of Kirby

Smith's reënforcements at the critical hour are the reasons usually assigned for the defeat of the Union troops.

The rout of the Union army caused great disappointment as well as a feeling of humiliation in the North, but it had the effect of arousing the Northern people to a proper realization of the magnitude of the task which lay before them. It was now evident to all that the contest was to be no mere child's play, and they entered at once upon elaborate preparations for a long war. The moral effect on the South was rather unfavorable. To many of the less informed Southerners it was accepted as proof of the old assertion often heard in the South that one Southerner could whip three "Yankees." Instead of an aggressive policy, the South, resting upon her laurels and believing that the victory was already won, now fell back into a fancied security, relaxed her efforts and waited for the second outburst of patriotism in the North to bring her to her senses. This outburst soon followed.

Chapter XXX

THE WAR IN THE WEST. 1861–1862

I

THE SECOND UPRISING OF THE NORTH

THE extraordinary session of Congress which had assembled on July 4 was still sitting when the news of the Battle of Bull Run came. Disappointed, but not discouraged, the House of Representatives promptly resolved that the "maintenance of the Constitution, the preservation of the Union and the enforcement of the laws are sacred trusts which must be executed; that no disaster shall discourage us from the ample performance of this most sacred duty; and that we pledge to the country and the world the employment of every resource, national and individual, for the suppression, overthrow and punishment of rebels in arms."

The President in his message of July 4 had asked Congress to place at his disposal at least 400,000 men and $400,000,000, in order to make the contest a "short and decisive" one. At the same time he informed Congress of his action of May 3 in issuing orders for the increase of the regular army by 22,700 men and of the navy by 18,000 men, and of his call for 42,000 additional volunteers for three years, unless sooner discharged. In assuming to increase the regular army and navy the President had gone to the limit of his constitutional power, if he had not exceeded it. He felt keenly the criticism which had been directed against him on this account, and justified his action by saying that his course, whether strictly legal or not, had been "ventured upon under what appeared to be a popular demand and a public necessity." He hoped, therefore, that Congress would speedily ratify his acts. He devoted a considerable part of his message also to a defense of his action in suspending the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, which had called forth severe criticism from the Northern Democrats, and had led to conflicts between the military and civil

1861

authorities in Maryland and elsewhere. He assured Congress that the authority had been exercised sparingly and insisted that his general duty to take care that the laws should be executed justified him in violating a particular law if it were necessary to secure the execution of all. "Are all the laws to go unexecuted," he asked, "and the government itself to go to pieces lest that one be violated?" But he insisted that there had been no violation of the fundamental law, since the Constitution expressly authorizes the suspension of the writ when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it. There could be no doubt, he said, that there was rebellion and that the public safety required the suspension of the writ. The only question was as to who should suspend it, and as the Constitution was silent on this point it might be claimed that there had been no flagrant violation; but the position of the clause in the Constitution and the precedents of history, English and American, were against the view of the President.

Nevertheless, Congress approved the President's course in these particulars and adopted a resolution legalizing all his acts, proclamations and orders, and making them valid as if they had been done under express authority and direction of the national legislature. Besides the act of indemnity, Congress passed measures authorizing the President to call for volunteers to the number of 500,000 men to serve for three years or during the period of the war; authorizing him further to increase the regular army and navy, empowering him to collect customs duties at ports of delivery instead of at ports of entry; authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to borrow $250,000,000; increasing duties on imports; imposing a tax on incomes; and levying a direct tax of $20,000,000 upon the States. It was supposed that these several measures would yield a revenue of something like one million dollars a day. Finally an act was passed authorizing the President to seize and confiscate all property used or intended to be used in aid of the Confederate cause. By the same act it was declared that all slaves employed by their masters in furtherance of the same cause should be emancipated. Having thus placed the North on a military footing, Congress adjourned, August 6, leaving the President a virtual dictator in the management of the war.

The people of the North now entered upon active preparations for a long war, as the Battle of Bull Run had afforded ample conviction that the resistance of the South could not be easily

overcome. Every town and village was alive with martial activity. A Southern historian of the Civil War, criticising the South for its inactivity and indifference after the Battle of Bull Run, speaks thus of the uprising of the North: "It accomplished wonders. It multiplied its armies; it built navies with infuriate energy; it recovered itself from financial straits which distant observers thought hopeless; a few weeks after the Battle of Manassas it negotiated a loan of one hundred and fifty millions of dollars, at a fraction above the legal interest of New York; in short, its universal mind and energy were consolidated in its war upon the South. There is no more remarkable phenomenon in the whole history of the war than the display of fully-awake Northern energy in it, alike wonderful in the ingenuity of its expedients and in the concentrated force of its action." [1]

Nevertheless the President of the Confederacy fully realized that a long and bloody war was imminent and that all the resources of the South would have to be called into requisition. The Confederate Congress met April 29 and was in session a large part of the summer. It passed various acts for putting the South on a war footing, among others one to confiscate the property of alien enemies, to sequestrate debts due Northern creditors, to raise loans of money, and authorizing the enlistment of 400,000 volunteers for three years.

II

THE STRUGGLE FOR MISSOURI; CAPTURE OF FORTS HENRY AND DONELSON

After this brief pause military operations were renewed by both armies and rapidly pushed forward. For the rest of that year and all of the following the theater of warfare lay chiefly in the West. During the summer the chief movements were in Missouri, where the struggle between the secessionists and the Unionists for the possession of the State was still going on. The secessionist forces were led by Generals Sterling Price and Benjamin McCulloch; the Union leader was General Nathaniel P. Lyon, who, with Blair, had early in the spring outwitted the secessionists and prevented the adoption of an ordinance of secession. After several

[1] Pollard, "The Lost Cause," p. 154.

unimportant skirmishes between detachments of the respective sides the two main armies met on August 10 on Wilson's Creek, near Springfield, the strength of the Union army being about 6,000 men, that of the Confederates about 12,000. At daybreak the Union army attacked the Confederates both front and rear and a sharp battle ensued, continuing for several hours. Again the Union forces were badly beaten, losing about one-fourth their number in killed, wounded and captured. But the greatest loss to the Union men was their gallant General Lyon, who was shot while leading the attack. General Lyon was one of the ablest of the Union commanders. His extraordinary activity in suppressing the secession movement in Missouri had recommended him to the Federal authorities at Washington and he was rapidly advanced from the rank of captain to that of major general in the short space of two months. The Union forces, somewhat demoralized by the loss of their leader, retreated unmolested by the Confederates, who were too much shattered to continue the pursuit.

General John C. Frémont, who, after the reorganization following the Battle of Bull Run, had been appointed commander of the Military District of the West (Kentucky, Illinois, Missouri and Kansas), with headquarters at St. Louis, now assumed control of military operations in this region and established a line of posts across the State from Cape Girardeau on the Mississippi to Leavenworth on the Missouri. Undertaking to pursue a more radical course than the conservative Unionists of Missouri preferred, Frémont soon found himself involved in difficulties which eventually led to his removal. In the latter part of August he issued a proclamation placing the State under martial law and commanding that all persons found within certain designated limits with arms in their hands should be shot. At the same time he proclaimed that the property of persons bearing arms against the United States should be confiscated and their slaves emancipated.

President Lincoln immediately saw that a policy so drastic would alienate the thousands of Union slaveholders in the border States, and he therefore made it known to General Frémont, through indirect channels, that he disapproved of that part of the proclamation relating to emancipation. Frémont, however, declared that he would not alter his proclamation until specifically ordered to do so. The President thereupon directed him to modify

the order so as to make it conform to the recent act of Congress, which commanded the emancipation of such slaves only as were employed in the service of the Confederacy. Besides his fascination for heroic measures, Frémont laid himself liable to charges of incompetency, ostentation and corruption in awarding contracts, and the President finally removed him from command of the department. There were many radical Republicans at the North, however, who sustained Frémont's abolition policy and condemned the President for his interference. This body of Republicans rapidly increased in number and in less than a year from that time there was a large and powerful abolition party at the North demanding the emancipation of all the slaves in the seceded States.

Meantime Kentucky and Tennessee were rapidly becoming the scene of action in the West. The Confederates now held a chain of posts reaching from Virginia to the Mississippi River, including Mill Spring, Bowling Green, Forts Henry and Donelson and Columbus. They were in control of the southern half of Kentucky and practically all of Tennessee, while the Union troops occupied the northern part of Kentucky to the great disgust of the Kentuckians, who desired, as already stated, to maintain a position of neutrality in the contest between the North and the South. To penetrate this line of posts, rescue the Unionists of east Tennessee and begin the move into the heart of the Confederacy was the next great task of the Federal armies. When, in September, the Confederate General Polk with his army crossed the Tennessee line into western Kentucky, General U. S. Grant replied by sending over from Cairo, Illinois, several detachments of Federal troops, which occupied Paducah and other towns in the northern part of the State. The legislature of Kentucky denounced this invasion of the sacred soil of the State and demanded the withdrawal of all Confederate troops. Polk refused to withdraw unless the Federal troops would do likewise.[2] The legislature then instructed the governor to expel them and appealed to the Federal authorities to come to their aid in assisting the State to rid itself of invaders. Other troops from both sides now poured into the State until it was soon a great battleground. Neutrality was henceforth not to be thought of.

The Confederates had two armies in the State, one at Co-

[2] Polk was a graduate of West Point, and at the time was the Episcopal bishop of Louisiana, popularly known as the "fighting bishop."

lumbus under General Polk and another at Bowling Green under the command of General Albert Sydney Johnston, a graduate of West Point and formerly an officer of high rank in the United States army. Opposed to these was a Federal army at Louisville under General D. C. Buell and another at Cairo, Illinois, within easy reach, under the command of General U. S. Grant. Two

gateways into Tennessee were afforded by the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, which, rising in the Alleghany Mountains, flow almost southerly and then turning northward flow in substantially parallel directions across the State of Kentucky into the Ohio River. These rivers, however, were well defended by two forts, Henry and Donelson, the former on the Tennessee and the latter on the Cumberland, about twelve miles apart and situated in the northern part of Tennessee. To take these forts and open up the

way into the heart of the Confederacy was one of the cherished schemes of the Federal commanders in the West.

Early in 1862 General Grant requested and received permission from his superior, General Halleck, to attempt the capture of Fort Henry. To coöperate with him he selected flag officer Foote, who was in command of a squadron of gunboats at Cairo. Early in February Foote's gunboats, accompanied by transports carrying Grant's troops, sailed up the Tennessee River and captured the fort without difficulty, to the great surprise and dismay of the Confederate authorities. Grant, flushed with success, telegraphed Halleck that he proposed to take Fort Donelson two days later. The gunboats were now sent down the Tennessee River and up the Cumberland, while Grant with most of his army marched across the intervening country to Donelson.

The task of taking the fort, however, was far greater than Grant had supposed. It was better situated, better fortified than Fort Henry, and was defended by an army of 18,000 men under the command of Generals John B. Floyd, late Secretary of War, Gideon J. Pillow and Simon B. Buckner. Grant's entire force amounted to 27,000 men, his division commanders being Generals John A. McClernand, Charles F. Smith and Lew Wallace. On February 13 several desperate assaults were made by Morrison's brigade upon some Confederate rifle pits at the foot of a bluff, but his troops were repulsed with a terrible loss, Colonel Morrison being among the number killed. General McClernand, who gave the rash order for this attack, was severely criticised and the incident marked the beginning of an unfriendliness between him and Grant that lasted as long as they lived. On the following day Foote's gunboats opened fire on the batteries, which was immediately returned with terrible effect. Several of the gunboats were disabled and Foote was severely wounded. During the night the bombardment was suspended and each side made plans for the morrow. Meantime Federal reënforcements were continually arriving and drawing the lines closer about the fort.

Early next morning the Confederates, alarmed by these reenforcements, made a desperate attempt to cut their way through the Union right and open the way to Nashville. McClernand's division, which constituted the right wing, being short of ammunition, was driven back in great confusion and it began to look as if the Confederates would make their escape. At this juncture

Grant, who had been absent in consultation with Foote, five miles down the river, was made aware of the Confederate attack, and hastily summoned. What would he do to retrieve the disaster? A few moments' reflection sufficed and without the slightest manifestation of excitement he calmly addressed the officers, saying, "Gentlemen, the position on the right must be retaken." Soon the Union troops were in motion, with General Smith in the lead on the right and Lew Wallace on the left. The firing on both sides was terrific and the loss heavy, but the hill was carried and the Confederates driven back.

At midnight the Confederate generals, full of dismay, held a council. Floyd and Buckner agreed that capitulation was the only alternative. Pillow favored making an attempt to cut their way out; but in view of the enormous sacrifice of life which such a move would involve he was overruled. Floyd, who was under indictment at Washington, did not wish to fall into the hands of the Federal authorities. Accordingly it was arranged that he should escape with some 1,500 troops, on two small steamers which were due to arrive from Nashville about daybreak, and this he succeeded in doing. Pillow likewise escaped, leaving Buckner to make the surrender. On Sunday morning, February 16, the Confederate general sent a communication to Grant, proposing to surrender the fort on certain conditions. Grant replied, saying "No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works." Nothing was left for the defeated commander but to accept what he termed the "ungenerous and unchivalrous" terms of his adversary. Some 15,000 men, forty pieces of artillery and a large quantity of stores and other public property were thus lost to the Confederacy.

The loss and suffering on both sides, due to the severity of the winter, was frightful. The killed and wounded of the Confederates numbered some two thousand men, while the Union loss was slightly larger. Gloom and sorrow filled every Southern heart. Floyd and Pillow were removed from command and Jefferson Davis was urged to remove Albert Sydney Johnston, who had made the mistake of dividing his army, but Davis wisely resisted the pressure and retained this able commander. The surrender of Fort Donelson was the greatest blow that the South had yet sustained. It forced the Confederates to abandon Bowling Green,

Columbus, and Nashville; left Kentucky and a considerable part of Tennessee in the hands of the Federal authorities, and opened the way for the Union army to advance into the heart of the Confederacy. This was the first substantial victory won by the Federal army since the beginning of the war and caused great rejoicing at the North when it became known.[3]

The man who deserved the credit for the victory was General Grant, and all eyes were now turned upon him as the coming leader of the Union armies. Spending his early youth on a farm, where he had the usual experience of a country boy, at seventeen he obtained a cadetship at West Point and graduated in 1843. Throughout the Mexican War campaigns he served without winning any extraordinary distinction, though twice breveted for gallantry. Later he was stationed in army posts at Detroit, Sackett's Harbor and on the Western Coast. At the age of thirty-three, with the rank of captain, he resigned his commission and retired to a little farm near St. Louis, owned by his wife. But his best endeavors at farming were without success, and hauling cord-wood proved no better.[4] Grant turned to real estate as a business, but failure followed him still. At length, practically desperate, he applied to his father for advice and aid and shortly thereafter he moved his family from St. Louis, determined to make the most of a small clerkship in his father's leather store at Galena, Illinois. Here we find him at the outbreak of the war. In June, 1861, he was appointed colonel of an Illinois regiment of volunteers, and a little later was advanced to the rank of brigadier general. At last he found an opportunity to retrieve in a measure the succession of failures which had marked his life. From this time forward he rose rapidly to the highest military and civil stations within the gift of his countrymen.

III

SHILOH; ISLAND NUMBER TEN; CORINTH AND MEMPHIS

After the fall of Donelson the Confederates abandoned Nashville, Columbus and Bowling Green to the Federal troops and

[3] An interesting description of the capture of Fort Donelson is that of General Lew Wallace in "Battles and Leaders," vol. i. pp. 398–428.

[4] Grant's "Memoirs," vol. i. p. 120.

withdrew towards the South. Grant's army moved southward up the Tennessee River with the design of occupying the town of Corinth in the northern part of Mississippi, an important point at the intersection of the Mobile and Ohio and Memphis and Charleston railroads. The latter constituted an east and west artery of the Confederacy, extending from Memphis to Chattanooga, and was of immense value to the Confederacy. In the latter part of March Grant's army, consisting of about 40,000 men, halted at a place called Pittsburg Landing, on the west bank of the Tennessee River, only a few miles from the northern boundary line of Mississippi.[5] The Confederate forces, consisting of about 40,000 men,[6] were gathered at Corinth, some twenty or twenty-five miles to the south, under the command of Generals Albert Sydney Johnston, Beauregard, Bragg, Hardee and Polk, all able and experienced commanders.

Grant supposed that the Confederates would act strictly on the defensive and wait for the attack of the Federal army, and he had therefore made no preparation for a battle at Pittsburg Landing. Johnston, the senior Confederate commander at Corinth, however, calculated that the only hope of turning back the Federal advance was to strike Grant's army before it should be reënforced by Buell's 20,000 men, then known to be on the march from Nashville. Accordingly at daybreak on Sunday morning, April 6, the Confederate army in three divisions suddenly fell upon Sherman's and Prentiss's divisions on the left and threw them into great confusion. Sherman there for the first time exhibited those qualities which afterward made him one of the greatest strategists of the war. Twice wounded with horse after horse shot from under him, he yet maintained his courage and judgment, and more than any other man saved the Union army from a terrible disaster. Slowly the Federals retreated before the assaults of the enemy. Meantime Grant, who had spent the night in the neighborhood, arrived on the scene to find a great battle in progress. Lew Wallace's division of 5,000 men, which was five miles away, was ordered to hasten to Sherman's aid; but owing to misunderstandings he arrived too late to be of any service. Buell's army was

[5] General Grant says the effective strength on Sunday morning when the battle began did not exceed 30,000 men, but before nightfall it was increased by 5,000 men brought up by General Lew Wallace. "Battles and Leaders," vol. i. p. 485.

[6] "Official Records of the Rebellion," vol. x. p. 398.

yet far away. All day long the battle raged, and when darkness spread over the field the Union troops had been pressed back for more than a mile and were now huddled over a small area about the landing and protected by the gunboats on the river. Prentiss, with over 2,000 men, had been captured, the number of killed and wounded was large, while great quantities of arms, stores and supplies had fallen into the hands of the enemy.[7]

The result of this first day's battle was a victory for the Confederates. But their own losses were also large. Besides losing ten thousand men in killed, wounded and captured, they had lost their gallant commander, Albert Sydney Johnston, who, while leading and cheering his men at two o'clock in the afternoon, was struck by a minie ball, which pierced the calf of his leg. With blood pouring from the severed artery he rode on cheering and giving commands until he grew faint from loss of blood, reeled in his saddle and a few moments later expired. His death was regarded at the time as an irreparable loss to the South, for he was universally considered as the most gifted military genius on the Southern side. He had already had an eventful and romantic career. Graduating from West Point, he had served in the Black Hawk War, in the Texan Army of Independence, and in the Texan republic was Secretary of War. He then became a planter, and at the outbreak of the Mexican War again took up arms and served with credit through that conflict. Upon the passage of an ordinance of secession by Texas, his adopted State, he resigned from the United States army, proceeded to Richmond, and was assigned to command of the Department of the Mississippi.

The question has often been asked why did not the Confederates follow up their victory after sundown and drive the Federal troops into the river or force them to surrender? Some Southern writers have contended that this would have been an easy matter, and that the failure to do so was the virtual abandonment of a great victory. Instead of this, however, Beauregard, who succeeded to the chief command after the death of Johnston, gave the order to cease firing just as the sun was disappearing behind the horizon. His own explanation was that darkness was close at hand and that the officers and men were exhausted by a combat lasting more than twelve hours and were jaded by the march of the preceding day through mud and water. Possibly

[7] Schouler, "History of the United States," vol. vi. p. 181.

Beauregard had also persuaded himself to believe that Buell's advance had been delayed and that his army would not therefore arrive in time to prevent the Confederates from making short work of the Federals on the following day.

However this may be, the failure of the Confederates to follow up their victory in the evening proved fatal to them. Already Buell's army of 20,000 men was on the opposite bank of the Tennessee and throughout the night, while the Confederates were revelling over the rich spoils which they had found in the Federal camps, were crossing the river and forming lines of battle for the morrow. Shortly after sunrise the contest was renewed and soon a furious battle was in progress. The fatigued, shattered, partially demoralized army of Beauregard fought with great desperation and for a time victory seemed possible; but they were slowly driven back by Buell's fresh troops and early in the afternoon an order for retreat was given. The army thereupon retired unmolested to Corinth, General Breckinridge covering the retreat and preventing a disorderly rout. The battle of Pittsburg Landing, or Shiloh, as it is sometimes called, from the name of the log church which stood nearby, is usually counted as a Federal victory, but it had cost too much and was of too little importance to cause particular rejoicing at the North. The killed, wounded and missing on the Union side was reported as 13,047 men, while that of the Confederates was placed at 10,699.[8]

On the day of the conclusion of the fight at Shiloh the Federals won an important victory by the capture of Island Number Ten in the Mississippi River near the boundary line between Kentucky and Tennessee. This was a strongly fortified place a few miles north of New Madrid in one of the great bends of the river, and was well supplied with valuable army stores. Through the activity and energy of General John Pope, who cut a canal across the bend and who was aided by Admiral Foote's gunboats, the place was captured on April 7, together with five or six thousand prisoners.[9] The capture about the same time of New Madrid, on the opposite side of the river, opened the Mississippi as far down as Memphis.

In the following month the Union army, which we left at Pittsburg Landing, now under the immediate command of General

[8] "Battles and Leaders," vol. i. pp. 538–539.
[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 460 463.

Halleck, slowly followed the retreating Confederates to Corinth, and on May 30 entered the town, Beauregard's army having in the meantime evacuated it and withdrawn further southward. The capture of Corinth gave the Federal troops control of the Memphis & Charleston Railroad, the only east and west line north of Jackson, Mississippi. It was undoubtedly a serious loss to the Confederacy and opened the way for the further advance of the Union army into the South. On June 5 the Confederates were forced to evacuate Fort Pillow on the Mississippi River above Memphis, and on the next day that important city itself was captured by the Federal fleet under Admiral Davis, after a few hours' fight. The Mississippi River was now open to the navigation of the Union gunboats from its source to Vicksburg. Within three months the Union army in the West had, as compared with the army in the East, accomplished wonders. It had broken through the Confederate line of defenses, had pushed the Confederates out of Kentucky and Tennessee, was now rapidly overrunning the lower South, and had taken a long step toward opening the Mississippi.

IV

FALL OF NEW ORLEANS AND THE OPENING OF THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI. 1862

Meantime active preparations were going on at the other end of the Mississippi River for the purpose of completing the task of opening this waterway and cutting the Confederacy in twain. The performance of this important task was entrusted to Admiral David G. Farragut, a native of Tennessee, who had been in the naval service of the United States from his early youth and who had declined to "follow his State" in the secession movement of 1861. In the spring of 1862, with a powerful fleet of over 40 vessels, carrying some 200 guns and 21 mortars, he made ready to enter the mouth of the great river. Seventy-five miles below the city of New Orleans and about 25 miles from the mouth of the Mississippi were two strongly defended Confederate forts, Jackson and St. Philip, formerly belonging to the United States and situated on opposite sides of the river. They were connected by a line of dismasted schooners strongly moored and fastened by heavy chains, and possessed an armament of over one hundred guns, but were

otherwise poorly equipped, knee-deep in water and with a garrison of 700 mutinous men. On April 16 Farragut's fleet crossed the bar at the mouth of the river and slowly steamed up the channel prepared to run the fire of the Confederate forts. The Confederate commanders were ready for the attack and confident of victory.

For nearly a week, beginning on the 18th, Farragut's gunboats poured a deadly fire upon the forts, throwing upon them altogether over 16,000 shells. The reply of the forts was equally vigorous, but ineffective as well. With his vessels painted dark and their sides protected with chains, Farragut slowly steamed up the river past the forts at three o'clock in the morning of April 24. As soon as the ships were descried abreast the forts a heavy fire from the batteries was turned loose upon them, but without effect. Burning rafts floating down against the ships and shells bursting in mid-air afforded a spectacle of terrible grandeur. With Farragut leading in the *Hartford* the fleet kept on its course through the awful storm of shot and shell. Once above the forts the vessels encountered the Confederate fleet of seventeen vessels, which gave battle and fought with desperation until every one was driven ashore or scuttled by its commander. Farragut's fleet now steamed up the river, and, after silencing the Chalmette batteries, proceeded to New Orleans.[10]

The approach of the fleet caused great excitement and confusion in the city. It was popularly believed that no fleet could run the fire of Forts Jackson and St. Philip, and consequently the people of New Orleans had felt no apprehension and had done little or nothing toward erecting defenses. When at last they realized that the Federal fleet was approaching they were amazed and excited beyond description. Seized with a panic, women and children ran about the streets screaming and wringing their hands in despair. It was immediately decided to destroy all public property of value which was liable to fall into the enemy's hands; accordingly the shipyards at Algiers across the river were fired; unfinished vessels were destroyed; ammunition sunk in the river. Thousands of bales of cotton were rolled out of the compresses and burned, the conflagration affording a spectacle never to be forgotten by those who witnessed it. Great wooden ships, rafts of cotton bales and of other combustible material wrapped in flames, were sent

[10] See Admiral D. P. Porter's account in "Battles and Leaders," vol. ii, pp. 22–55.

floating down the river in the hope of setting fire to the Federal fleet. The tolling of alarm bells during the excitement of the hour added solemnity to the scene.

On the morning of the 25th Farragut's fleet was seen approaching the city. Some were in favor of burning the place rather than allow it to fall into the hands of the Federals. But cooler heads prevailed and the city was spared. The small Confederate force which occupied the city, being less than 3,000 men, at once withdrew to a point fifteen miles above to avoid a bombardment and to be within easy call in case of an emergency. Anchoring his boats along the levees, Farragut opened communication with the mayor and demanded the surrender of the city. After a protracted correspondence lasting three days, in the course of which Farragut demanded the removal of a State flag on the town hall and threatened to bombard the city if his request were not complied with, the mayor gave way and formally surrendered the place. A body of 200 marines were sent on shore to remove the objectionable flag and this was done in the presence of thousands of citizens. Already the Stars and Stripes had been hoisted over the customs house, and thus the metropolis of the South passed forever from the jurisdiction of the Confederacy. The fall of New Orleans was a terrible disaster to the South. Besides its strategical value, it was their commercial emporium and one of the largest exporting centers of the world. Its downfall meant the annihilation of Confederate power in Louisiana, closed an important gateway to the rich grain and cattle country of Texas, prevented further recruiting in the Trans-Mississippi department, marked a further step in the opening of the Mississippi River, and destroyed the prospects of the Confederacy for securing foreign recognition.

While Farragut was corresponding with the mayor, Forts Jackson and St. Philip surrendered, and a couple of days after the fall of New Orleans General Benjamin F. Butler, with a land force, arrived from Biloxi and Mississippi City, took possession of the city and proceeded to govern it effectively, but in a manner that has made his name forever odious to the people of the South. At the outbreak of the war General Butler was a practicing lawyer in Massachusetts, and as a Democratic delegate to the Charleston Convention of 1860 he had voted forty times for Jefferson Davis as his party's nominee for President of the United States. He was, however, one of the first men to respond to Lincoln's call for

volunteers, and during the trouble in Maryland arising from the hostility of the citizens to the passage of Union troops through the State he was conspicuous for his rather drastic methods of dealing with those whose loyalty was open to question. He inaugurated his rule in New Orleans by issuing an order on May 15 warning all women who should by gesture or otherwise insult any soldier of the United States that they would be treated as "women of the town plying their avocation." The mayor and other prominent citizens who protested against this order were arrested and imprisoned many months in Fort Jackson.[11] No distinction was made between males and females: all were treated with the utmost severity. An incident of his rule was the execution of William B. Mumford for removing the Federal flag from the United States Mint. No amount of pleading could move the inexorable general, and he sent the humble offender to the gallows as an example to others.

[11] General Butler, while in command at New Orleans, engaged extensively in cotton speculation and trade with the enemy, by which he acquired a large fortune. His conduct in this particular is said by Rhodes to have been thoroughly disreputable, as his rule was arbitrary and severe. See Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. v. p. 312.

Chapter XXXI

OPERATIONS IN THE EAST. 1861–1863

I

BATTLE OF THE IRONCLADS

A MONTH before the capture of New Orleans by Farragut's fleet a famous naval duel of world-wide significance occurred in Hampton Roads near the entrance to Chesapeake Bay. This was the fight between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* on March 9. The *Merrimac* was one of the vessels that had been scuttled and sunk by the Federals upon the abandonment of the Norfolk Navy Yard in April, 1861. She had been raised by the Confederate authorities and upon her hull had been built a powerful ironclad house with submerged eaves and a great iron ram. Her armament consisted of ten heavy guns, eight broadside and one at each end. The vessel was completed in the spring of 1862 and rechristened the *Virginia*.

On the morning of March 8 she steamed out of the Gosport navy yard to engage the Federal fleet which lay near the entrance to Hampton Roads. As she made her way slowly up the channel the *Cumberland*, carrying thirty guns, opened fire upon her, which was soon followed by volleys from the *Congress*, which carried fifty guns. The shots from neither made any effect upon the iron sides of the *Merrimac*, and she pursued her course without returning a ball. Finally, coming within range, she began to pour a heavy fire into both vessels, all the time steering directly for the *Cumberland*. Presently her iron beak struck the side of the *Cumberland*, which in the meantime had swung across the channel in order to bring her full broadside to bear upon her formidable antagonist. The ram made a hole in the side of the *Cumberland* through which water rushed, while the *Merrimac*, backing off, proceeded to rake the *Cumberland's* decks with broadside after broadside. But the gallant crew showed no sign of surrender and kept on working their guns until the ill-fated vessel canted over and

THE "MERRIMAC" SINKS THE U. S. FRIGATE "CONGRESS"
IN HAMPTON ROADS

the waters closed over it with a roar. Some of the crew escaped, but more than one hundred found their grave in the sinking ship.

The *Merrimac* now turned her whole attention to the *Congress*, which, in terror of her ultimate fate, had run into water too shoal to permit her adversary to follow. Approaching as near as the depth of water would permit, the *Merrimac* proceeded to rake the decks of the *Congress* with terrible effect. Human bodies were cut in twain or mangled in the most horrible manner and limbs were cut off and sent flying through the air. The *Congress* being ashore could work only two of her fifty guns, and the shells from these struck the mailed sides of the *Merrimac* and bounced off as though they were india rubber. There was nothing for her to do but surrender, which she did, and was burned the same day by the Confederates. The *Merrimac* now sought to complete the destruction of the Federal fleet. There remained the *Minnesota*, the *St. Lawrence* and the *Roanoke*, all of which had retired into shoal water beyond the easy range of the Confederate ironclad. After some ineffective firing upon the *Minnesota* the *Merrimac* withdrew at sundown and returned to Norfolk to await the morrow to complete her work.

The news of the exploits of the *Merrimac* created great consternation at the North. President Lincoln at once called a Cabinet meeting to consider what measure should be taken to protect the coast cities against such a destroyer. Stanton, apparently excited, addressed the President, saying the *Merrimac* would change the whole character of the war. She would, he said, "destroy *seriatim* every naval vessel . . . and lay all the cities on the seaboard under contribution." He had no doubt that the monster was already on her way to Washington and that not unlikely they would have a cannon ball from one her guns in the White House before leaving the room.[1] Early next day, a beautiful March morning, she steamed up the Roads in the direction of the stranded *Minnesota*. As she approached the *Minnesota* her crew noticed a curious looking object near by which resembled a "cheese box on a raft." This object proved to be another ironclad, the *Monitor*, which had arrived during the night and was silently lying in wait for the vessel which by her previous day's work had thrown the whole North into consternation. The *Monitor* had been designed by John Ericsson, the famous Swedish inventor, and built in great haste at the

[1] "Battles and Leaders," vol. i p. 705.

Brooklyn Navy Yard, being finished about the same time as the *Merrimac*. It was a simple-looking craft, with deck hardly more than two feet above the water, and upon this was mounted a revolving turret about nine feet in diameter and a small box at her bow used as a pilot-house. Its sole armament consisted of two one-hundred-and-sixty-eight-pounder Dahlgren guns. When the *Merrimac* had approached within a distance of one hundred yards of the *Monitor* the latter opened fire, and the most remarkable naval duel that had ever occurred in the history of the world began.

From the first the *Monitor* had the advantage. She was more manageable and had greater speed than the *Merrimac*. The heavy broadsides which each poured upon the other seemed to have no effect. Now the two ironclads were within ramming distance of each other, now they were half a mile apart raking each other with shells which rattled harmlessly upon their mailed sides and fell into the water. Several times the *Merrimac* attempted to ram her antagonist with her iron prow as she had done the *Cumberland*, but the doughty little vessel skillfully evaded every thrust. In the course of the battle a shell from the *Merrimac* struck the pilot-house of the *Monitor*, and exploding, blinded the commander, Lieutenant Worden, who was standing near by. This was about noon and the *Monitor* retired into shoal water to ascertain the extent of the damage to her pilot-house, while the *Merrimac* steamed back to Norfolk, leaving the contest undecided.[2]

Each vessel had given ample evidence of its invulnerability and neither had suffered damages which could not have been repaired in a few hours. The battle was not renewed, and two months later the *Merrimac* was burned by the Confederates upon the evacuation of Norfolk. The important result of the duel between the two ironclads was to revolutionize naval warfare. It was now clear that wooden vessels of war were obsolete and that the existing navies of the world would be powerless against a single ironclad. The government of the United States quickly appreciated the demonstration and made ready to construct a number of such vessels, which in due season were completed and put into its service.

[2] See the valuable articles by prominent officers who witnessed the battle: "Battles and Leaders," vol. i. pp. 692–748.

II

THE PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN

Having described the military operations in the West, it now remains to turn our attention to the East and follow up the movements of the armies in that quarter. We left the army of the Potomac demoralized after its rout at Bull Run. For a long time, during which the Federal forces in the West were winning important victories, the army in the East was inactive, so much so that the public opinion in the North had grown impatient and was crying out for a forward movement. Soon after Bull Run General McClellan was appointed to command the Army of the Potomac, and on October 31 he succeeded General Scott, who was too old and infirm for active service, as commander of all the armies of the United States. During the months following Bull Run General McClellan thoroughly drilled and organized the Army of the Potomac, as only he could,[3] but showed no disposition to begin a vigorous campaign against the enemy. The summer and autumn, therefore, passed without incident, except a disaster on October 21 at Ball's Bluff, on the Potomac above Washington. A detachment of Union troops, having been sent to attack a Confederate camp at Leesburg, were badly beaten, many being driven into the river and shot while attempting to cross.[4] More than 1,000 Union troops were lost, among the killed being Colonel Edward D. Baker, a United States Senator from Oregon.

The popular clamor for a forward movement increased, but still McClellan hesitated.[5] The Confederate army in front of him, commanded by General Joseph E. Johnston, he magnified to three times its actual strength and found other imaginary obstacles in the way of a successful advance. Finally the President yielded to the demands of an impatient public and gave the order for a forward movement on February 22, the anniversary of Washington's birth. But before the advance had begun McClellan announced a change of plan. Instead of moving directly from Washington across the country upon Richmond, as President Lincoln preferred, he now proposed to transport his army by sea to the

[3] Philippe, Comte de Paris, in "Battles and Leaders," vol. ii, p. 12.
[4] Dodge, "Bird's-eye View," p. 50.
[5] Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. iii, p. 617.

apex of the peninsula formed by the York and James rivers and move upon the Confederate capital by way of this narrow strip of land. To this change of plan Lincoln consented reluctantly, believing that it was only shifting and not surmounting the difficulty. From the middle of March until April 5 his force of 121,500 men, with a large number of horses and mules and the necessary army supplies, wagons, pontoon bridges, etc., were transported to the peninsula.

Operations were at last begun, after repeated admonitions from the President that a blow must be struck at once in order to appease an impatient and clamorous public. Facing 100,000 Union troops at Yorktown was a force of 12,000 Confederates under General J. B. Magruder, who blocked the Union advance.[6] Just as McClellan was preparing to attack the Confederates, an order was issued detaching 25,000 of his troops for the defense of Washington. Believing that his strength was unequal to that of the enemy, he declined to attack Magruder's lines, but sat down before Yorktown for a long siege, only to find, after a month spent in digging trenches and erecting batteries, that the enemy had retired in the direction of Richmond just as he was ready to begin the attack.[7] Pursuing the retreating Confederates, McClellan came up with them at the ancient town of Williamsburg, a dozen miles up the Peninsula from Yorktown. Here, on May 5, a battle was fought lasting throughout the day, at the close of which the Confederates retreated farther up the peninsula, followed by the Union forces. The Union loss was about 2,000 men, that of the Confederates about 1,500. Moving his army to the bank of the Chickahominy, a small stream flowing into the James, McClellan threw his left wing across the river to a place called Seven Pines. Johnston, seeing the army divided, promptly attacked that portion thrown across the river, consisting of some 25,000 men, and soon a furious battle was raging. At first the Confederates had the advantage, and the Federals were being pressed back, when two divisions under the command of General Sumner were thrown across the swollen river to their rescue. Next morning the battle was renewed, but the Confederates soon retired from the field. The Union army lost about 5,000 men; the Confederates about 6,000.[8] General

[6] Dodge, "Bird's-eye View," p. 52; Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. iv. p. 2.

[7] See McClellan's "Defense," in "Battles and Leaders," vol. ii. p. 17.

[8] "Battles and Leaders," vol. ii. p. 219.

Johnston being among the number wounded. The Union army was now within ten miles of the Confederate capital and the spires of its churches were already visible from the battlefield. But many a day was to pass before the coveted city could be taken.

Meanwhile an extraordinary campaign was going on in the

Shenandoah Valley. The Confederate commander in that region was General "Stonewall" Jackson, who was opposed by two Federal armies under the command of Generals Banks and Frémont, whose combined forces greatly outnumbered his own.[9] The two Federal commanders were instructed to unite their forces, crush Jackson and go to the relief of McClellan, but Jackson, by a remarkable campaign of strategy and rapid marching, prevented the

[9] For the strength of the opposing armies, see "Battles and Leaders," vol ii. pp 299–301

junction of the two armies, routed them both in several sharp battles, "sent Banks, after a stinging defeat at Winchester, whirling back to the Potomac," defeated McDowell's army, which had been sent to aid Frémont and Banks, and suddenly appeared so near to Washington as to throw the authorities of the capital city into great consternation. This done, Jackson quietly marched to the relief of the Confederate army at Richmond. In the brief time of thirty-five days he had marched 245 miles, fought four desperate battles, and won them all.[10]

After the wounding of General Johnston at Fair Oaks, General Robert E. Lee took charge of the defense of Richmond, and at the same time was appointed to the nominal office of commanding general of all the armies of the Confederacy. General Lee was a native of Virginia and a son of the famous "Light Horse Harry," of the Revolution. A graduate of West Point, he passed his early manhood in the army of the United States, serving through the Mexican War with distinction. Upon the bombardment of Sumter he was approached by an agent of President Lincoln, who virtually offered him the command of the Federal army, but he believed with a sincerity which no one now questions that his first allegiance was due to his State. On this object of his early affection he could never draw his sword, and yet it pained him to think of turning his back upon the flag which he had followed and defended since the attainment of his manhood. It was hard to make a decision, but the decision was no less sure. Some of his comrades from the South, notably Scott and Thomas, felt that their primary allegiance was to the United States, and accordingly they had elected to follow the old flag. General Lee thought otherwise, and upon the secession of Virginia he resigned his commission and retired to private life, only to be called out in a few days to take command of the Virginia troops, and a little later of the Confederate forces. Of all the Southern commanders Lee has been the most generally admired. His life was pure, simple, and unaffected. Rich, dignified, cultured, gentle, of a modest and reserved disposition, he resembled in many respects that other eminent Virginian who as the leader of a great revolution in the preceding century had become the father of his country. Like Washington and Lincoln, his fame belongs to the ages.

[10] See article of General John D. Imboden in "Battles and Leaders," vol. ii. pp. 282–298.

Taking command of the Confederate armies about Richmond in June, Lee proceeded to strengthen the defenses of the city and to increase his army until he had not far from 100,000 available men. Meanwhile the indomitable Jackson had arrived with his army from the Potomac and by a brilliant move had kept McDowell's army from joining McClellan. A series of fights known as the Seven Days' Battles now ensued. The first of these took place at Mechanicsville, near Richmond, June 26, and resulted in the defeat of the Confederates, and was followed by a more important engagement the next day at Gaines' Mills, near Cold Harbor. At this juncture Jackson arrived on the scene with his command, and the combined armies charged the Union troops, sweeping everything before them, and defeating the enemy with great slaughter. Night put an end to the pursuit, to the great relief of the Federal troops. On the 29th a battle, the results of which were indecisive, was fought at Savage Station.

In the meantime by a skillful movement McClellan had changed his base of supplies to the James River. On June 30 the Confederates came up with the retreating army near Frazier's Farm, and a battle ensued, which raged furiously until nine o'clock at night, after which the Federals withdrew under cover of darkness, leaving the enemy in possession of most of the field. The last and greatest of the battles in the series around Richmond was that of Malvern Hill, fought on July 1. Malvern Hill was a low plateau near the James River, upon which McClellan's troops had been posted in a semicircle, with his artillery arranged like an amphitheatre. His strong position was protected by earthworks and defended by gunboats in the James River. To reach this plateau the Confederates had to pass through a thickly wooded country. Late in the afternoon they undertook to carry the plateau by a grand bayonet charge. Bravely they advanced toward the hill, raked by an incessant fire from the batteries as well as from the infantry and the gunboats. The scene was awful; the hill was clothed in sheets of flame, while shells from the gunboats tore off the tops of the trees above. Until an hour after dark the brave Confederates continued their efforts to dislodge the enemy, but finding the task too great they retired, leaving thousands of their dead on the field.[1] On the same night McClellan's army

[1] Read General Fitz-John Porter's article on the "Battle of Malvern Hill," "Battles and Leaders," vol. ii, pp. 405–417.

withdrew from Malvern Hill unmolested to Harrison's Landing, where it rested safely under the protection of his gunboats on the James.

Thus ended the Peninsular Campaign. Every day for a week a hard battle had been fought, and during the nights fatiguing marches through swamps had followed. But it had ended in failure. Richmond had not been taken and there was slight probability that it would be in the near future. McClellan had lost in killed and wounded more than fifteen thousand men, besides immense quantities of arms, ammunition and stores. From the first he had complained bitterly that the government did not respond to his appeals for reënforcements, and on the day of the battle of Mechanicsville he wrote to the Secretary of War in a spirit half of despair and half of insubordination, saying: "If I save this army now, I tell you plainly that I owe no thanks to you or to any other person in Washington. You have done your best to sacrifice it." After the battle of Malvern Hill McClellan made ready to begin a new campaign, but at this juncture he was recalled, ordered to abandon the Peninsula and return with his army to the neighborhood of Washington.[12]

On account of the splendid successes of the Union armies in the West it was decided to transfer some of the Western commanders to the East and give them a trial on a new stage. Accordingly in July General Halleck, whose victories at Corinth and Memphis had made him a hero in the popular estimation, was called East and appointed general-in-chief of all the armies of the United States. Shortly afterward General John Pope, who also had distinguished himself by his victory at Island Number Ten, was called from the West and put in command of the "Army of Virginia." Pope assumed his new command by issuing a grandiloquent proclamation to the officers and men under him, saying, "I have come to you from the West, where we have always seen the backs of our enemies — from an army whose business it has been to seek the adversary and to beat him when found. I presume that I have been called here to pursue the same system and to lead you against the enemy." This was followed by a series of orders for regulating the conduct of non-combatants which, on account of their harshness and severity, created general indignation in the

[12] For a good account of the Peninsular Campaign see Webb, "The Peninsula."

South. There were also strong protests against the spoliation which he is alleged to have permitted upon the surrounding country through which his army passed.

Pope's first engagement with the Confederates occurred at Cedar Run, near Culpeper Court House, but "Stonewall" Jackson was there and held his ground against the onslaughts of the Federals. For the next three weeks a series of skirmishes and countermarches followed, until August 29, when the two armies met on the fatal field of Bull Run, on the same ground over which the two armies had fought more than a year before. Pope was anxious to fall upon Jackson, who was now in an isolated position, and crush him before reënforcements could be sent by Longstreet. On the day previous Jackson had attacked the Federals at Groveton, and after a sanguinary conflict which lasted until nine o'clock in the night the Union troops retired, leaving the Confederates in possession of the field. Pope blamed General Fitz John Porter for the defeat, charging him with disobedience of orders in not going to the relief of McDowell. For this Porter was dismissed from the army and disqualified from holding any office of trust or profit under the United States.[13] Early the next morning, August 30, the battle was renewed. Until three o'clock the contest was largely an artillery engagement. Then the Federals advanced against Jackson, but were repulsed with great slaughter. The Confederates swept everything before them. The Union troops were pursued until ten o'clock at night, after which they took up a position at Centerville, about four miles beyond Bull Run.

The Federal losses since Pope had taken command had been unusually large. Besides thirty pieces of artillery, 20,000 small arms and large quantities of stores, he had lost over 14,000 men in killed, wounded and captured out of 80,000, one of the killed being the veteran, General Phil Kearney, distinguished for his services in the Mexican War. The Confederates lost about 9,000 men out of 54,000.[14] In the opinion of the people of the North, Pope had proved a failure in spite of his dispatches to Washington saying "the enemy is badly whipped," the "army deserves the gratitude of the country," and the like. He had fought half a

[13] Long after the war General Porter's case was reexamined and he was restored to his old rank.

[14] Dodge, "Bird's-eye View," p. 70; "Battles and Leaders," vol. ii pp. 499–500.

dozen battles to no purpose[15] and had been utterly outgeneraled. He was therefore relieved of command and McClellan was reinstated. Under this able organizer the Army of the Potomac was soon restored to order and harmony from the demoralized condition in which Pope had left it.

III

FROM THE PENINSULA TO ANTIETAM

Meanwhile Lee, filled with confidence by his success, determined to carry the war into the North and give the enemy a taste of the hardship which the people of Virginia were suffering, and, if possible, dictate terms of peace at Philadelphia or some other Northern city. Accordingly, early in September his army, in three divisions, commanded by Generals "Stonewall" Jackson, James Longstreet and D. H. Hill — the advance being covered by the dashing cavalry leader, General J. E. B. Stuart — crossed the Potomac near Harper's Ferry and entered Maryland. Occupying Frederick City, General Lee issued a proclamation to the people of Maryland, reciting the "wrongs and outrages" that had been inflicted upon the citizens of their State by the Federal authorities "under the pretense of supporting the Constitution," and informed them that the Confederate army had come to aid them in "throwing off the foreign yoke." They were assured that no interference with their freedom of choice would be permitted, although the Southern people would rejoice to welcome them into the Confederacy. The response to his appeal, however, was disappointing and the welcome which the army received was anything but encouraging.

For awhile McClellan was puzzled as to Lee's movements, but on September 12 a copy of Lee's order of march, which had been carelessly tossed upon the ground by General D. H. Hill and left in one of the abandoned camps, fell into the hands of a Federal soldier. By this means McClellan became possessed of information relative to Lee's movements and intentions which enabled him to dispose of his own army intelligently. Accordingly he crossed the Potomac and was welcomed by the inhabitants with

[15] For Pope's defense, see his article in "Battles and Leaders," vol. ii. pp. 449–494.

open arms. On September 14 the first encounter between the two armies occurred at South Mountain, or Boonsboro. The Confederates made a gallant resistance for five hours, but were gradually forced back, the loss on both sides being heavy.

Next day, however, the Confederates retrieved their losses somewhat by the capture of Harper's Ferry, together with 73 pieces of artillery, about 13,000 small arms and a large quantity of military stores. Lee's army united, and occupying a strong position on Antietam Creek, near Sharpsburg, was now attacked by McClellan on September 17. One of the most sanguinary battles of the Civil War ensued. The Union army consisted of about 70,000 men; that of the Confederates, not over 40,000.[16] McClellan sent his troops forward in piecemeal, and after severe losses and hard fighting only succeeded in forcing Lee's army back on Sharpsburg. After an all-day contest both armies ceased fighting. Throughout the next day both remained on the field, but at night Lee retired across the Potomac unmolested. Thus ended Lee's invasion of Maryland. The loss on both sides was frightful. More than 12,000 Union soldiers were either killed or wounded and the Confederate loss was nearly as great.[17] Ropes, the well known military historian, commenting on the odds against which Lee fought, says Lee's conduct deserves nothing but praise. The loss of higher officers among the Union soldiers was particularly heavy, among those killed being Generals Mansfield and Reno, while a dozen others were wounded.

McClellan made no immediate attempt to follow Lee after the battle of Antietam, although great pressure was brought to bear upon him by the President to do so. It was urged that the shattered and depleted army of Lee could easily be crushed by the superior Union forces, but the cautious McClellan thought otherwise and declined to pursue him. The President declared in a letter to McClellan, "If we cannot beat the enemy where he now is, we never can." But McClellan, as was his wont, minimized his own strength and exaggerated that of the enemy and made other excuses and complaints. After a delay of more than a month he recrossed the river into Virginia, but before beginning

[16] Ropes, "Story of the Civil War," vol. ii, pp. 376-377; Dodge, "Bird's-eye View," p. 105; "Battles and Leaders," vol. ii, p. 674. General Lee's official report states that "Antietam was fought with less than 40,000 men on our side."

[17] Nicolay and Hay, "Life of Lincoln," vol. [illegible]

active pursuit he received notice that President Lincoln had again removed him from command of the Army of the Potomac, this time appointing General Ambrose E. Burnside as his successor.[18]

IV

THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

One of the most important results of the battle of Antietam was the impetus which it gave to the emacipation movement. From the very first day of the war there had been a small party in the North which demanded that the government should strike at slavery wherever an effective blow could be delivered as a war measure. Great pressure was brought to bear upon President Lincoln to allow his military commanders in the South to emancipate the slaves in their respective departments, but he steadily refused to permit this to be done, saying that the subject was one he did not feel justified in leaving to the commanders in the field. But public opinion in the North continued to crystallize in favor of emancipation, and the government found that it could no longer ignore this increasing change of sentiment. In April, 1862, Congress passed an act for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, allowing compensation to the owners at the rate of $300 for each slave, and a little later passed an act prohibiting slavery in the Territories. This was followed by a more sweeping confiscation act, which in effect provided for the emancipation of all slaves coming within the lines of the Union armies and whose masters were in arms against the United States. In the meantime the President was urging Congress to coöperate with the border States in the adoption of a scheme of gradual emancipation with a view to giving such States pecuniary aid. While Congress looked upon the scheme with favor, the representatives and, with one exception, the senators from the border States were opposed to it, and it consequently fell through.

Finally Lincoln cut the Gordian knot, and at a Cabinet meeting held on July 22, 1862, announced that it was his intention to issue a proclamation (a draft of which he then read), emancipating all the slaves in the States then in rebellion, such proclamation to take effect January 1, 1863. The announcement was a

[18] For McClellan's defense, see his "Own Story."

great surprise to all the Cabinet except two members, with whom he had previously conversed on the subject. The President then asked the Cabinet, not for their advice, but for suggestions as to the form the proclamation should take, saying that he had already determined upon the question of issue. There was considerable difference of opinion, and at last it was suggested that the announcement be postponed until after some important military achievement. This suggestion struck Lincoln with great force, and he accordingly laid aside the proclamation to await the coming of the victory. Meantime the President was beseiged from all quarters of the North and West to declare the slaves free, but he gave no hint of his intention. Delegation after delegation called at the White House and importuned him to take action. In an open letter to Mr. Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, who criticised him for failure to emancipate the slaves, he said: "My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would do that."

After this period of suspense and anxiety came the battle of Antietam. Construing it as a Federal victory, he summoned the Cabinet, told them that he thought the time had now come, as the enemy had been driven out of Maryland and Pennsylvania, declared that he had made a promise to himself and to his Maker that if this were done he would issue the proclamation, and concluded with the announcement that he now intended to fulfill his promise. All the members except the Postmaster General, Mr. Blair of Maryland, gave their approval, and the proclamation was issued on September 22. It announced that on January 1, 1863, all persons held as slaves in any State or part thereof, in which the people were engaged in rebellion, should thenceforward and forever be free, and that the President of the United States would recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons.[19] The proclamation was strongly denounced by the Northern Democrats, and General McClellan declared that self-respect required that he should throw up his commission. Many reminded the President of his inaugural address, in which he had declared his want of inclination or power

[19] For the President's messages and proclamations with regard to slavery see "Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia" for 1862, pp. [illegible]

to interfere with slavery. By no means all the Republicans approved, as was shown by the results of the congressional elections occurring shortly thereafter, which increased the Democratic membership in the House of Representatives from 44 to 75, leaving the Republicans but a small majority. At the same time Democratic governors were elected in New York and New Jersey. Mr. Lincoln was greatly disappointed at the results of the elections, which he feared were intended to be a vote of censure, but he continued to pursue the even tenor of his way, and when January 1, 1863, arrived, the final edict was issued faithfully in accordance with his preliminary proclamation.

In the final draft of the proclamation Lincoln asserted that the step was taken as a "fit and necessary war measure for suppressing the rebellion" and was issued rather in his capacity as commander-in-chief of the army and navy than as the chief civil magistrate of the country. In the closing words of the document itself he affirmed that he sincerely believed it to be "an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity"; and on it he invoked the "considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God."

The President's constitutional right to interfere with private property on so gigantic a scale was gravely questioned in many quarters. His critics complained that if any fact of constitutional law was more thoroughly settled than another, it was the constitutional inability of the national government to interfere with slavery in the States. By what authority, therefore, they asked, could the President "by mere fiat emancipate nearly four million slaves"? The President's answer was that it was a war measure designed to weaken the strength of the enemy and thus contribute to the suppression of the insurrection, although it is not clear how it would have this tendency. The people of the South gave themselves no concern for the carrying out of the proclamation, though they banded more closely together and many Unionists in the border States went over to the Confederate side. The proclamation, they said, would have no more effect than the Pope's bull against the comet, and they cited it as an instance of Northern hypocrisy wholly inconsistent with Lincoln's inaugural assurances. To the people of the South it was now clear that the government had at last thrown off the mask and was waging war against slavery as well as disunion.

V

FREDERICKSBURG AND CHANCELLORSVILLE

Meantime the President had come to the conclusion that McClellan was not aggressive enough to cope with Lee, and he felt keenly that with a splendid army almost double that of his enemy he had not crushed it when opportunity had been offered. General McClellan was accredited an excellent organizer, extremely cautious, and possessed the confidence of his men in a rare degree, but he lacked confidence in himself and won too few victories. There was much criticism of the President's action in making the removal, and to this day it is asserted by some that the displacement of the gallant little commander was the result of political intrigue. It was well known that McClellan was a Democrat in politics, and it was already rumored that he would be a candidate for the Presidency against Lincoln in 1864. Many of McClellan's friends, therefore, found it easy to believe that Lincoln did not desire the military success of his prospective opponent for the Presidency. It is difficult to believe, however, that so reprehensible a motive, which only political malignity could suggest, ever influenced Lincoln in his action, although it must be recorded that there were many who thought otherwise at the time.

Burnside, McClellan's successor, was a graduate of West Point and a veteran of the Mexican War. At the outbreak of the Civil War he went to the front as colonel of a Rhode Island regiment and rose rapidly to the rank of major general. Handsome and prepossessing in personal appearance, he lacked McClellan's cautiousness and genius for organization, rather going to the other extreme of rashness and heedlessness. With an army of 122,000 men he at once proceeded to attack Lee, who had placed his army of 78,000 men in a well fortified position on the hills behind the town of Fredericksburg.[20] With Lee thus protected, Burnside crossed the river, and on December 13 made a desperate assault upon the enemy, only to be repulsed with terrible slaughter. The center of Lee's army occupied an eminence called Marye's Heights, which was defended by a stone wall and commanded by artillery. Burnside rashly decided to attack this impregnable position, and

[20] J. C. Ropes, "Story of the Civil War," vol. ii, p. 455.

against it six frantic dashes were made, each being repulsed with frightful slaughter. The fire of the Confederates was so terrible as the Union soldiers pressed up the hill, and the slaughter so great, that they found it difficult to advance on account of the heaps of their own dead. It was an example of endurance and exhibition of courage with few parallels in history, and yet wholly unnecessary. In fact it lost the character of a battle and became outright slaughter.[21] Almost a whole Irish brigade was sacrificed, and dead men were piled up as high as the stone wall. When darkness closed over the scene the Union army had withdrawn.

Their loss was about 13,000 men, the flower of the army, that of the Confederates something over 4,000,[22] among those killed being Generals Gregg and Cobb. The rejoicing was great at the South and the impatient public criticised Lee for not taking the offensive against Burnside's shattered army. The Confederate hopes were greater now than they were ever destined to be again. Throughout the North, on the other hand, all was gloom. Thousands of homes were filled with mourning, and all on account of the rash action of a commanding general. Burnside bewailed bitterly the fate of his men who fell before Marye's Heights, but frankly assumed the entire responsibility himself and offered to resign. Eventually his resignation was accepted by the President and General Joseph Hooker was selected as his successor. "Fighting Joe Hooker," as he was called, was a graduate of West Point and had gained his *sobriquet* by his bravery in the Peninsular Campaign and at Antietam. In notifying him of his promotion President Lincoln in his characteristic way took occasion to tell him frankly of his faults, criticised him for allowing his ambition to lead him to thwarting in every way possible the success of General Burnside, admonished him what was wanted was "military success," and warned him to beware of rashness.[23] This was in January, 1863. Hooker at once took command of the shattered and demoralized army, restored its *morale*, infused confidence into the men and by April had at least 113,000 efficient soldiers ready to follow anywhere he chose to lead.[24] Lee's army, now reduced

[21] See article by General J. C. Longstreet in "Battles and Leaders," vol. iii. p. 81.

[22] J. C. Ropes, "Story of the Civil War," vol. ii. p. 467; "Battles and Leaders," vol. iii. p. 145.

[23] Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. iv. p. 256.

[24] Couch, in "Battles and Leaders," vol. iii. p. 156.

to 60,000 by the detachment of Longstreet's corps, remained in occupation of the heights at Fredericksburg. Toward the middle of April Hooker, in obedience to the instructions of President Lincoln that he must give his attention to Lee's army, rather than the Confederate capital, crossed the Rappahannock, and before the Confederate commander had divined his real purpose massed 40,000 of his men on Lee's left wing at a little place called Chancellorsville, several miles west of Fredericksburg. Instead of an immediate attack Hooker paused long enough to enable Lee to prepare to meet him. In this position on May 2 Lee sent Jackson with 30,000 men around to attack Hooker's right, commanded by General Howard. This he did, with astonishing success, throwing it into panic and confusion. Howard's corps were cut to pieces and driven off, leaving thousands of their dead on the ground. Early next morning the battle was renewed, and again the Confederates drove back the Union troops with heavy loss, throwing them into confusion. "Fighting Joe" was completely demoralized and hardly seemed to know what to do. On the next day, May 4, Lee turned upon General Sedgwick and after a long fight forced him back across the river. Hooker followed two days later, leaving the two armies to occupy the same relative positions they had held before he took command.

The result of the several battles of Chancellorsville was unfavorable to the cause of the Union. Hooker had lost over 17,000 men, and although he undertook to fix the responsibility upon Generals Howard and Sedgwick, public opinion of the North placed the blame chiefly on him alone.[25] It was very poor consolation to the brave army of the Potomac to be told, as they were, in a congratulatory address of their commander, that they had captured "5,000 prisoners, 15 colors, 7 pieces of artillery, and rendered *hors de combat* 18,000 of his chosen troops." Everywhere Lee's consummate generalship was a subject of praise, and it must be admitted this was the master stroke of his military career. But the losses of the Confederates were proportionately as large as those of the Union army, being about 12,000 men out of a total of 60,000.[26]

To the Confederates the greatest disaster was the irreparable loss of "Stonewall" Jackson. On the first day of the battle, after

[25] "Battles and Leaders," vol. iii, p. 237.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 238.

having driven the Union forces back, toward evening he had ridden forward to reconnoiter, and while returning after dark was fired upon through mistake by soldiers of a North Carolina regiment. Jackson fell, struck by three balls, and was carried to a small farmhouse, where he died a few days later.[27] By the common consensus of opinion he was regarded as one of the most brilliant soldiers which the war produced on either side. Graduating from West Point, he resigned from the army and was serving as professor of mathematics in the Virginia Military Institute at Lexington when the war broke out. At the Institute he was looked upon as a quiet, harmless man, and was frequently the butt of college wits. But as a commander in the Valley of the Shenandoah he astonished the whole country by his military genius, and from that time until the Confederacy was deprived of his services by a Confederate bullet his fame rose like a star. Personally his character had something of the mysterious in it. By nature deeply religious, prayer meetings and revivals were common in his camps, itinerant preachers and army colporteurs never failed to receive a welcome from him, and usually before a battle he spent hours on his knees invoking divine guidance. He possessed superhuman endurance, frequently marched his men thirty miles at night through mud and rain, seemed to care little or nothing for the comforts of life, wore a uniform so shabby that he was seldom recognized except by his own men, and on account of his extraordinary vigilance was popularly believed never to sleep. Yet he was ambitious, planned his battles carefully, and fought them with desperate courage. His death cast a shadow over the fortunes of the Confederacy, and General Lee is reported to have said that he would have willingly sacrificed himself in order that Jackson might be spared for the South.

[27] See the account of his death by General J. P. Smith in "Battles and Leaders," vol. iii. pp. 203–214.

Chapter XXXII

VICKSBURG AND GETTYSBURG, 1863

I

OPERATIONS IN TENNESSEE AND NORTH MISSISSIPPI

IT is necessary now to turn to the West and follow the movements of the armies in that region. We left the Union army under Halleck at Corinth, in May, 1862. Having secured control of the western division of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, Halleck sent a portion of his army under General Buell to capture Chattanooga at the other end of the line in east Tennessee, leaving Grant and Rosecrans in North Mississippi. General Bragg, a dashing leader of Mexican War fame, had succeeded Beauregard as Confederate commander in this quarter in June, 1862. Eluding Buell, he reached Chattanooga ahead of him and held it securely for the Confederates. With substantial reinforcements he now set out northward from Chattanooga for the purpose of invading East Tennessee and Kentucky, Louisville being his objective point. To head him off Buell set out at the same time on a parallel line of march and the movement took the form of a race across the State of Kentucky. Bragg, although having a shorter line of march, was encumbered with a wagon train forty miles in length, as a result of which Buell won the race and entered Louisville ahead of his adversary in the latter part of September. He thereupon turned against Bragg, overtook his retreating army at Perryville, and on October 8 gave him battle. A sharp fight ensued, but during the night following the Confederates withdrew and a few days later took up their march for Chattanooga.[1] Bragg's proposed invasion of the North was accordingly abandoned, but Buell's failure to pursue him and crush his army created the usual dissatisfaction and impatience at the North. President

[1] See article on "Bragg's Invasion of Kentucky," by General Joseph Wheeler, "Battles and Leaders," vol. viii. pp. 1–25.

Lincoln, therefore, removed him from command and appointed General W. S. Rosecrans in his stead.

General Rosecrans had come into notice by his services in north Mississippi, particularly in the capture of Iuka, a town in the extreme northeastern corner of the State. In September General Sterling Price of the Confederate army, having by a dash retaken Iuka, was attacked by Rosecrans, who undertook to dislodge him on the 19th. A sharp battle ensued, the Union army losing about 800, the Confederates about 600 men.[2] Two weeks later Generals Price and Van Dorn made a desperate assault upon Corinth, with a view to capturing the large quantity of supplies stored there. A desperate battle ensued, which resulted in the repulse of the Confederates, their loss being nearly 5,000 men. The Union loss was about 2,500.[3] Rosecrans, who was now promoted to the rank of major general, late in the year advanced into Tennessee, leading his army in three columns, and on December 31 attacked Bragg's army, which had gone into winter quarters at Murfreesborough, a small town on the Stone River about forty miles from Nashville. McCook's division was driven back with great loss by the Confederate General Hardee, but was saved from utter rout by the heroic resistance of General Thomas. When darkness came over the scene and the fighting ceased, all that the Union troops could claim was that they had not been driven from the field.

The fighting on both sides had been desperate, the Confederates rather having the advantage at the close of the day. The Union commanders held a council of war, at which every suggestion of retreat was spurned. The unanimous opinion was that the battle must be renewed on the morrow. A day of rest, however, followed and then on January 2 Bragg renewed the attack on Rosecrans's left, but without avail. Breckinridge, while attempting to carry a hill occupied by the Union army, lost 2,000 men in twenty minutes. Unable to offer an effective resistance to the enemy, Bragg withdrew to Murfreesborough and during the night abandoned his winter quarters, which were at once occupied by the Federal troops. This was one of the hardest fought battles of the war, the losses on both sides being heavy. That of the Confederates amounted to over 10,000 men, that of the Union

[2] "Battles and Leaders," vol. ii. p. 736.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 760.

troops over 13,000.[1] Both sides claimed the victory, but the moral advantage was with the Union troops, since they compelled the Confederates to abandon their winter quarters.

II

CAMPAIGN AGAINST VICKSBURG. 1862–1863

In the meantime the attention of the country was directed to the efforts of the Western commanders to take the town of Vicksburg and complete the task of opening the Mississippi River. Situated as the town is, on a high bluff commanding the river, its position was one of great natural strength, and it had, besides, been strongly fortified by the Confederates, making it practically impossible for the enemy to navigate the river. To capture this city was one of the chief objective points of the war, quite as much so as the Confederate capital. In the autumn of 1862 General Grant, who had become the supreme Federal commander in the West in consequence of the appointment of Halleck as commanding general of all the armies of the United States, began laying plans for the capture of Vicksburg.

His first scheme was to move a portion of the army from north Mississippi across the country to a place in the rear of Vicksburg and send another portion, under the command of Sherman, down the Mississippi River on transports from Memphis with instructions to land at some place north of the city and cooperate with his own forces. In December all was ready and Sherman embarked at Memphis for a point near Vicksburg. But just at this juncture General Earl Van Dorn, a dashing Confederate cavalry leader, swooped into the town of Holly Springs in the northern part of Mississippi, a town which Grant had selected for his base, and destroyed several million dollars' worth of stores and other supplies. Grant, who had in the meantime advanced seventy-five miles toward Vicksburg, was now reduced to the necessity of returning to Holly Springs, greatly disconcerted that his well laid scheme had been spoiled. Meantime Sherman had reached the mouth of the Yazoo River, a short distance above Vicksburg. He proceeded to ascend the river with a view to landing his troops in the rear of the city, but at Chickasaw Bayou he was turned back

[1] "Battles and Leaders," vol. iii. p. 611.

after a sharp fight by a Confederate force under General Stephen D. Lee. The coöperative plan having failed, Grant tried various other expedients. One of these was to cut a canal across the peninsula formed by a bend of the river so as to make it possible for transports with supplies to pass down the river without running the fire of the batteries on the bluffs at Vicksburg, but this failed. Another attempt to reach the rear of Vicksburg was made by sending gunboats through the Yazoo pass down the Tallahatchie River, but they were turned back by a force of Confederates at Fort Pemberton. Still another attempt was made to reach the coveted city by sending gunboats through Steele's Bayou into Deer Creek and the Big Sunflower River, but they, too, were turned back by the Confederates.

Finally, Grant conceived the plan of taking his army around and below Vicksburg and approaching it from the south. Accordingly, his troops were sent overland down the western bank of the river to a point opposite Grand Gulf, a fortified town twenty-five miles below Vicksburg. At the same time a fleet of transports under the protection of Porter's ironclads, and under the cover of darkness, sailed down the river past Vicksburg and joined Grant's army at Grand Gulf. Crossing the river at Bruinsburg, some miles below, the army marched northward to the latter place and captured it on May 3, and a few days later took Port Gibson, still further north. Grant was now well on the way toward Vicksburg, but the situation was such as to compel him to make a diversion. There were two Confederate armies in front of him, one at Vicksburg and another at Jackson, thirty-five miles to the east. General J. C. Pemberton commanded the Confederate forces at Vicksburg, while Joseph E. Johnston was in command at Jackson. Grant had only about 45,000 men and he realized that if Johnston's and Pemberton's armies should unite it would be difficult for him to offer an effective resistance. He determined, therefore, to march to Jackson, crush Johnston's army and then turn upon Pemberton at Vicksburg. Marching northward to the Vicksburg and Meridian Railroad, which runs east and west across the State, the Union forces encountered the Confederates at Raymond on May 12 and two days later marched into the capital of Mississippi, Johnston's army in the meantime retreating a few miles northward.

After destroying various military stores, the penitentiary, the foundry, the arsenal, the Catholic church, and Greene's cotton fac-

tory, Grant turned to meet Pemberton, who had come out from Vicksburg to join forces with Johnston. The two armies met at Champion Hill and a furious battle took place on May 16, which resulted in the repulse of Pemberton with heavy loss. Retreating toward Vicksburg, the Confederate army was overtaken at Big Black Bridge and again defeated. Pemberton's army now retired within the defenses of Vicksburg, followed by the pursuing enemy, which on May 19 made a terrible assault upon the Confederate works, driving the defenders further in. This was followed by a general combined attack on May 22, but the Union soldiers were repulsed with great slaughter, three thousand of them being killed or wounded.

Grant then settled down to a protracted siege, which lasted for six weeks. With Porter's gunboats in the river and Sherman's army in the interior watching Johnston, Grant was left free to conduct the siege. Extensive trenches and mines were dug by the beseiging army, while the gunboats on the river poured a merciless fire into the city by day and by night, the bursting shells spreading havoc wherever they fell. For protection against the shot and shell from the fleet the inhabitants burrowed into the hillsides and lived in caves, where they spent days and weeks, disturbed at intervals by the roar and upheavals of exploding mines. The poor soldiers lay for weeks in the narrow trenches, with their limbs cramped and swollen, exposed to the burning sun, drenching rains, and heavy dews. Thousands of them died, and at the time of the surrender one-third of the army were in the hospital, while many others were crawling about in convalescent camps. Still they held out, encouraged by the arrival of an occasional messenger, who made his way through the swamps of the Yazoo with the news that Johnston was laying plans to extricate the garrison. Finally, the supply of food ran low and starvation stared the population in the face. Mule meat became a delicacy and was in great demand at a dollar per pound. General Pemberton, in an official report, stated that he was gratified to say that the officers and men had found it "not only nutritious, but palatable, and in every way preferable to poor beef." Nevertheless by July 1 the army was on the verge of mutiny for want of food. Further sacrifices were useless, although Johnston continued to encourage Pemberton to hold out.

On July 4, the anniversary of American Independence, Pemberton surrendered the city, and with it one of the largest armies

of the war. Over 30,000 prisoners of war, including 13 generals and a large number of colonels, while 172 cannon and 60,000 muskets were thus lost to the Confederacy.[5] Grant's first demand, that of unconditional surrender, was modified so as to allow the men to march out with their side arms and to retain their horses and other personal property.[6] The importance of the surrender consisted not so much in the number of men or military supplies captured as in the strategic value of the place. A few hours after the surrender the river was lined with steamers along the landings. Less than a week later Port Hudson, farther down the river, was taken by General Banks and the Confederacy was at last cut in twain. In the picturesque language of President Lincoln: "The Father of Waters now rolled unvexed to the sea."

III

GETTYSBURG

The day before the surrender of Vicksburg the greatest battle of the war had been fought far away in the State of Pennsylvania, where Mr. Davis had once declared as a senator that the contest for Southern rights would ultimately be carried. After the Confederate victory at Chancellorsville the confidence and hopes of the South were again in the ascendant and Southern public opinion demanded that Lee should carry the war into the North. The demoralization of the Army of the Potomac as a result of the frequent change of commanders served to encourage the Confederates in the belief that an invasion of the North could be undertaken with success. Furthermore, the growing opposition in the North to the various war measures of the government contributed to the belief in the South that a favorable opportunity was at hand to begin an aggressive movement. Early in June, 1863, therefore, Lee's army for a second time took up its march for the North, leaving a strong rear guard under the command of General J. E. B. Stuart to occupy the attention of Hooker and prevent him from pursuing the army of invasion. On the 24th

[5] Francis V. Greene, "The Mississippi in Campaigns of the Civil War," p. 207.

[6] See General Grant's own account in his personal memoirs, under "The Vicksburg Campaign."

1863

Lee's army crossed the Potomac near Shepherdstown and prepared for an invasion of Pennsylvania, with Harrisburg as the main objective point. But on the 29th this plan was abandoned in consequence of the receipt of intelligence that the Federal army was in pursuit. Lee now realized that to continue his invasion into a hostile country, pursued by an enemy whose strength could be increased indefinitely, meant his own annihilation. He therefore decided to concentrate his whole army at Gettysburg and if possible crush the enemy — a decision which predetermined a conflict more important than any that had yet taken place. His army on Pennsylvania soil amounted to about 75,000 men.

At this juncture another change in the command of the Army of the Potomac occurred. General Hooker, after a controversy with the general-in-chief, was relieved of command at his own request, and General George G. Meade was appointed as his successor. Hooker was unsurpassed as a corps commander, but he possessed neither mental caliber nor equipoise for the supreme command.[7] General Meade, like his predecessor, was a graduate of West Point, and had served in the Mexican War. At the outbreak of the Civil War he held the rank of captain of engineers. Lee's movement across the Potomac created great consternation in Maryland and Pennsylvania and President Lincoln promptly called upon the governors of these neighboring States for 100,000 militia for six months' service. The governor of Pennsylvania issued a call for 60,000 men to come forward promptly and defend their soil, families, and firesides. Places of business were closed and citizens of all classes turned out to aid in repelling the invasion. The activity of the Democratic governor of New York, Horatio Seymour, in raising and sending forward troops called forth unstinted praise from the President.[8] As a result of generous responses Meade soon had a combined force not far from 150,000 men.

The advance guards of the two armies met near Gettysburg July 1, and the fight began at once and grew in importance throughout the day as additional forces from the contending armies hastened to the scene. In the forenoon the Federals suffered a disaster in the loss of General Reynolds, who was killed by a Confederate sharpshooter; about 2 P. M. General Oliver Otis Howard arrived

[7] Dodge, "Bird's-eye View," p. 134.
[8] "Official Records," 27, pt. 3, p. 130.

with the 11th corps and assumed command. Meantime the battle raged with increased fury, the Union lines were broken and the troops were driven back toward the town in rout and confusion, five thousand of their number being captured by Ewell, one of the Confederate corps commanders. Nevertheless General Howard had strengthened the Federal positions by securing Cemetery Hill and thus determined the place at which the great and final battle was to occur. For this he received the thanks of Congress. In this demoralized condition of the Union troops the Confederates could easily have followed up their victory and captured a large portion of the enemy's men, but General Lee deemed it advisable to abstain from pressing his advantage until the arrival of the remainder of his army.

The arrival of Hancock at four o'clock in the afternoon restored order in the Union ranks and inspired confidence in the troops. Toward midnight General Meade appeared on the scene and proceeded to post his whole army on a hill south of the town, locally known as Cemetery Ridge, extending two miles north and south, and curving at the end like a fishhook. The ridge was crowned with two elevations, known as Round Top and Little Round Top, both at the southern end, and another called Culp's Hill at the barb within half a mile of the town. All through the night the Union troops were busy getting in position, and when day came the army was posted on the ridge from Round Top clear along to Culp's Hill. The Confederate army rested with its center on Seminary Ridge west of the town and its right and left wings extending around to the north and the south, forming a great semicircle half surrounding the Union army and constituting a position in every way less advantageous than that of the enemy. Nevertheless, Lee was confident of victory, not having learned of the arrival of Meade's reënforcements during the night. Lee had 70,000 men, Meade about 93,000.[9] Until two o'clock in the afternoon of July 2 the two great armies faced each other, each seeming loath to begin the awful work of slaughter which they well knew was to follow. Then the Confederates advanced, Longstreet leading their right wing up the ascent in the endeavor to dislodge Sickles, who held Round Top. At this end of the line occurred the chief fighting of the day. Here for two long hours the battle raged with awful fury; the fire was so incessant and the roar so terrific as to make the very earth tremble. Three hundred pieces

[9] Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. iv. p. 284.

1863

of artillery belched forth destruction in every direction, while the flashes of fire and the dense pall of smoke made a lurid scene. Longstreet, with hat in hand, led the Confederate charge as though he were courting death itself. Slowly Sickles was pressed back, his leg shot off by a cannon ball, and it began to look as if the Confederates would gain possession of Round Top, when at this juncture the Federal cause was saved by the arrival of reënforcements. While this was going on at the south end of the Ridge, the Confederates had attacked the center of the Union position, but had been repulsed. Finally, at the other end, they carried Culp's Hill and at the close of day were in complete possession of it. The net results of this day of carnage were slightly favorable to the Confederates. They had been prevented from taking Round Top by the arrival of reënforcements, but had driven back the Union right from Culp's Hill. The losses of both sides were heavy, being about 10,000 men from each army.

The third day, however, was to witness the most heroic and terrible contest that had yet occurred. Soon after dawn the Federal artillery began to play upon Culp's Hill, which the Confederates had taken on the previous day. After a bombardment of several hours the Union forces succeeded in recapturing it and thus regained the position which they occupied on the first day of the battle. This was followed about noon by a deep calm which preceded one of the mightiest contests recorded in the annals of warfare. General Lee had massed his artillery along the crest of Seminary Ridge with the determination of making a grand assault on the Union center. At half-past twelve o'clock the death-like silence was broken by the shrill sound of a Whitworth gun, which was the signal for the opening of the contest. It was followed immediately by the roar of more than two hundred cannon. For an hour and a half this terrific fire was kept up, but it did little harm to the Union soldiers, who lay well protected behind walls and earthworks. The presence of the handsome, magnetic Hancock, who dashed up and down the lines, inspired the soldiers and kept up their courage. The cannonading was followed by a pause, and Lee, determining upon one great final effort, entered upon a grand assault which for courage has never been surpassed in any war.

This famous charge was led by General Pickett, who at the head of 15,000 of Longstreet's men undertook to march across

an open field, a mile wide, continuously exposed to the enemy's batteries, and drive the enemy from an impregnable position. The Federal artillery tore great gaps in their ranks; and, though death was everywhere, never did the line of gray uniforms halt or waiver, but pressed coolly and steadily on. Soon they were within range of the Federal musketry, which mowed down their decimated ranks. Presently Garnett was killed, then Kemper was shot, then Armistead was mortally wounded, all able Confederate brigadiers. But Pickett, pressing on as he thought to victory, came out unscathed. Hancock, shot down and with blood flowing from his wounds, continued to direct his men, but steadily the Confederates advanced to the very mouths of the cannon, and it seemed as if they would drive the Federals from the Ridge. Longstreet turned to General Lee to congratulate him on the victory, but at that moment Pettigrew's division was seen to waver. Their ranks were thrown into confusion and presently Pickett's whole division began to fall back. Slowly the few that were left retraced their steps across the valley of death over which they had a few hours before marched with hope and confidence. The battle of Gettysburg had ended,— the greatest of the Civil War.[10]

"This has been a sad day for us," said General Lee; "now we want all good men to rally." Over 40,000 Confederates were killed, wounded, or captured during the three days' fighting, of whom nearly 6,000 were left dead on the field.[11] The losses in some of the regiments were staggering. The Ninth Virginia went into the contest 250 strong and came out with only 38 men. The Eighth Georgia entered with 32 officers, of whom 24 were killed or wounded. Of the 24 field officers in Pickett's division only 2 escaped unhurt.

On the morning of July 4, the same day as the surrender of Vicksburg, General Lee began his retreat into Virginia. Meade was urged by the President to pursue the Confederates and give them battle before they could cross the Potomac; but the Federal commander made excuses and allowed them to escape unmolested, and in a few days the two armies were occupying their old positions north and south of the Rappahannock. The battle of Gettysburg

[10] For an interesting account of the battle of Gettysburg, see Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. iv. pp. 281–290; see also "Battles and Leaders," vol. iii. pp. 255–433, and Gordon, "Reminiscences of the Civil War."

[11] "Battles and Leaders," vol. iii. p. 439.

1863

and the fall of Vicksburg undoubtedly mark the turning point in the Civil War. The Confederates had reached the high water mark of their success, and henceforth the struggle was marked by evidences of their waning strength.

Shortly after the great battle of Gettysburg the field upon which the struggle had taken place was transformed into a national cemetery and suitable monuments were erected to the memory of the fallen Union soldiers. On November 19, 1863, it was formally dedicated, the chief feature of the services being the delivery of a brief speech by President Lincoln. Edward Everett, the most famous American orator then living, had spoken for two hours, when Lincoln arose. Everett's address is entirely forgotten; but Lincoln's few words are familiar to every school-boy:

"Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

"Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any other nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

"But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate — we can not consecrate — we can not hallow — this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us — that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion — that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain — that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom — and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

IV

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1863 IN TENNESSEE

While the campaign against Vicksburg was proceeding and Lee was on the march to Pennsylvania, an important campaign was in progress in east Tennessee between Rosecrans and Bragg. On September 19 the two armies met near Chattanooga on a small stream named Chickamauga, and one of the most sanguinary battles of the Civil War was fought. The strength of the Union army was about 57,000 men, that of the Confederates about

71,000 men.[12] Throughout the first day of the battle the results were indecisive.[13] Early on the morning of the second day the fight was renewed and the Federal troops were driven back in consequence of an ill-considered order of Rosecrans by which a gap was made in the Union center. Quickly discovering this, Longstreet massed his troops into the opening, drove back the Union right, and sent them flying panic-stricken toward Chattanooga. The day seemed hopelessly lost, and Rosecrans so telegraphed to Halleck; but at this juncture General George H. Thomas, who commanded the Union left, retrieved the disaster which the right had suffered and saved the day. He held his position unshaken against the repeated assaults of the enemy and repulsed them with great slaughter. The fighting was unexcelled and the spectacle was one of the most magnificent of the war. The losses of the Union army amounted to about 16,000 men in killed, wounded, and captured; those of the Confederates were about 17,800.[14] Thomas after his heroic stand was popularly christened the "Rock of Chickamauga." Like Scott, Thomas was a native of Virginia who had refused to "go with his State" at the outbreak of the war, but continued to follow the old flag. By the concurrent testimony of military critics he was one of the ablest officers produced on either side during the war.

After holding his own at Chickamauga from noon until dark, Thomas withdrew to Chattanooga, where he joined Rosecrans, who with part of the army had already preceeded thereto in the afternoon. The Confederates next occupied Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain, two elevations just south and west of Chattanooga. The effect of this movement was to virtually shut up Rosecrans's army in the town and cut off his source of supplies. Although receiving large reënforcements, his provisions were soon exhausted, his mules died by the thousands, and the army was on the verge of starvation.[15] In this critical situation Rosecrans was relieved and Thomas put in command, while General Grant was appointed as commander of all the armies between

[12] "Battles and Leaders," vol. iii. pp. 673–676. General Longstreet declares that the strength of the two armies was substantially the same — about 60,000 — "From Manassas to Appomattox," p. 458.

[13] Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. iv. p. 397.

[14] "Battles and Leaders," vol. iii. pp. 673, 675.

[15] Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. iv. p. 400.

1863

the Alleghanies and the Mississippi River, and was ordered to Chattanooga, where he arrived November 15.

Grant and Thomas began to lay plans for the extrication of the Union army from its critical position. The difficulty of the problem was lessened by the blunder of General Bragg in detaching 20,000 of his men to attack Burnside at Knoxville. Grant accordingly sent Sherman, on November 23, with four divisions to sweep the Confederates from Missionary Ridge, and at the same time dispatched "Fighting Joe" Hooker to dislodge the enemy from Lookout Mountain. As Sherman proceeded southward along the crest of the Ridge he found unexpected topographical obstacles which made it impossible for him to drive the Confederates back. Assault after assault on their columns was heroically repulsed. In this situation, late in the afternoon of November 25, Grant ordered Thomas to make a general advance to capture the rifle pits at the base of the Ridge. Promptly the troops sprang from their trenches, formed a line a mile in length, and swept up to the base of the Ridge into the face of the batteries, which poured a deadly fire into their ranks, drove the Confederates back from their first line of intrenchments and threw them into panic and confusion. They had executed their orders, but the rewards of further pursuit seemed too great to stop, and so again, without orders — in fact in the face of orders — they swept up the hill until the crest of the Ridge was in their possession and the Confederates were in full retreat.[16] Meantime, Hooker had scaled the heights of Lookout Mountain and had planted the Stars and Stripes on its highest crest. Here "above the clouds" a picturesque battle was fought on November 24, resulting in a victory for the Union troops.

In the battles around Chattanooga the Union army had lost about 6,000 men; that of the Confederates nearly 7,000,[17] but the results were wholly in favor of the Federals. Bragg's army had been completely defeated and was greatly demoralized. The last link in the chain of Western posts had been broken and all the gateways to the lower South stood open. The fall of Chattanooga and Knoxville was scarcely of less importance to the Confederates than the fall of New Orleans.

[16] General Grant in "Battles and Leaders," vol. iii. pp. 707–725; Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. iv. p. 406.

[17] "Battles and Leaders," vol. iii. pp. 729, 730; Nicolay and Hay, "Life of Lincoln," vol. viii. p. 155.

Chapter XXXIII

LAST YEAR OF THE WAR. 1864–1865

I

GRANT AND LEE IN THE WILDERNESS

FROM now until the close of the war military operations were centered chiefly in two great and final campaigns, one in the East against Lee and the other in the West against Joseph E. Johnston, who had been placed in command in that quarter after Bragg's reverses in the Chattanooga campaign.

In recognition of Grant's many successes, culminating in the Chattanooga victory, Congress revived the grade of lieutenant general, and to this office President Lincoln promptly nominated him and the Senate confirmed the appointment. For some time the eyes of the North had been gradually turning toward this commander as the one man who was capable of crushing the army of General Lee, and he was in fact the most popular man in the country.[1] Placed in command of all the armies of the United States, he proceeded to Washington, by direction of the President to assume immediate direction of the army that was destined to do what others had failed to do.

In March he arrived at Washington and met for the first time in his life the Commander-in-Chief, who expressed his satisfaction with Grant's services in the past, assured him that he should have a free hand in the direction of the campaign, and said in conclusion, "If there is anything wanting which is within my power to give, do not fail to let me know it. And now with a brave army and a just cause, may God sustain you."[2] With this *carte blanche* Grant selected Sherman to lead the army in the West with Atlanta as the objective point, while he looked after the affairs in the East. He announced that the main feature of his

[1] Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. iv. p. 436.

[2] For Grant's account of his first interview with Lincoln see his "Personal Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 122.

campaign in Virginia would be the continuous and unceasing hammering of the adversary with superior forces until by mere "attrition" his strength should be worn out.[3] He had come to the conclusion that strategy and maneuvering of positions would never avail against Lee. Only the outright destruction of his army by the momentum of numbers would suffice. Grant's critics pronounced this a brutal theory of war, and so it was, but there can probably be no question as to its fairness and legitimacy. It required unlimited numbers and resources, but they were cheerfully promised, and in time were supplied by the government. Vast quantities of arms, ammunition, clothing, subsistence, medical stores, forage, horses, mules, wagons, railroad iron, locomotives, and cars, bridge timber, telegraph and cable wire, and all the paraphernalia for the transportation and support of armies were placed at Grant's disposal. The States were called upon for additional volunteers, while the draft was vigorously resorted to for securing recruits. Everything that a powerful and generous government could do was done to enable its commander to carry out successfully his campaign of "attrition."

The Army of the Potomac, on April 30, consisted of 122,140 men, mostly seasoned veterans; the opposing Confederate army consisted of 61,953 men, not counting teamsters, cooks, and the like. While Lee enjoyed the advantage of fighting on the defensive and over familiar ground, he was at a great disadvantage, not only as to numbers, but in the paucity of supplies.[4] His men were poorly clad and fed, were in fact on the verge of starvation. The position of the two armies was the same as that which they had taken after the battle of Gettysburg, the Union army being posted north of the Rapidan River, the Confederates facing them on the south bank.

On May 4, 1864, the Union army, with four thousand wagons, began crossing the Rapidan to begin the attack. Within two days the passage had been completed and the army plunged into a dense forest or swamp known as "the Wilderness," which was inter-

[3] Dodge, "Bird's-eye View," p. 198; "Official Records," vol. xxxvi., pt. 1, p. 4.

[4] Nicolay and Hay, "Life of Lincoln," vol. viii. p. 352; in "Battles and Leaders," vol. iv. p. 182, the effective Union strength in the Battle of the Wilderness is placed at 118,000 men, that of Lee (p. 184) at "not less than 61,000." Dodge, "Bird's-eye View," p. 199, places the Union strength at 122,000; that of the Confederates at "not far from 70,000."

spersed with a thick undergrowth, making the employment of cavalry and artillery impracticable, while maneuvering was possible only with the greatest difficulty. In the midst of this jungle Lee fell upon Grant on May 5 and an all-day fight ensued, in the course of which the Federals were driven back with considerable loss as often as they attempted to advance. At two o'clock next morning Longstreet aroused his sleeping men from their bivouac and marched them to the battlefield. Soon the contest was raging again. At eleven o'clock he suddenly attacked Grant's left and drove it back in confusion. At this juncture Longstreet, while galloping forward, was badly wounded by his own men, who mistook him for one of the enemy's fugitives, and the demoralization which this event occasioned in the Confederate ranks gave the Federals an opportunity to reform their lines and repulse the Confederate advance. All day a terrible battle raged; saplings and even trees of considerable size were cut down by flying bullets, giving the battle-ground the appearance of a newly cleared field. During the two days of carnage the Federals lost 17,666 men, of whom over 2,000 were killed on the field.[5] The Confederate loss was about one-half that of the Union army.

Grant, apparently becoming somewhat less confident of his policy of "attrition," now determined to resort to maneuvering with the purpose of routing Lee's army from its position by a flank movement. Instead, therefore, of advancing directly in the front of the enemy he resolved to make an effort to turn their right flank and get possession of Spottsylvania Court House. But Lee divined the purpose of his adversary and rapidly pushed his army to Spottsylvania ahead of Grant and placed it directly between him and Richmond. An incident of this movement was the loss to the Confederacy of General J. E. B. Stuart, the ablest cavalry leader of the Confederate army. An expedition of Federal cavalry, consisting of 10,000 men commanded by General Sheridan, had been sent around to make a dash upon Lee's flank nearest Richmond. They worked enormous destruction upon Confederate railroads, depots, etc., but were desperately harrassed by Stuart's cavalry. At a place called Yellow Tavern, near Ashland, six miles from Richmond, they were attacked by Stuart, and while leading a desperate charge General Stuart himself received a wound from which he died

[5] "Battles and Leaders," vol. iv. p. 182. For a good account of the Battle of the Wilderness see Humphreys, "The Virginia Campaign of '64 and '65," ch. ii.

BATTLE OF SPOTTSYLVANIA, MAY 12, 1864
"The Bloody Angle"
Painting by Thulstrup

1864

the following day. The loss to the Confederacy of this brave and dashing leader was very great.

On May 10 the battle of Spottsylvania was begun by a heavy assault upon Lee's center, which was effectually repulsed. In the famous message to Halleck, Grant announced his purpose "to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." Two days later, May 12, the battle was renewed by an assault of Hancock's division on a Confederate position known in military parlance as a "salient," thereafter called the "Bloody Angle." After a sanguinary struggle lasting for several hours the Federals succeeded in taking this position and capturing over three thousand prisoners and twenty guns. Charge after charge was now made by the Confederates in the vain hope of recovering their lost position. A scene of terrible carnage ensued. Great heaps of dead and wounded men were fought over by the contending armies. Saplings were cut down by flying bullets. In one instance a tree eighteen inches in diameter was felled as if by an ax. No such terrible fighting had ever occurred on American soil. It was downright slaughter, from which neither side gained any advantage. "Both fought to kill, with undaunted spirit, from the first flash of dawn to the black night."[6] In this short campaign since crossing the Rapidan Grant had lost about 37,000 men, and the loses of the Confederates were not far behind.[7] For a week or more the two armies now rested, Lee having in the meantime intrenched himself behind the North Anna River. An attempt of the Federals, on May 20, to dislodge him from this position proved unsuccessful. Grant now moved his army around to the left and south and, on May 27, crossed the Pamunkey River, Lee keeping himself always between the enemy and Richmond and finally intrenching himself at Cold Harbor in the last days of May. The two armies now prepared for one of the bloodiest battles of the war. Grant was sanguine of success and sent a dispatch to Washington saying "Lee's army is really whipped"; but his judgment proved to be a little premature. On June 1 a heavy assault was made on the Confederates, but without any measurable success. Two days later the assault was repeated on a larger scale in the endeavor to break Lee's lines by sheer momentum. In the early morn, at half-past four o'clock, nearly a

[6] Nicolay and Hay, "Life of Lincoln," vol. viii. pp. 380–381.

[7] "Battles and Leaders," vol. iv. p. 128; Humphreys, "The Virginia Campaign of '64 and '65," pp. 114–118.

hundred thousand men rushed upon the enemy in his intrenchments. The result was what many had predicted. Foreseeing their fate many had pinned on their coats small strips of paper containing their names, as a means of identifying their dead bodies.[8] They were mowed down by the thousand, and it was all over in a few minutes. About 6,000 men were left dead or wounded on the field, while the Confederate losses were relatively insignificant.[9]

Grant has been severely criticised by the military critics for attacking Lee in his intrenchments, and he afterward frankly acknowledged the error and expressed regret for his last assault.[10] Later, he declared that it was the one battle of his life that he would not fight over again under the circumstances.[11] Those who have criticised say that instead of continually hurling his men against field-works, he should have moved upon Lee's communications and thus compelled him to come out of his intrenchments and fight in the open, for no one knew how to employ strategy so well as he. The results seem to justify the criticism. In a little more than a month of "hammering" Grant had lost about 55,000 men, or nearly one-half of his available strength, and an army nearly equal to Lee's entire strength at the beginning of the campaign.[12] And the discouraging thing about the situation was that the losses which had been inflicted upon the relatively inferior army of the enemy by no means corresponded with his own losses. That is, there had been no success to justify the sacrifices.[13] There were a good many who protested and clamored for the reinstatement of McClellan as commander of the Army of the Potomac. But the people of the North as a whole had unshaken confidence in Grant, and many had come to the conclusion that the power of the Confederacy could only be broken by the sacrifice of so much life and the expenditure of so much energy and material, and consequently they were inclined to forbear criticism.

After the battle of Cold Harbor Grant decided to change his plan of campaign. Finding, as he said, after a month's experiment that the enemy acted purely on the defensive and behind breastworks, he resolved again to try maneuvering. He therefore crossed

[8] Horace Porter, *Century Magazine*, 1897, p. 720.
[9] Humphreys, "The Virginia Campaign of '64 and '65," p. 182.
[10] "Personal Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 276.
[11] John Russell Young, "Around the World with Grant," vol. ii. p. 304.
[12] "Battles and Leaders," vol. iv. p. 182.
[13] Dodge, "Bird's-eye View," p. 220.

the James River with his army,[14] which consisted of 107,000 men, at a point below Petersburg, and began operations against Richmond from the south. Beginning on June 15, a series of desperate assaults were made on the Confederate works. During the four days that followed the Union army lost 4,000 men, with nothing to show for the sacrifice.[15] By July 2 the Union losses had risen to 16,000 men, and all efforts to carry Petersburg by assault had failed. Other tactics must be employed. Lee, in the meantime, had retired with his army into the defenses of Petersburg, one of the outposts of the Confederate lines and a strategic point of great value, twenty-two miles distant from Richmond.

Grant now laid siege to the place, hoping to cut off the supplies of the enemy and force him to surrender or abandon the two strongholds. A disastrous feature of the siege was the construction of a tunnel under one of the Confederate forts and the planting of a mine therein. In this mine nine thousand pounds of gunpowder were placed and at day-break on the morning of July 30 it was fired. A terrific explosion followed, tons of earth were thrown 200 feet high, while human bodies, pieces of artillery, and various paraphernalia of war were sent flying through the air in every direction. Almost instantly the Federal guns began to play upon the scene and 15,000 troops rushed forward to complete the work of destruction, but in the confusion that followed large numbers of them became entangled in the crater formed by the explosion. The Confederates, recovering their wits, poured an incessant fire upon the panic-stricken, disorganized troops, a division of whom were negroes. The crater proved to be a veritable slaughter pen, and in a few hours the Union had lost three or four thousand men.[16]

II

SHERIDAN IN THE SHENANDOAH

While the siege of Petersburg was going on an important campaign was being conducted by General Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley, a region made famous by the brilliant movements of

[14] "Battles and Leaders," vol. iv. p. 593.

[15] Dodge, "Bird's-eye View," pp. 245–246.

[16] For a good account of the mine fiasco, see an article entitled "The Battle of the Petersburg Crater" by Major W. H. Powell, "Battles and Leaders," vol. iv. p. 545 *et seq.*; see also Humphreys, "The Virginia Campaign," p. 263.

"Stonewall" Jackson two years before. In the hope of diverting a part of the Union army from the movement on Richmond, General Lee had sent a detachment of 15,000 men, under the command of General Jubal A. Early, to move up the valley and threaten Washington, as Jackson had done. General Early executed this task with remarkable success, defeating an army under Lew Wallace, who interposed at Monocacy, and pushing his army almost to the gates of the national capital, threw the city into great consternation. It was poorly defended by fifteen or twenty thousand militia, chiefly made up of department clerks and non-combatants. Had Early acted with promptness he could easily have taken the capital and made a prisoner of the President of the United States; but he hesitated, fearing that the city had been reënforced by veterans from the army of the Potomac. When he discovered his mistake it was too late, for on July 12 two corps arrived from Grant's army and the Confederate general was forced to abandon the attack after being within sight of the dome of the Capitol.[17] Early then sent an expedition into Pennsylvania which occupied the town of Chambersburg. A contribution of $500,000 was laid on the town and in default of payment the Confederates burned the place.[18]

The continued presence of Early in the Shenandoah was a source of worry to Grant, for it necessitated the presence of two of his most important corps at Washington when they were sorely needed in the campaign against Richmond. He therefore decided to make a clean sweep of the valley and leave it in such condition, if possible, that no future Confederate army could subsist therein. To execute this mission he selected General Philip H. Sheridan and placed at his disposal 40,000 infantry and 15,000 cavalry.[19] After a month of maneuvering and skirmishing, Sheridan fell upon Early on the Opequan Creek, near Winchester, September 19, 1864. With an army twice as large as that which opposed him he drove Early from the field in confusion with a loss of over 3,000 men, Sheridan's own loss being about 5,000. This victory saved Maryland and Pennsylvania from the danger of further invasion. Three days later, September 22, Sheridan routed Early at Fisher's Hill and inflicted upon him a loss of 1,200 men. Sheridan now set out to devastate the valley. Growing crops, provisions and forage

[17] See General Early's account in "Battles and Leaders," vol. iv. pp. 492–499.
[18] Dodge, "Bird's-eye View," p. 254.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 269.

were destroyed, mills were burned, farming implements broken up, stock driven off, and in fact everything that could be applied to the subsistence of an army was made way with. General Sheridan summarized his work in a dispatch to the government, saying: "The whole country, from the Blue Ridge to the North Mountain, has been made untenable for a rebel army. I have destroyed over two thousand barns filled with wheat and hay and farming implements; over seventy mills filled with flour and wheat; have driven in front of the army over four thousand head of stock, and have killed and issued to the troops not less than three thousand sheep. This destruction embraces the Luray Valley and the Little Fort Valley, as well as the main valley." [20]

The value of the property destroyed in Rockingham County alone was estimated at $25,000,000: thousands of families were reduced to absolute want and on every hand the signs of desolation were pitiable in the extreme. This conduct of General Sheridan was severely criticised by the people of the South as wanton cruelty and as being inconsistent with the conduct of humane warfare. The destruction of provisions, forage and other supplies may have been justifiable, but it is very questionable whether destruction of farm buildings and implements would come under the same head.

Meanwhile Early, having received reënforcements, was in hot pursuit of the enemy, and in the early morning hours of October 19 quietly stole upon them while asleep in camp at Cedar Creek and completely routed them, capturing 1,500 prisoners besides a large quantity of arms and military supplies. In this situation Sheridan arrived from Winchester, several miles away, and hearing the firing of the cannon hastily galloped to the battlefield only to see the army in retreat. Stopping the stampede, he quickly reformed the lines, and largely by his own presence infused new spirit into the demoralized troops. A general advance upon the Confederates was then ordered. Early was slowly pressed back and eventually driven in wild confusion up the valley. The Union loss was nearly 6,000 men, however, that of the Confederates being less than 3,000.[21] Early was an excellent tactician; he had fought bravely and skillfully; but he was outnumbered and outgeneraled and his ultimate

[20] "Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia" for 1864, p. 154.

[21] "Battles and Leaders," vol. iv. p. 532. For an account of Sheridan's campaign in the valley see an article by General Wesley Merritt in "Battles and Leaders," vol. iv. p. 500 *et seq.*

defeat was inevitable. This was the end of the drama in the Shenandoah. No further battles were fought in this region during the remainder of the war.

III

THE CAPTURE OF ATLANTA; FARRAGUT'S VICTORY IN MOBILE BAY; REELECTION OF LINCOLN

While these events were occurring in the East others of equal moment were developing in the West. General Sherman, as has been stated, had been selected by General Grant to lead an army from Chattanooga southward to Atlanta. The day after Grant crossed the Rapidan to begin his campaign in the Wilderness, Sherman started from Chattanooga on what was destined to be his long march through the Confederate States. His army aggregated nearly 100,000 seasoned veterans, "an army of as good stuff as ever bore arms," the flower of the Western armies, commanded by Generals Thomas, McPherson and Schofield.[22] He had with him also over 260 pieces of artillery. Every request of Sherman for new munitions and supplies — and his requisitions were heavy — had been complied with by an eager and anxious government. The army which obstructed his path to Atlanta consisted of 65,000 men,[23] commanded by Joseph E. Johnston, a general second only to Lee as a strategist.

But if Johnston had the disadvantage of numbers he enjoyed the advantage of fighting on the defensive and over a county of strong natural defenses, with the topography of which he was more or less familiar. The Confederate army was at Dalton, in the mountainous region of north Georgia, where, as has been stated, it retreated after the battle of Chattanooga. On May 5 Sherman moved out from Chattanooga and as he crossed the line into Georgia Johnston retired several miles southward to Resaca. Here he was attacked on the 14th by Sherman, but not wishing to fight an important battle at this point he fell back slowly to Kingston, then to Allatoona and finally to Marietta, at which place he

[22] Dodge, "Bird's-eye View," p. 226. Sherman's effective force on June 1, is placed at 112,819 men in "Battles and Leaders," vol. iv. p. 289; on May 1, was 98,797. See also General Sherman's statement in "Battles and Leaders," vol. iv. p. 252, and Jacob D. Cox, "Atlanta," in "Campaigns of the Civil War," ch. iii.

[23] Dodge, "Bird's eye View of the Civil War," p. 226.

BATTLE OF WINCHESTER

strongly entrenched himself on Kenesaw Mountain. Every day for nearly a month, however, sharp fights or severe skirmishes had taken place, Sherman all the time approaching nearer to Atlanta. He had, however, lost 1,500 men in killed and 7,500 in wounded. Johnston's loss was about 5,500.[24] At the same time Johnston was proving himself a sound strategist, and had he not been outnumbered he might have delayed Sherman's advance. He skillfully avoided fighting, except when the chances were in his favor, and parried his adversary's attacks without giving him battle. In the course of these movements the Confederacy lost one of its ablest leaders, General Polk, the "fighting bishop" of Louisiana.

On June 27 Sherman made a desperate attack upon Johnston's works at Kenesaw Mountain, but the attack was repulsed with the loss of about 3,000 men, Brigadier General McCook being among the number. The Confederate loss did not exceed 600 men.[25] It was a blunder which Sherman frankly admitted, although he asserted that it produced "great fruits." After this Sherman again resorted to maneuvering with a view to out-flanking Johnston. On July 17 he crossed the Chattahoochee and established his lines within eight miles of Atlanta, Johnston retiring within the defenses of the city and strengthening its fortifications.

At this juncture occurred an incident that gave rise to a long controversy in the South and one which materially changed the military situation in Georgia. This was the removal of Johnston from command and the appointment of one of his corps commanders, John B. Hood, as his successor. The reason given for the change was the alleged dissatisfaction with Johnston's Fabian policy. Mr. Davis wished a more aggressive leader, one who would stop retreating and fight, and General Hood he believed to be such a man. But General Johnston and his friends always felt that his removal was the result of an intrigue of which President Davis and his "military adviser," General Bragg, were the leading figures. It is asserted that Davis disliked Johnston for some reason and, professing to believe that he was on the point of abandoning Atlanta, took advantage of the occasion to remove him.[26] We

[24] Dodge, "Bird's-eye View," p. 240; see also Sherman's statement in "Battles and Leaders," vol. iv. p. 252.

[25] Dodge, "Bird's-eye View," p. 233.

[26] Davis says there was a "popular clamor" for Johnston's removal and that he yielded to the popular pressure reluctantly, being fully aware of the

have Sherman's testimony that Johnston's campaign, under the circumstances, was skillful and worthy of admiration. "No officer or soldier who ever served under me," he said, "will question the generalship of Joseph E. Johnston." [27] He was held in great

affection by his men and many of them shed tears when the news came of his displacement. Sherman, on the other hand, was delighted at the change and is said to have jumped to his feet and exclaimed, in allusion to Hood, "I know that fellow." [28]

danger of changing commanders at the time.—"Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government," p. 557.

[27] See Sherman's article entitled "The Grand Strategy of the Last Year of the War" in "Battles and Leaders," vol. iv. p. 253.

[28] Pollard, "The Lost Cause," p. 577. Hood was a graduate of West Point, No. 44 in the class of 1853, among his classmates being two of Sherman's commanders, Schofield and McPherson.

Three days after taking command, July 20, Hood gave evidence of his mettle by attacking the enemy at Peach Tree Creek, but was repulsed with great slaughter. Two days later Hood renewed the attack, only to be defeated with still greater slaughter, this time losing about 8,000 men. The losses of the Union army were relatively small, although among the killed was General McPherson, commander of the Army of the Tennessee. It was evident that Mr. Davis had found a bold if not a rash man. The attack of the 22d was pronounced by a Southern writer as one of the most reckless and headlong of the war. On July 28 Hood made a sortie at Ezra Church, but was again ingloriously defeated, losing some 4,000 men. Sherman now laid siege to Atlanta, drawing his lines closer and closer each day. By a flank movement he seized the Macon Railroad at Jonesboro, 26 miles directly south of Atlanta, on the last day of August and defeated a detachment of Hood's army sent to intercept the Federal troops.[29] Finding his line of supplies cut off, Hood determined to abandon Atlanta. This he did on the first day of September, after destroying all the supplies that could not be removed, including 81 cars loaded with ammunition. Sherman's army entered the city on the morning of September 2 and on the following day he telegraphed to Washington, "Atlanta is ours, and fairly won; but," he adds, "I have not accomplished all, for Hood's army, the chief objective, has escaped."[30] Since leaving Chattanooga, May 27, Sherman had lost about 32,000 men in killed and wounded. The Confederates had lost, during the same time, about 22,400, besides 13,000 prisoners.[31]

Sherman called out a strong protest in the South by issuing an order expelling the inhabitants, including women and children, who were forced to take refuge in Hood's lines, south of the city, for protection. Hood wrote to Sherman protesting that he did not have sufficient supplies for his own troops, "much less the thousands of exiles," and asserted that the act transcended in studied and ingenious cruelty all acts ever before brought to his attention in the dark history of war.[32] Sherman, however, was inexorable and would not rescind the order, insisting that his own safety required that the city should be reduced to the status of a military post.

[29] J. D. Cox, "Atlanta," ch. xv.

[30] "Battles and Leaders," vol. iv. p. 254.

[31] Dodge, "Bird's-eye View," p. 262; "Battles and Leaders," vol. iv. pp. 289–292.

[32] Pollard, "The Lost Cause," p. 580.

The fall of Atlanta was a terrible blow to the Confederacy; it was the most important manufacturing city in the South; was the center of a network of railroads extending to all parts of the Confederacy; constituted the gateway to the Gulf region; and lastly, it was a great military depot, containing valuable foundries and workshops for the manufacture of arms and ammunition.

Just before Sherman entered Atlanta Admiral Farragut won an important naval victory in Mobile Bay. The harbor of Mobile, next to New Orleans, was the most important on the Gulf Coast, and the city itself was a seaport of no inconsiderable value to the Confederacy. It was one of the favorite retreats for blockade runners and as such was especially obnoxious to the Federal authorities. Farragut determined to make an attempt to close the port, although he realized that it involved enormous difficulties and dangers and was regarded by many as a foolhardy enterprise. But he had successfully run the fire of the Mississippi forts — why should he not repeat the exploit at Mobile? The entrance to the harbor was guarded by Forts Morgan and Gaines, while the bay itself was strewn with sunken torpedoes. In addition there was in the bay a flotilla of gunboats, including the powerful Confederate ram *Tennessee*, covered with armor-plate six inches in thickness, carrying six guns and commanded by Captain Buchanan, formerly commander of the *Merrimac*. The *Tennessee* was regarded as the strongest and most powerful ironclad afloat.[33]

Farragut had a powerful fleet of wooden vessels and also four ironclad monitors; his armament, consisting, all told, of 160 guns. Lashing his wooden vessels together and protecting their sides with heavy chains and sandbags, and fastening himself to the mast of his flagship, the *Hartford*, he entered the bay in the gray dawn of August 5 in the midst of a terrible fire of shot and shell from the enemy's batteries and gunboats. The *Tecumseh* led the way, but presently striking a torpedo she lurched forward and sank with over one hundred of her crew. Among the lost was her gallant commander, Captain Craven, who might have saved himself, but stood aside for his pilot to escape through the narrow manhole into which the waters rushed. The remainder of the fleet succeeded in sinking several of the Confederate gunboats, and after a desperate fight with the *Tennessee* disabled her and forced Captain Buchanan to surrender. It was one of the most thrilling

[33] Lieutenant J. C. Kinney in "Battles and Leaders," vol. iv. p. 381.

naval battles ever fought and came at a time when Union victories were greatly desired by the President.[34] The two forts surrendered before the end of the month, but there were not land troops enough to occupy the city of Mobile, and it continued to be held by the Confederates until April of the following year. It was, however, henceforth closed to blockade runners.

Meanwhile the attention of the North was diverted from military campaigns to the presidential election which was now approaching. Despite Lincoln's great popularity at the North, a powerful and influential opposition to his renomination had grown up in the Republican party, or rather among its leaders, for the masses of the party were almost unanimously in favor of his reelection. Among the leaders who thus antagonized him were the old New York chief, Thurlow Weed; Horace Greeley, the editor of the *New York Tribune;* the powerful preacher, Henry Ward Beecher; Thaddeus Stevens, the leader of the Republicans in the National House of Representatives; and many others. Their favorite was the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Chase, who had managed the finances of the war with remarkable success and was known to entertain more advanced views with regard to the slavery question than did Lincoln. He had been one of the foremost of the Free Soil leaders and was an able and distinguished statesman.

Mr. Lincoln moved too slowly and cautiously for the large and increasing body of radicals who insisted on a more extreme and vigorous policy in the treatment of the question of slavery and rebellion. There was naturally, also, some opposition due to political resentments and ambitions.[35] Chase at first encouraged the movement in his own behalf, but before the campaign was well advanced withdrew from the canvass in consequence of the action of the legislature of his own State, Ohio, which passed a resolution in favor of Lincoln's renomination. The radical movement, however, did not entirely collapse with Chase's withdrawal, and a mass convention representing the "radical men of the nation," met at Cleveland and nominated John C. Frémont, who had won the hearts of the extremists early in the war by his emancipation order in

[34] For an interesting account of the fight in Mobile Bay see the article by Lieutenant J. C. Kinney, U. S. signal officer on the *Hartford*, in "Battles and Leaders," vol. iv. pp. 379–400.

[35] Blaine, "Twenty Years of Congress," vol. i. p. 514

Missouri, which had been repressed by the President. The platform adopted by this convention denounced Lincoln's administration and charged him with incapacity and unfaithfulness to the principles which he was pledged to maintain.[36] The regular Republican convention met in Baltimore early in June and renominated Lincoln on the first ballot and with practical unanimity. It adopted a platform endorsing his administration in unequivocal language, declared in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war without compromise until the war should be at an end and for the adoption of a constitutional amendment abolishing slavery. For Vice President, Andrew Johnson, military governor of Tennessee, was nominated.[37] Johnson was a Democrat in politics and as a senator from Tennessee had with courage and vigor opposed secession, had supported the administration in its war measures, and when the State passed under the control of the Federal army had been appointed its provisional governor by President Lincoln. The convention thought it "good politics" to nominate a Southern war Democrat as Lincoln's associate for two reasons: first it would refute the charge so often made in the last campaign that the Republican party was a sectional party; and second, it would tend to conciliate the northern Democrats who had faithfully supported the military policy of the administration throughout the war. Mr. Lincoln had expressed himself to some of the Republican leaders as being in favor of the nomination of Johnson, and the idea met the general approval of the party as a whole.

The Democrats, however, were not disposed to accept the bait thrown to them in the form of the Vice Presidency and to give their support to the Lincoln ticket. They were resolved to contest the Presidency, and it must be admitted they had some chance of winning. Their national convention met at Chicago, August 29, nearly three months after the meeting of the Republican convention, and it contained among its delegates such men as Horatio Seymour, governor of New York, Samuel J. Tilden, Allen G. Thurman, Clement L. Vallandigham, George H. Pendleton and others. General McClellan was nominated for President and George H. Pendleton of Ohio for Vice President, and a platform was adopted declaring in substance that the war was a failure, denouncing the alleged

[36] For a good account of the Cleveland convention, see Nicolay and Hay, "Life of Lincoln," vol. ix. ch. ii.

[37] Nicolay and Hay, "Life of Lincoln," vol. ix. ch. iii.

arbitrary conduct of the administration in arresting and keeping in prison inoffensive civilians of the North, and demanding that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities.[38] The declaration of the platform that the war had been a failure undoubtedly weakened the chances of the Democrats and, as a matter of fact, General McClellan, in his letter of acceptance, virtually repudiated it. He declared that the "reëstablishment of the Union in all its integrity is and must continue to be the indispensable condition in any settlement," and as for the declaration demanding cessation of hostilities, that was wholly ignored.[39]

For some weeks following the meeting of the Republican convention the military situation was anything but encouraging to those who hoped for Lincoln's election. Grant's Wilderness campaign, culminating in the frightful losses at Cold Harbor and the repulse at Kenesaw Mountain, with the death of General McPherson, one of the bravest of the Union commanders, depressed the spirits of thousands of voters and half persuaded them to believe that the war was indeed a failure. For more than three years it had been carried on at the cost of fabulous sums of money and the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives, and yet the rebellion was not suppressed. Many of the leaders asserted that Lincoln would be defeated, and he seems to have reached a similar conclusion.[40]

Only brilliant military victories, it was felt, could save the situation. Soon after the adjournment of the Democratic convention the victories began to come. First was the news of Farragut's success in Mobile Bay, then of the fall of Atlanta, Sheridan's devastation of the Shenandoah, the battles of Winchester, Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek, all of which it was said gave the lie to the Democratic declaration that the war was a failure. "Sherman and Farragut have knocked the planks out of the Democratic platform," said Secretary Seward.[41] Lincoln began to pluck up courage and ventured the opinion that "with victory in the field the election would take care of itself."

[38] Stanwood, "History of the Presidency," p. 304.

[39] Nicolay and Hay, "Life of Lincoln," vol. ix. p. 260.

[40] On August 23 Lincoln wrote: "This morning, as for some days past, it seems exceedingly probable that this administration will not be reelected. Then it will be my duty to so cooperate with the President-elect as to save the Union between the election and the inauguration."—*Ibid.*, vol. ix. p. 251.

[41] Blaine, "Twenty Years of Congress," vol. i. p. 531.

Meanwhile Frémont, seeing that he was endangering the chances of the Republican ticket, withdrew from the canvass and the great masses of the people of the North gradually came round to appreciate the wisdom of Lincoln's homely philosophy that it is "best not to swap horses in the middle of the stream." The result was his reëlection by an overwhelming majority. He carried all the Northern States except Delaware, Kentucky and New Jersey, receiving 212 electoral votes, as against 21 for McClellan. As in 1860, he had received the vote of all the free States except New Jersey. The result of the election was interpreted as an unqualified endorsement of Lincoln's policy and a commission to prosecute the war to the end. In his message to Congress on December 6 he declared that negotiation with the Confederate authorities would not be attempted, but that the people of the South could have peace at any moment by simply laying down their arms and submitting to the national authority under the Constitution.

IV

SHERMAN'S MARCH THROUGH GEORGIA; BATTLES OF FRANKLIN AND NASHVILLE

We left Sherman in occupation of Atlanta, with Hood at Lovejoy's station, a few miles to the south. Soon after the fall of Atlanta President Davis visited Hood's lines to plan with him a new campaign to compensate for the loss of that city and to take advantage of the occasion to raise the hopes and the confidence of the Southern people in his favorite commander. In the course of his journey to Atlanta he made several speeches in South Carolina and Georgia, saying that Atlanta would be recovered and that Sherman would meet the fate that befell Napoleon in the retreat from Moscow. "Our cavalry and our people will harass and destroy his army as did the Cossacks that of the French general," he declared.[42]

The new campaign planned by President Davis and General Hood was that the latter should cease retreating, face about and march northward into Tennessee, in the hope of drawing Sherman after him, thus leading him to abandon all he had gained in Georgia.

[42] Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. v. p. 7.

1864

Sherman is said to have been so pleased with the idea that he declared his willingness to furnish Hood with supplies if he would only go away from Georgia and leave him alone. On September 24, 1864, Hood commenced the new movement and five days later crossed the Chattahoochee, en route for Tennessee. Sherman followed as far as Gaylesville, in the northeastern corner of Alabama, when, being assured of Hood's intentions, he abandoned the pursuit, sent George H. Thomas to Tennessee to head him off when he should arrive, while he himself returned to Atlanta and prepared to mobilize his army for a march across the State of Georgia to the sea.

Hood hurried on to Tennessee with an army consisting of 45,000 men, 10,000 of whom were cavalry troops under command of General Forrest, one of the most successful cavalry leaders in the Confederate service. Thomas's army was somewhat smaller and many feared he would be annihilated by the active and energetic Confederate leader.

In the latter part of November, however, both armies were increased by reënforcement until each exceeded 50,000 men. On November 21 Hood was defeated in a sharp fight at Spring Hill, and feeling keenly the sting of defeat and the criticism which it provoked, he made a furious attack the next day on Schofield's army, which had just intrenched itself at the village of Franklin. Again and again the Confederates charged the enemy with a desperation and valor probably not surpassed on any battlefield of the war. Mowed down by grape and canister, they nevertheless kept up the fight, which presently degenerated into a hand-to-hand contest. Almost frantic, Hood continued his assaults until long after dark, but all in vain. His losses were frightful, amounting, according to his own statement, to over 4,500 men.[13] Among the killed were one major general, Patrick R. Cleburne, and three brigadiers, while six brigadiers were wounded and one captured. After the battle Schofield proceeded to Nashville, where he joined the main army under Thomas.

Hood was a man who never knew when he was whipped, and so he followed Schofield to Nashville and prepared to attack the whole army, which at this time outnumbered his own by about 11,000 men. Grant, far away, was watching the movements of Thomas with great anxiety. Seeing Hood's predicament he im-

[13] "Battles and Leaders," vol. iv, p. 474.

patiently urged Thomas to strike at once. Thomas hesitated a week and offered as an excuse that he was not ready. Finally Grant threatened to supersede him if he did not act. Then a storm of rain and sleet came which caused another week's delay.[44] Finally, on December 15, Thomas advanced to the attack and drove back the Confederates with heavy losses, capturing sixteen guns and over a thousand prisoners. On the next day the battle was renewed with practically the same result, the enemy being routed and demoralized. Hood succeeded in escaping across the Tennessee, but only with a remnant of the splendid army which Johnston had turned over to him at Atlanta, having lost, from various causes, more than 10,000 men, half of his generals and nearly all of his artillery.[45] No army since the outbreak of the war had been so nearly annihilated. Grant was greatly relieved, for he feared that Sherman had committed a blunder in dividing his army and leaving the defense of Tennessee to Thomas. But Sherman knew Thomas well. He had saved the day at Chickamauga and had, on other fields, given indisputable proofs of his remarkable capacity. A competent military critic ventures the opinion that Thomas fell as little short of the model soldier as any man this country has produced.[46]

While these events were happening Sherman was well on his march to the sea, "making Georgia howl," as he described it. Finally, receiving permission from Grant, he set out from Atlanta, on November 15, after burning a considerable portion of the city, with an army of more than 60,000 men, 65 pieces of artillery, 200 rounds of ammunition, 600 ambulances, 2,500 wagons, each drawn by six mules, and rations for sixty days. His force consisted of the Army of the Tennessee, commanded by General O. O. Howard, and the Army of the Cumberland, commanded by General H. W. Slocum, and the orders were to march as nearly as possible in four parallel columns and to forage liberally on the country, but not to enter private dwellings or use abusive language toward the inhabitants. To the corps commanders was entrusted the duty of destroying mills, houses, gins, and similar buildings, and of devastating districts in which the progress of the army was resisted.

[44] John G. Nicolay in "Cambridge Modern History," vol. vii. p. 525; "Battles and Leaders," vol. iv. p. 454.

[45] "Battles and Leaders," vol. iv. p. 474.

[46] Dodge, "Bird's-eye View," p. 301; Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. v. pp. 17–18.

Horses, mules and wagons were to be "appropriated freely and without limit."[47]

The extent of territory swept by the army was at times from sixty to eighty miles in width. Two hundred and sixty-five miles of railroads were destroyed by heating the rails and twisting them around trees, and by burning the cross-ties. Bridges, trestles, water-tanks, woodsheds and depot buildings were destroyed, as was also about 15,000 bales of cotton. Mills, cotton gins, and in some cases, private houses, were burned, usually in disregard of orders, as General Sherman claims. The command to "forage freely," was of course liberally construed. The season was just at the close of harvest time and the barns were well filled. Cattle and swine were fat, poultry was well grown, and sweet potatoes, turnips and other vegetables were plentiful. Whenever a farmhouse was passed the last chicken, hog, cow, ear of corn or bushel of potatoes was taken. Sorghum barrels were knocked in, beehives robbed, cellars rifled, and in many cases private houses were despoiled of their furnishings and ornaments and sometimes burned to the ground.[48]

There was practically no opposition to Sherman's advance, for there were few to oppose except non-combatants. There were no guerrillas to harass him as the Cossacks harassed Napoleon on his retreat from Moscow. Occasional attacks by Wheeler's cavalry hardly impeded his progress or taxed his energies. Against this feeble opposition the army marched triumphantly on for three hundred miles, singing "John Brown's Body" and "Marching Through Georgia," until December 10, when at the outer defenses of Savannah a halt was made.

Savannah had a population of about 20,000 and was defended by the Confederate General Hardee with about 18,000 men, while a few miles to the south of the city, at the mouth of the Ogeechee River, was Fort McAllister with an armament of 21 guns and garrisoned by 200 men. On December 13 Sherman stormed the fort and compelled its garrison to surrender. The possession of this fort enabled him to open communications with the Federal fleet, commanded by Admiral Dahlgren, and to secure its co-

[47] For copy of the order of march, see "Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia" for 1864, p. 141.

[48] For further discussion of Sherman's march see Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. v. p. 24

operation. This insured the capture of Savannah after a brief siege. A demand for its surrender was promptly made and the hope was entertained of capturing Hardee's army. But the Confederate general outwitted Sherman, and on the dark night following the demand escaped across the river into South Carolina. Next day Sherman entered the old and historic city and telegraphed President Lincoln: "I beg to present you, as a Christmas gift, the city of Savannah, with one hundred and fifty heavy guns and plenty of ammunition; also about twenty-five thousand bales of cotton." [49] This message reached the President on Christmas Eve and with a heart full of rejoicing he returned "Many, many thanks." [50] During the thirty-two days when he was marching from Atlanta to Savannah the only news received by Lincoln as to his whereabouts and doings was from Southern newspapers. Thus ended the march through Georgia. General Sherman summarized the results in his official report as follows:

"We have consumed the corn and fodder in the region of country thirty miles on either side of a line from Atlanta to Savannah, as also the sweet potatoes, cattle, hogs, sheep, and poultry, and have carried away more than ten thousand horses and mules, as well as a countless number of slaves. I estimate the damage done to the State of Georgia and its military resources at one hundred millions of dollars; at least twenty millions of which has inured to our advantage, and the remainder is simple waste and destruction." [51]

V

MARCH THROUGH THE CAROLINAS

Sherman now proposed to march northward through the Carolinas, effect a junction with Grant, and aid him in crushing Lee by strength of numbers. Setting out from Savannah on February 1, with 60,000 men, Howard still commanding the right wing and Slocum the left, he plunged into the almost impassable swamps of South Carolina.[52] The march through Georgia had been a holiday

[49] Sherman, "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 231.

[50] Nicolay and Hay, "Life of Lincoln," vol. ix. p. 494.

[51] Official Records, vol. xiv. p. 13.

[52] Sherman, "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 269; Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. v. p. 85.

excursion compared with that which now ensued. The country was low and was intersected by numerous rivers running at right-angles to the line of march. Bridges had to be constructed, and in consequence of heavy rains hundreds of miles of road had to be corduroyed in order to enable the army to drag the heavy artillery over them. At times the soldiers were forced to wade through swamps waist-deep in water, but in spite of all obstacles they covered twelve to fifteen miles a day for over four hundred miles. The work of devastation was carried out on a scale more vast than that in Georgia. In addition to the destruction of railroads, mills and resin factories, the pine forests were fired and the flames often spread to private dwellings and occasionally entire villages were destroyed. There was more than the usual looting and pillaging which, General Sherman says, was due to the feeling among the soldiers that South Carolina, having taken the lead in the Rebellion, should be made to feel the scourge of the war.[53]

Threatening Augusta on the left and Charleston on the right, the army passed between the two cities, reaching Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, on February 16. Soon after the troops entered the town fire broke out, and the little capital, with its old-fashioned villas, beautifully shaded streets and historic churches, was nearly destroyed. As to the responsibility for this vandalism there has, and probably always will be, a difference of opinion. General Sherman fixed the responsibility upon the Confederate general, Wade Hampton, who upon evacuating the city is alleged to have set fire to a pile of cotton-bales in order to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy and in consequence of a high wind it was found impossible to extinguish the flames.[54] This General Hampton vigorously denied, saying that he gave a positive order that no cotton should be fired and asserted that General Sherman "burned the city to the ground, deliberately, systematically and atrociously,"[55] and this has always been the view generally accepted in the South. Mr. James Ford Rhodes, a recent historian of unusual fairness, has carefully investigated the subject and gives the opinion that the city did not take fire from burning

[53] General Sherman says he clearly saw that he would not be able to restrain the men as he had done in Georgia, and that he feared to restrain them lest the "vigor and energy of the army should be impaired."—"Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 254.

[54] Sherman, "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 278.

[55] Pollard, "The Lost Cause," p. 669.

cotton fired by Hampton, but was set on fire by drunken soldiers, negroes and escaped prisoners.[56]

The occupation of Columbia was followed the next day by the evacuation of Charleston, of all cities the dearest to the Confederate heart — the city in which the first shot of the war had been fired, and which for four years had heroically withstood every effort of a powerful Federal fleet to capture it. Upon evacuating it General Hardee destroyed the warehouses, arsenals, vessels in the harbor and other property that could be utilized by the Union forces. In consequence of an explosion in a powder-house the city was set on fire and a considerable portion was burned. Sherman, however, did not turn aside to visit Charleston, but marched on, practically unopposed, until he reached Goldsboro, in North Carolina, on March 23. Here he was joined by Schofield, who had come across Tennessee with an army to coöperate with him. Sherman's army was now not far from 90,000 men.[57] His long march of over eight hundred miles from Chattanooga by way of Savannah was practically ended, and he was ready to begin coöperation with Grant in the final struggle of the war.

VI.

END OF THE WAR

Meanwhile the United States forces had won an important victory in the capture of Fort Fisher, which commanded the approach to Wilmington. This was the only remaining seaport held by the Confederacy, and as the last gateway to the outside world, its importance was beyond estimation to the South, for it was through this port that most of the supplies, ammunition, arms, clothing, and other material used by the army during the last year of the war were brought by blockade runners. As early as the preceding December a powerful fleet, commanded by Admiral Porter, and accompanied by 6,500 troops under General Butler, arrived off the fort and prepared to attack it. Beginning the day before Christmas a bombardment was kept up at intervals for about three

[56] *American Historical Review*, vol. vii. article, "Who Burned Columbia–" General Slocum expresses substantially the same opinion in "Battles and Leaders," vol. iv. p. 686.

[57] "Battles and Leaders," vol. iv. p. 698.

weeks, the fort being finally carried by a desperate and bloody assault on January 15, 1865. Some weeks later the city of Wilmington was occupied, and henceforth the steady stream of supplies that had poured in through the agency of the blockade runners was effectually cut off. Lee's veterans were now to feel the pangs of hunger as they had never felt them before. The fate of the Confederacy was really settled, but still the leaders showed no disposition to abandon the struggle.

Early in February an informal attempt to bring about peace was made at the so-called Hampton Roads Conference. Through the good offices of Mr. Francis P. Blair, Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Davis consented to the appointment of commissioners for this purpose. Mr. Davis himself selected the Vice President, Mr. Alexander H. Stephens, Mr. R. M. T. Hunter and J. A. Campbell, late of the United States Supreme Court. Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward met the commissioners February 3, on board a steamer lying in Hampton Roads. A conference lasting four hours and enlivened by several of Mr. Lincoln's anecdotes was held. But Lincoln firmly announced that peace could be had only by the Confederates laying down their arms and submitting to the authority of the United States,[58] whereas Davis had instructed the commissioners not to consider any terms short of absolute independence of the Confederate States. No agreement, therefore, could be reached and the conference broke up.

Upon the return of the commissioners to Richmond a day was appointed for an imposing expression of public opinion on the issue of the conference. On the appointed day business was suspended and no less than twenty orators, among them Messrs. Campbell and Hunter, addressed the people at different places in the Confederate capital in a last grand appeal to the devoted people of the South to continue their sacrifices. The day for appeals of this kind, however, was past. The spirit of the people of the South was too depressed and the prospect of success too discouraging for exhibitions of genuine enthusiasm. Nevertheless Jefferson Davis, with his customary optimism, made a speech about this time declaring that Sherman's march would be his last, that he would soon be brought to ruin, and that the North would then be soliciting peace.[59]

[58] Nicolay and Hay, "Life of Lincoln," vol. x. p. 110; Stephens, "War Between the States," vol. ii. p. 600 *et seq.*

[59] Pollard, "The Lost Cause," p. 684.

Yet at this very moment the toils of the Union army were gradually being drawn about Richmond, and though Mr. Davis does not seem to have realized it, the days of the Confederacy were but few. General Lee realized this, and on March 2 made overtures to Grant for an "interchange of views," looking to the termination of the contest. Grant was inclined to meet the advances of the Confederate commander, but the President threw a damper on the movement by instructing him "to have no conference with General Lee unless it be for the capitulation of General Lee's army."

Lee's only hope seemed to be to form a junction with Johnston's army, but this Grant was determined to prevent. The latter's force now numbered 124,700 men, as against 57,000 Confederates, Lee's force.[60] Lee's first move was to make a desperate assault on Fort Steadman, March 25, but the attack was repulsed with great slaughter. Next, trying to escape by way of Five Forks, he was met by Sheridan and a severe battle was fought on April 1, resulting in the rout of the Confederates and the capture of more than 5,000 prisoners. On the next morning, Sunday, April 2, a general assault was made on Lee's entrenchments, and although his brave soldiers made a heroic resistance they were overpowered by numbers and were compelled to fall back, leaving thousands of their men dead or wounded on the field. The people of Richmond were in profound ignorance of the fighting that had been going on for three days in their neighborhood. While Jefferson Davis was at worship in St. Paul's Church on the bright Sabbath morning of April 2, he received a telegram from General Lee. He quietly opened it and read as follows: "My lines are broken in three places. Richmond must be evacuated this evening." Realizing what these words meant, but concealing his feelings, the President of the Confederacy quietly left the church, called his Cabinet together, gave orders for the removal of the archives and prepared to escape with them on the next train for the South.

Soon the news of the impending fate of the Confederate capital spread throughout the city and evidences of confusion and excitement were presently discernible everywhere. The scene which followed is beyond description; the streets were thronged with fugitives making their way to the railroad stations; crowds of struggling, swearing rioters, eager to take advantage of the situation, congregated at various places, while the noise of wagons hastily

[60] John G. Nicolay in "Cambridge Modern History," vol. vii. p. 558.

loaded with boxes and trunks rapidly driven through the streets added to the general confusion. An extraordinary session of the city council was called to take measures to preserve peace and order; it directed the destruction of all liquor in the warehouses and the establishment of patrols for the preservation of order. Barrels of whisky were thereupon rolled out and emptied in the streets. Struggling soldiers and convicts released from prison succeeded in obtaining possession of a quantity of the liquor, and soon a drunken, howling rabble was marching up and down the streets, breaking into stores and robbing them of their contents. All night long the confusion continued; few slept, for the noise and disorder were too great for sleep. Meantime General Ewell had ordered the blowing up of several ironclads in the James, the destruction of the bridges across the river and the burning of the great tobacco warehouses. As a result of this order the city was fired and a large portion of it was destroyed, altogether about seven hundred houses being burned. This served to increase the confusion and riot.

An hour after sunrise Monday morning the cry of "Yankees!" "Yankees!" was raised and ran quickly up Main Street. Immediately a screaming, howling crowd tore madly through the streets to extricate themselves from imaginary dangers. The "Yankees" were only a small body of Massachusetts cavalry dispatched by General Weitzel, to plant the Stars and Stripes on the deserted Confederate capitol. In a few hours Federal troops were pouring in from all sides by the thousand, while the conflagration was still raging with all its fury. While Richmond was filled with horror the cities of the North were rejoicing. Everywhere vast crowds gathered to hear the news and unite in demonstrations of gratitude. In New York City 20,000 people in the open air sang the doxology.

But although Richmond had fallen the Confederate army had not yet been captured. Grant had not even gone to Richmond himself, being too busy laying plans to capture Lee's army. The Confederate general tried hard to escape, but his hungry veterans were surrounded on all sides and nothing was left but to surrender. On April 7 General Grant addressed to him a communication saying that the results of the last week must have convinced him of the hopelessness of further resistance; wishing to be relieved from responsibility of any further effusion of blood, he requested the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia. General Lee promptly

replied, asking for terms and an interview. The two great commanders met on April 9 at the residence of a Mr. McLean at Appomattox Court House. They were not entirely strangers, Grant having seen Lee once during the Mexican War, when he was a lieutenant and Lee chief engineer of General Wool's brigade. Lee was at the time of his surrender fifty-nine years of age, six feet tall, erect in carriage, and on the day of the meeting with Grant was dressed in a new uniform and wore a costly sword that had recently been presented to him by the legislature of Virginia. Grant, on the other hand, was sixteen years his junior, not so imposing of stature, with shoulders slightly drooping, and was dressed in a rough traveling suit, the uniform of a private with the straps of a lieutenant general, and without sword or sash. "I must have contrasted very strangely," said the Union commander, "with a man so handsomely dressed and of faultless form, but it was not a matter that I thought of until afterward." [61]

The two generals, forgetful of the occasion, fell into a conversation about "old army times," until Lee recurred to the subject of terms. After reaching a basis of agreement Grant put his terms in writing. Officers and men were to give their paroles not to take up arms again during the war until properly exchanged, and were to be allowed to return to their homes, not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as their paroles were observed. Grant then expressed the hope that the last battle of the war had been fought, and suggested that General Lee should advise the surrender of all the Confederate commanders. But Lee replied that he could not do this without consulting the President of the Confederacy, and Grant did not insist for, "I knew," he wrote later on, "there was no use to urge him to do anything against his ideas of what was right." [62]

Upon the suggestion of General Lee that the horses ridden by his cavalrymen were in most cases their private property, and that they would be greatly needed for the spring ploughing, Grant replied that he would instruct the officers left behind to allow every Confederate who claimed to own a horse or mule to take the animal home with him. For this Lee expressed his gratification, and remarked that it would have a happy effect. After all was completed Lee turned to Grant and remarked that his men were very hungry,

[61] Grant's "Memoirs," one volume edition, p. 630.
[62] *Ibid.*, p. 634.

as they had been living for some days on parched corn, and that he would have to ask for rations and forage. Grant cheerfully complied with the request, and 28,000 half-starved veterans were fed from the Federal commissariat. Grant's bearing toward Lee was that of a generous and magnanimous foe. The story that the Union commander received his adversary's sword and then returned it, Grant repudiates as the "purest romance."[63] When news of the surrender reached the Union lines the men began firing a salute of a hundred guns in honor of the victory. Grant at once sent word that it must be stopped. "The Confederates," he said, "are now our prisoners, and we do not want to exult over their downfall." On the following day the great Confederate commander took affectionate leave of the battle-scarred soldiers who had so long and so devotedly followed his lead. With a look of sadness on his face he addressed them in a simple and unaffected manner, saying: "Men, we have fought through the war together, and I have done the best I could for you."

The civil government of the Confederacy did not end with the surrender of Lee's army. On the afternoon of the Sunday on which Jefferson Davis received Lee's dispatch saying that Richmond must be evacuated, he, with his Cabinet and such of the archives as could be packed, left by rail for Danville, Virginia. From that place he issued, on April 5, after the fall of Richmond, a proclamation intended to revive the waning hopes of the Southern people. "We have," he said, "entered upon a new phase of the struggle — let us but will it and we are free. I will never consent to abandon to the enemy one foot of the soil of any of the States of the Confederacy — Virginia shall be held and defended, and no peace ever made with the infamous invaders of her territory."[64] The fugitive government of the Confederacy now moved to Greensboro, North Carolina, where, on April 12, three days after Lee's surrender, Jefferson Davis held a council with three members of the Cabinet, at which Generals Johnston and Beauregard were present. Davis still professed to believe that the people of the South were ready to keep up the fight in spite of the surrender of Lee's army and the general exhaustion of the South. He announced that an-

[63] Grant's "Memoirs," p. 632. For an interesting account of Lee's surrender, see an article by General Horace Porter in "Battles and Leaders," vol. iv pp. 729-746.

[64] Pollard, "The Lost Cause," p. 701.

other proclamation would be issued and a new army raised. The members of the Cabinet looked astonished, but kept silent. Finally Johnston was asked for his views. He replied: "Our people are tired of the war, feel themselves whipped and will not fight."

Mr. Davis was eventually persuaded to consent to the opening of negotiations for peace, and authorized Johnston to make overtures to Sherman for terms of surrender. The two generals had an interview and agreed upon conditions, but as the terms contained stipulations relating to the future political relations of the Confederates, the President of the United States overruled the convention. On April 26 another conference was held between the two commanders, terms satisfactory to the government were agreed upon and Johnston surrendered his army. A couple of weeks later General Richard Taylor surrendered the Confederate forces in Alabama and Mississippi, some 40,000 in all, and on May 26 General Kirby Smith surrendered all the forces west of the Mississippi, consisting of over 17,000 men.

In a few weeks the vast armies of both sides were quietly dispersing to their homes and preparing to settle down once more in their accustomed civil pursuits. The Southern soldiers accepted their defeat manfully, and showed no disposition to keep up the contest by guerrilla fighting, while those of the North, thrown out of a service which had become almost a profession with them, retired peacefully and without disorder to private life. This peaceful disbandment of two great armies was one of the most remarkable features of the Civil War, and stands as a test and a proof of the soundness and strength of American character; it could hardly have occurred in any European country. Before mustering out, the two great armies of Grant and Sherman were assembled at Washington on their homeward march, and were reviewed by President Johnson and other high civil and military officials of the nation. For two days, May 23 and 24, this mighty host of battle-scarred veterans, few of whom had slept under a roof for four years, poured through Pennsylvania Avenue, making a magnificent pageant, which was witnessed and applauded by thousands of spectators. The greatest civil war of modern times was ended; the integrity of the Union was assured, and negro slavery, the real cause of the war, and now admitted to have been the greatest drawback of the South, was forever destroyed.

Chapter XXXIV

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE WAR

I

NORTHERN OPPOSITION TO THE WAR

IT remains to take some account of the difficulties met with and the enormous sacrifices made by the people of both sides in this life and death struggle in support of their respective theories of the nature of the Union and of the rightfulness of slavery. Almost from the outbreak of the war the government of the United States had to encounter a strong opposition to many of its war measures from the Democratic party and its sympathizers at the North. The chief stronghold of this party had always been the Southern States; the Democratic party always won its victories by Southern votes, and consequently the Democrats of the North naturally had a certain amount of sympathy for their Southern brethren. Favoring for the most part the prosecution of the war, they nevertheless maintained the identity of their party as a separate organization, and regarded it as good policy to oppose the measures of the administration whenever there was a possibility of deriving party advantage therefrom. Frequent opportunities of this kind were afforded during the course of the war.

One of the first occasions was that raised by the action of President Lincoln in suspending the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* and permitting numerous "arbitrary" arrests of Northern citizens in consequence thereof. Suspended at first only as to the territory between Washington and Philadelphia, it was from time to time extended to cover the entire country. By order of the President many civilians in the North were arrested and confined in military prisons for such offenses as discouraging enlistments, expressing sympathy with the Confederates, falsely exalting their motives, magnifying their resources, disparaging those of the Fed-

eral army and other "disloyal practices." [1] A notable case, which gave rise to a controversy between the President and Chief Justice Taney of the Supreme Court, was that of one Merryman, charged with recruiting for the Confederate army in Maryland in May, 1861. Merryman was arrested and denied the privilege of the writ, which Mr. Lincoln on his own authority had suspended. He applied to Chief Justice Taney, and a writ was issued on the ground that Congress, and not the President, could suspend it. The military officer who held Merryman, however, refused to obey, acting thus under the order of the President. The Chief Justice could do nothing but protest that the President was usurping the powers of Congress, posing as a military dictator and treating the judiciary with contempt.[2]

A more widely known case was that of Clement L. Vallandigham, a former member of Congress from Ohio, and a radical Democrat or "Copperhead," as the anti-war Democrats were called in allusion to one of the well-known characteristics of the poisonous snake of that name. In 1863 Vallandigham was a candidate for governor of Ohio, and in the course of his canvass took occasion to denounce the Lincoln administration in language which the Federal authorities regarded as violent and incendiary and conducive to disloyalty. By order of General Burnside, Vallandigham's house was broken into, he was arrested, tried before a military commission, convicted of disloyal practices, and sentenced to close confinement for the remainder of the war. President Lincoln, however, commuted the sentence to banishment to the lines of the Confederacy, and the sentence was duly executed. The affair created intense indignation in various parts of the North, and large meetings, made up chiefly of those who were stigmatized as Copperheads, were held at various places to protest against the "tyrannical and arbitrary action" of the President. A meeting at Albany, presided over by Erastus Corning, a prominent citizen

[1] Mr. Alexander Johnston in Lalor's "Encyclopædia of Political Science" (Art., Habeas Corpus), says 38,000 persons were arrested and confined in Northern prisons. This number is undoubtedly exaggerated, as Mr. Rhodes clearly shows in his "History of the United States," vol. iv. pp. 231–232. For an excellent discussion of Lincoln's dictatorship, see Dunning's "Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction," pp. 23–62; see, also, Whiting, "War Powers," p. 197 *et seq.*

[2] See the case of ex parte Merryman, McPherson's "History of the Rebellion," pp. 154–161.

1865

of New York, adopted a series of firm but respectful resolutions condemning the action of the President and calling upon him to reverse the decision of the military commission and restore Vallandigham to his liberty.

To these resolutions Mr. Lincoln made a long reply, reviewing the history of the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, defending his own policy, and pointing out the obvious impracticability of allowing the writ under such circumstances. He referred to Vallandigham's speeches as calculated to encourage desertions, and asked "Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of the wily agitator who induces him to desert? I think in such a case to silence the agitator and save the boy is not only constitutional, but withal a great mercy." The Albany Democracy issued another long manifesto demanding the release of Vallindigham, but the President refused to interfere. Vallandigham was defeated for governor by a majority of over 100,000 votes, and this ended his public career.[3]

Other cases of interference arose from the suppression of Northern newspapers charged with uttering disloyal sentiments. In some of these instances the protests were so loud and general that the President was forced to revoke the orders of the military authorities. Still another source of opposition to the war policy of the administration was the conscription measures. At first, as we have pointed out elsewhere, volunteers were so plentiful that it was a problem of the mustering officers to find places for all who applied; but by the time the war had progressed a couple of years material enthusiasm was beginning to wear away and volunteers were scarce. The hardships of the war had necessarily increased, while the prospects for an early peace were shadowy. The government, therefore, fell under the necessity of following the practice of the Confederacy and resorting to the draft.

By an act of Congress of March 3, 1863, passed after considerable opposition, the President was authorized to make a draft by lot of as many men as were required from all male citizens between the ages of twenty and forty-five. Reliance upon the State executives for the execution of the law was dispensed with, and Federal provost-marshals were provided for each congressional district. The attempt to enforce the draft aroused widespread

[3] *Ex parte* Vallandigham, Wallace's "United States Reports," I. p. 249; McPherson, "History of the Rebellion," pp. 162–177.

opposition throughout the North, not only among Democrats, but among Republicans as well. In New York City the opposition took the form of organized resistance. In July, 1863, a mob drove the enrollment officers from their office and set the building afire, and for three days the rioters held possession of the lower east side, destroying property, attacking innocent citizens and committing outrages generally. It was estimated that more than two million dollars' worth of property was destroyed, and nearly 1,000 persons killed or wounded. Finally Federal troops were dispatched to the scene of the troubles, order was restored, and the business of drafting recruits proceeded. Smaller outbreaks occurred in other cities, and in several country districts the provost-marshals or their deputies were assassinated. The national government also had to face action from certain State legislatures that was far from loyal. Of the legislatures elected in 1862, the most notorious for their opposition to the war were those of Indiana and of Illinois. In the latter State the legislature went so far as to consider a set of resolutions calling on the national government at once to withdraw the Emancipation Proclamation, to call a national convention to arrange the constitutional differences between the warring sections, and immediately to conclude an armistice with the Southern leaders so that the convention could meet. These resolutions passed the lower House and might have passed the Senate had not Governor Yates interfered. He took advantage of a failure of the two houses to agree upon a day for adjournment and prorogued them.

In Indiana the Democratic majority attempted to take the control of the military out of the hands of Governor Morton and vest it in certain State officers who were Democrats. The factious opposition resulting from this attempted legislation culminated in the failure of the regular appropriation bills. The State government was thus left without funds at one of the most critical periods of the war. Morton appealed to the people and considerable sums of money were advanced to the State by banks and private individuals. Later an emergency arose. The State had to have large sums of money. Morton went to Washington, consulted with Stanton, Secretary of War, and was given $25,000 from the fund of $2,000,000 appropriated by Congress at the beginning of the war to aid State governments in disloyal States. With the money obtained in this way Indiana was able to furnish and equip

1865

her quota of troops and tide over till the meeting of the next legislature. Thus was furnished two of the strangest constitutional episodes of the war. In one case a State legislature was prorogued by a governor — the only such instance in our entire history; and in the other a State was practically subsidized by the national administration.

II

FEDERAL AND CONFEDERATE FINANCES; SACRIFICES AND SUFFERINGS; COST OF THE WAR IN MEN AND MONEY

In writing the history of the Civil War, the acts of Congress and the parts it played in the great conflict cannot be wholly passed over. While others were planning the campaigns and doing the fighting, the national legislature was occupied with providing the means for supporting and equipping the armies and enacting laws for the regulation of the conduct of the people. In the early part of this chapter reference was made to the several acts for increasing the army and navy, the confiscation acts, the acts for raising revenue, particularly those for laying an income tax, for authorizing a loan of $400,000,000, for increasing the tariff, and the act apportioning a direct tax of $20,000,000, among the States. At the time these measures were passed it was generally believed that the duration of the war would be short, and that they would afford ample revenue for the prosecution of the war to the end. But this soon proved to be an illusion, and preparations for a long and gigantic struggle were entered upon. Shortly after the Bull Run campaign the expenses of the war were amounting to $2,000,000 per day, and within two years the national debt had shot up from $70,000,000 to $500,000,000. The supply of gold became scarce, and in December, 1861, the banks and the government, by mutual agreement, suspended specie payments.

The financial situation was now such that Congress had to resort to heroic measures to prevent a crisis. Accordingly, the Legal Tender Act was passed in February, 1862, providing for a large issue of non-interest-bearing treasury notes, which were to be legal tender for the payment of all debts, except duties on imports and interest on the public debt. Under this act $150,000,000 of "greenbacks" (so-called because of their color) were issued

and put into circulation. Considerable opposition was raised against the proposition of the government to give the legal tender quality to paper money, and the power of Congress to do this was contested in the courts, the issue of which will be adverted to in a later chapter. Chase, the Secretary of the Treasury, was one of those who opposed the scheme,[4] and subsequently as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court he was called upon to pass upon the right of Congress to enact the law. Later during the war, as the necessities of the government increased, the legal tender quality was given to large quantities of other forms of treasury notes, exceeding altogether over one billion dollars.

Various other financial expedients were resorted to, but which for lack of space cannot be discussed here. Perhaps the most important financial measure of the war was that for the establishment of the national banking system. At this time most of the banks of the country were incorporated under State laws, and hence beyond Federal supervision. It is said that over 7,000 kinds of currency were issued by these institutions. These were easily counterfeited, and of course circulated only where the banks issuing them were known to be sound. Secretary Chase proposed to displace this varied State currency by a uniform national currency with a circulation secured by the United States Government, and at the same time utilize this system as a means of aiding the government to dispose of the bonds which it was daily issuing for raising war loans.[5] At first opposed, the proposition gradually won supporters in Congress and was passed into law in February, 1863. It provided that a certain number of persons might organize a national bank by depositing with the Secretary of the Treasury United States bonds and receiving in return circulating notes of the United States equal in amount to 90 per cent. of the value of the bonds deposited, which notes were made receivable in payment of all dues to the United States except duties on imports. The government was thus enabled to assume the responsibility for the security of the circulation of such banks, so that no holder of a note has ever lost a dollar by the failure of a bank. Having now provided for a uniform national currency, Congress proceeded to get rid of the State bank currency by levying a tax of ten per cent. on the circulation of all State banks. This tax was so high as to be pro-

[4] Shucker, "Life of S. P. Chase," p. 243.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 240.

hibitory, and so the State banks were forced to cease issuing circulating notes. Many of them took out Federal charters and became national banks, while others continued as State banks, confining their functions to discounting and making loans. This left the entire currency of the country under the control of the national government as it should be, and at the same time created a demand for the bonds of the United States. This national banking system was one of the war measures of great and lasting effect and must ever remain as a monument to the wisdom of Salmon P. Chase as a public financier.

It is almost impossible to give any idea of the cost of the war to the nation. We only know that it was so enormous as to stagger comprehension. On the first of January, 1866, four months before the war was officially declared at an end, the national debt was $2,773,000,000, which shows that the borrowing power of the government was almost unlimited. Indeed, it was this power which made possible the defeat of the Confederate armies, and the lack of which on the part of the Southern Government seriously handicapped it in keeping up the contest with its more powerful adversary. The readiness with which the people loaned their money to the national government, and at reasonable rates of interest, too, was a striking illustration of their faith in the ultimate success of the war. To the amount of the public debt must be added the enormous expenditures of individual States and cities, the interest on the public debt, the pensions paid to soldiers and sailors and their widows, the amount of which rose in thirty years to $140,000,000 a year, and finally the incalculable destruction of property. The entire cost probably did not fall below $10,000,000,000.[6]

This estimate of course does not take into account the enormous losses and sacrifices of the South. When we turn to an examination of the financial ways and means by which the Confederacy was able to prosecute its long and heroic contest, we are met by a history of efforts to raise loans, of expedients and makeshifts of various kinds. Lacking the prestige of an old and well-established government, its success doubtful from the first, it met with insuperable difficulty in raising loans either at home or abroad. Shortly after the outbreak of the war in 1861 the Confederate Government was able to borrow $15,000,000 at 8 per cent. interest,

[6] See estimates in Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. v. p. 188.

an export duty on cotton being pledged for the payment of the interest. This little amount with the sums seized from the United States mints and customs houses was practically all the specie that the government ever secured.[7] In the same year a considerable loan in the form of produce of cotton, wheat, bacon, beef, molasses, and similar products was obtained, and this form of borrowing was resorted to with varying degrees of success at different times during subsequent years of the war. On the stock of cotton accumulated the Confederate Government made strenuous efforts through its agents abroad to secure foreign loans, but the difficulty of delivering the cotton on account of the blockade made foreign capitalists slow to lend their money under such circumstances. The success of the Confederate Government in obtaining voluntary loans was almost a failure, and so it resorted to forced loans by the issue of paper money. Batch after batch of Confederate notes were thus issued, until by the end of the year 1863 not far from $1,000,000,000 had been put into circulation, and by the time of the downfall of the Confederacy no one knew how much of the stuff was in existence.[8] As successive issues followed, the value of the notes declined correspondingly. By the end of 1862 a gold dollar would bring three dollars of paper money, a year later it would buy twenty, before another year passed it would buy forty, and before the end of the war paper money had become practically worthless.

In proportion as the currency was inflated the prices of all commodities increased in the South until they reached phenomenal heights. The price of coffee rose until at the end of 1864 it was selling for 125 times its customary value in 1861.[9] So it was with salt, various drugs and medicines, clothing and manufactured articles generally, the supply of which depended on success in running the blockade. A year after the outbreak of the war beef was worth 37½ cent a pound in Richmond, potatoes $6 a bushel, and boots $25 a pair. Early in 1864 turkeys were worth $60 apiece, flour $300 per barrel and shoes over $100 per pair in Confederate money.[10] As a result of these excessive prices the people resorted to all manner of expedients, makeshifts and substitutes to avoid the necessity of buying. Sea water was evaporated, and the dirt

[7] John C. Schwab, "The Finances of the Confederacy," pp. 7, 43.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 165.
[9] See table of prices in Schwab, "Finances of the Confederacy," p. 313.
[10] "Memoir of Jefferson Davis," by his wife, vol. ii. p. 526 *et seq.*

1865

floors of "smoke houses" were refined to produce salt of an inferior character, but which was worth almost its weight in gold.

Hundreds of articles for which the people had previously depended upon the North or the outside world were now made at home. Tanneries were established for making leather, and shoes were made therefrom by the slaves or the old men who remained at home. Various substitutes for tea and coffee were used with more or less success, such as parched grains, berries, and nuts, potatoes, sassafras, etc. For the manufacture of cloth every household was turned into a miniature factory and the hum of looms and spinning wheels frequently afforded the only music of many a home. Among the articles for lack of which the people of the South suffered most were drugs and medicines. Home-made remedies were prepared from herbs, roots and barks. To counteract the natural rise of prices the government undertook to regulate the value of many commodities and had recourse to the old resort of price conventions, by which price schedules were adopted. But all such methods of attempting to regulate the price of commodities proved ineffectual, and those who were fortunate enough to have something to sell charged what they could get.

What the war cost the Southern people can never be known. The debts incurred by the Confederate and State governments were never paid; in fact, by the adoption of the fourteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution payment of all such debts was forbidden. The people of the South were, of course, required to pay their share of the Federal debt, including the twenty million direct tax levied in 1861. Probably no people ever made greater sacrifices; certainly their sacrifices far exceeded those of the Revolutionary patriots.[11] Women who had been accustomed to luxuries remained at home, toiled with their hands and lived lives of penury and want. But their hardships were insignificant as compared with those which the soldiers in the field endured. After the third year of the war, owing to the scarcity of supplies, the men were poorly fed and worse clothed. Toward the end of the fourth year the condition of Lee's army in Virginia in particular had become pitiable in the extreme. Their clothing had been reduced to rags and tatters and for weeks they subsisted partly on parched corn and the young buds of trees. Nothing but extraordinary devotion to their leader and the most implicit faith in the justice of their cause

[11] Schwab, "Finances of the Confederacy," p. 312.

could have held such an army together. No true American can read of such devotion and sacrifices without a sense of pride that these men were his countrymen.

The cost of the war in human lives is the most pathetic item of all to be recorded. Altogether nearly 400,000 Northern soldiers died during the war from wounds received or disease contracted in the service and the various other incidental causes.[12] In the South the aggregate number of deaths was considerably smaller, but was larger in proportion to the military population. Counting all losses directly due to the war, it would probably be safe to say that not far from a million men were sacrificed in the great fratricidal conflict.[13] The losses in some of the Confederate regiments were appalling, as for example in those of South Carolina, where about one-quarter of the military population was killed, a record probably unparalleled in any other war. There was hardly a home in the South in which there was not mourning for some member of the family who had been killed in the war. The pathetic feature of it, too, was that the majority of those who had fallen were the young and vigorous, who were so much needed in the work of rehabilitating the South. Of those left it seemed as if one-third had lost a leg or an arm, while most of the others bore signs of severe campaigning. Industrially the South was completely prostrated, the people were impoverished, the farms had gone to waste, covered over with weeds and bushes, farm implements and tools had disappeared, almost no live stock was left, business was at a standstill, banks and commercial agencies had suspended, the railway system was well-nigh destroyed, and only here and there was a newspaper left running. In place of many of the fine old mansions only blackened chimneys remained; in fact, everywhere the evidences of desolation stared the returning soldiers in the face.

In the Northern armies the hardships of the soldiers were greatly mitigated by the Sanitary and Christian Commissions and other voluntary organizations formed during the war for relieving the physical and spiritual wants of the sick and wounded.

[12] "Battles and Leaders," vol. iv. p. 767.

[13] Dodge, "Bird's-eye View," p. 325. In the Union army 67,058 men were killed in battle; 43,012 died of wounds; 224,586 died from disease, and 24,872 from accidents and other causes, making a total of 359,529 deaths. In the Confederate army 94,000 were killed in battle, while about 164,000 died from disease, accidents and other causes.— Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. ii. pp. 186–187.

1865

The Sanitary Commission was organized soon after the war began, chiefly through the efforts of the Rev. Dr. Henry W. Bellows of New York, who was made its president. It called upon the people of the United States for funds to be applied to the purchase of hospital supplies, the hiring of nurses and in general for providing means of relief for the sick and wounded. The responses were more than generous, nearly $5,000,000 being contributed throughout the war. The far-away State of California sent $1,300,000, while generous sums were contributed by the people of various foreign countries. Besides cash contributions, more than $15,000,000 worth of articles of various kinds were given. Soldiers' homes were established for the benefit of sick and convalescent soldiers, hospital cars and steamers, the latter equipped with surgeons and nurses, were fitted up, depots of supplies were established at convenient points and in various other ways the sufferings of the sick and wounded were ameliorated. A notable instance of its activity occurred after the battle of Antietam, when 10,000 soldiers lay wounded on the field and the hospital supply trains were stalled near Baltimore. The trains of the Commission had followed the army, and for several days the only available supplies were those which it furnished. Among the articles supplied in this emergency were 28,000 shirts, towels, pillows, and similar articles, 3,000 pounds of farina, 30 barrels of lint and bandages; 2,000 pounds of condensed milk; 3,000 bottles of wine and cordial, besides several tons of fruit, tea, sugar, cloth and hospital conveniences.[14]

Closely akin in method and spirit was the Christian Commission, which looked after the spiritual and mental needs of the soldiers. It undertook to supply them with religious literature, such as Bibles, hymn-books and other publications, and to pay the expenses of delegates who performed duties somewhat similar to those usually performed by army chaplains. Over 10,000,000 tracts were distributed by the Commission during the war.[15] In the South there were no such organizations to administer to the wants of the sick and wounded soldiers, but they were cared for to some extent by the devoted women, who, considering the poverty and exhaustion of the land, made greater sacrifices even than their sisters of the North.

[14] C. J. Stille, "History of the United States Sanitary Commission."
[15] Moss, "Annals of the United States Christian Commission."

III

THE ASSASSINATION OF LINCOLN

In the midst of the general rejoicing over the surrender of the Confederate army and the advent of peace, the nation was suddenly plunged into profound sorrow by the assassination of President Lincoln. On April 11 he had visited Richmond, then in the midst of confusion due to the hurried evacuation by the Confederates. Hastening back to Washington on account of a severe accident to Secretary Seward while taking a drive, he turned his attention to the important and difficult questions relating to the reconstruction of the late seceded States. On the evening of that day his last public utterance was made to a party of serenaders who had come to the White House to congratulate him on the success of the war. In a short impromptu address interspersed with some of his characteristic anecdotes, he spoke of the problem of readjustment in the South and defended his proposed policy of treating the late Confederates in a liberal and charitable manner in the hope of affecting a speedy reconciliation between the two formerly hostile sections of the unhappy country.[16]

On April 14, after a long day of official business, President Lincoln attended Ford's Theater with his wife and two young friends. About ten o'clock, while he sat absorbed in the progress of the play, John Wilkes Booth, an actor and fanatic, stole into the box behind the President and shot him in the head. The audience was startled by the atrocity and boldness of the act, and for a moment scarcely realized what had happened. Booth, after shooting the President, leaped upon the stage, brandishing, as he did so, a dagger and exclaiming "*Sic semper tyrannis!*" In springing from the box to the stage his foot was caught in an American flag which draped the front of the box and his leg was broken.

Nevertheless he escaped by the rear of the stage, procured a horse that was saddled and waiting for him on the outside and made his way first into Maryland and then into Virginia, where he was pursued and shot in his hiding-place on April 25. At the same time that the President was shot one of Booth's accomplices named

[16] Nicolay and Hay, "Life of Lincoln," vol. x. p. 283.

THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D. C.

1865

Payne forced his way into the sick room of Secretary Seward and stabbed him several times, inflicting severe wounds from which he barely recovered. The concurrence of these two acts seemed to show the existence of a conspiracy against high officials of the government. A long and searching trial of nine persons thus charged was made by a military commission. Four were hanged, three imprisoned for life, another sentenced to a term of six years in jail, and another freed by disagreement of the jury.

Mr. Lincoln lingered unconscious until the last. When the end came on the morning of the next day, the members of his Cabinet and other high state officials were gathered about him, and it was Stanton, his Secretary of War, who ended the awful hush of the death chamber with the words which epitomized his worth — "Now he belongs to the ages!"[17] After lying in state for four days at the White House and one at the Capitol, Mr. Lincoln's body was taken to Springfield over almost the same route that he had traveled on his famous journey to Washington in February, 1861, and there, amid the scenes which had witnessed the development of his unique character, he was buried on May 4, surrounded by his fellow townsmen who had cherished him and given him to the service of the nation.[18] All along the route, wherever the funeral train was stopped, people gathered with uncovered heads and tearful eyes to give testimony to their grief and reverence for the dead President. Baltimore, the city which had begrudged him a triumphal entry in 1861, now showed every mark of respect as his body was borne through her streets. In Philadelphia 100,000 people escorted the funeral cortège to Independence Hall, where Mr. Lincoln had declared in February, 1861, that he would rather be assassinated on the spot than surrender the principles of the Declaration of Independence. In New York the manifestations of popular respect were even greater than in Philadelphia, and they were scarcely less at Albany, Rochester, Syracuse, Buffalo, Columbus, Cleveland, Indianapolis and Chicago. From all over the world governments, potentates and private individuals of distinction sent messages of condolence and tributes of respect. The poet, Walt Whitman, who described Lincoln as "the grandest figure yet on all the crowded canvas of the nineteenth century," has given expression to the feeling of sorrow caused by the untimely

[17] Nicolay and Hay, "Life of Lincoln," vol. x. p. 302.
[18] *Ibid.*, vol. x. p. 319.

death, at the moment of triumph, of him to whom the success of the war for the Union was mainly due:

"O Captain! my Captain! our fearful trip is done.
The ship has weather'd every rock, the prize we sought is won.
The port is near, the bells I hear, the people all exulting,
While follow eyes the steady keel, the vessel grim and daring.
. . . . . .
O Captain! my Captain! rise up and hear the bells;
Rise up — for you the flag is hung — for you the bugle trills,
For you bouquets and ribboned wreaths — for you the shores a-crowding
For you they call, the swaying mass, their eager faces turning.
. . . . . .
My Captain does not answer, his lips are pale and still,
My father does not feel my arm, he has no pulse nor will,
The ship is anchored safe and sound, its voyage closed and done,
From fearful trip the victor ship comes in with object won;

Exult, O shores, and ring, O bells!
But I with mournful tread,
Walk the deck my Captain lies,
Fallen cold and dead."

The name of Abraham Lincoln now occupies a place in American history as one of the two greatest and best loved Presidents, and as Washington stands the foremost American of the eighteenth century, so Lincoln must stand as the leading figure of the nineteenth. His unselfishness, his patience, his faith in the common people, his infinite tact, his kindliness of heart, his gentleness, his utter lack of resentfulness and malice, his readiness to forgive and to bestow mercy, were the qualities which most impressed those who knew him. To-day none are more ready to recognize these traits in Mr. Lincoln than the people of the South, and their sorrow at his death was far greater than was generally known. They well knew his conciliatory disposition, his magnanimity and his desire to see a speedy reconciliation of the two formerly hostile sections; they knew and appreciated his common sense and knew that if he had lived they would have been spared many bitter humiliations in the years that followed. As time passes Lincoln's ability comes to be more and more appreciated. Until some months after his inauguration many feared that the homely joke-telling lawyer from the West would not prove equal to the responsibilities which the war devolved upon the executive. It was believed that he would be dominated by his Cabinet. But these illusions were soon dispelled; he was master of his councilors by the very

1865

strength of his character and his native genius. In his life he illustrated the vast possibilities of the individual in our democracy. Many of our Presidents have risen from humble origins, but none have attained such eminence from such low beginnings as Mr. Lincoln. Unschooled in oratory or literature, his messages are models of succinctness and force, while his Gettysburg oration is studied as a classic in American schools to-day. One of the homeliest men that ever lived, awkward and ungainly, fond of telling droll stories and dry jokes, caring little for form or ceremony, he yet possessed the greatest dignity, and, like Washington, he was not a man with whom liberties could be taken.[19] His death at the moment of its occurrence was one of the heaviest misfortunes which could possibly have happened to the country. Peculiarly fitted for the delicate tasks of reëstablishing the Federal authority in the South and reuniting the country, Lincoln was taken away at the time his services were most needed. Under the Presidency of a successor who was unfitted for the work of reconciliation and reconstruction an epoch of history followed which no American can read without regret.

[19] Blaine, "Twenty Years of Congress," vol. i. p. 547.

Chapter XXXV

ANDREW JOHNSON AND RECONSTRUCTION
1865–1869

I

EARLY EFFORTS AT RECONSTRUCTION; VIEWS OF LINCOLN AND JOHNSON

THREE hours after the death of President Lincoln the oath of office was quietly administered to the Vice President, Andrew Johnson, by Chief Justice Chase, in the presence of all the members of the Cabinet except Seward, who at the time lay dangerously ill from the wounds inflicted on him by the assassin Payne. The ceremony by which the executive power of the nation was transferred to the shoulders of the Vice President was simple, but impressive, and the transition was unaccompanied by the slightest disorder or interruption in the administration of the government. It was indeed a striking tribute to the strength of American character and institutions, for hardly in any other country would such a tragedy as the assassination of the chief executive at the close of a civil war have failed to furnish occasion for disorder. It illustrated also the strength of our Constitution, which has wisely provided a safeguard against the dangers of an interregnum, thus rendering absolutely ineffective the bullet of the anarchist so far as its power to interrupt the continuity of the government is concerned.

For the third time in the history of the Republic the Vice President was thus called upon to discharge the duties for which another had been elected, and for the third time the people were brought to a realizing sense of the dangers inherent in a practice by which the Vice President is selected through other considerations than his qualifications for discharging the great duties and responsibilities of the chief magistracy. The people of the North stood appalled at the death of Lincoln, who had with such signal ability met the gravest responsibilities which ever devolved upon

1865

a chief magistrate of the United States. Half in hope, half in suspicion, they turned to the new President, scrutinized his record, and studied his character. In two respects only did Johnson resemble Lincoln, namely, in the circumstances of his origin and in his hostility to slavery. Johnson was born in Raleigh, North Carolina, but in early life emigrated to east Tennessee. By occupation a tailor, he was industrious, frugal and ambitious, but was practically illiterate until the attainment of his majority. Owing partly to a wise marriage and partly to his own industrious habits, Johnson learned to read and write and rapidly rose to a position of leadership in the local politics of his community. From the position of mayor of his town he was promoted to a seat in the legislature of his adopted State, and in 1843 became one of its representatives in Congress. In this capacity he served ten years, was then elected governor for two successive terms over able and popular Whig opponents, and in 1857 was elected to the United States Senate, where he was serving when his State passed an ordinance of secession.

In the upland region of Tennessee, where the cultivation of grain was the chief agricultural pursuit, as in some of the more northern latitudes, slavery had never flourished, and hence Johnson, although a Democrat, had little or no sympathy for the institution which his Southern colleagues defended and wished to extend to the Territories. Partly for this reason and partly on account of the fact that he was a representative of the poor whites of the South, the rich slaveholding senators disliked and distrusted him. With a steadfastness that required unusual courage, he firmly opposed the demands of his Southern colleagues for the extension of slavery and upon the secession of the Southern States he alone of all the Southern senators refused to surrender his seat and follow his State. Upon the outbreak of the war he gave his support to Lincoln's administration in the prosecution of the war, and in 1862 was appointed to the difficult post of military governor of Tennessee. He discharged the duties of his position so well as to win great popularity in the North, and, as has been stated, lead to his nomination for the Vice Presidency on the Republican ticket in 1864. Eminently patriotic and courageous, Johnson was wholly lacking in Lincoln's tact, patience, good judgment and genius for dealing with men. He was pugnacious, aggressive, stubborn and egotistical — in every way unfitted for the discharge

of the difficult duties which suddenly devolved upon him in this most inauspicious time. A Southern Democrat, with many of the instincts and political ideas of his class, his accession at first inspired fear in the North lest his policy toward Southern "rebels" would be too lenient.

His first utterances, however, dispelled this view and led the more conservatively inclined to fear that the country was in danger of witnessing an era of proscription and terror. He complained that Grant's terms to Lee were too liberal, and declared to a delegation of Illinois citizens who called to pay their respects that the American people should be taught that treason was the blackest of crimes and should be punished as such. Similar declarations were made on other occasions, and many began to fear that it was the intention of the President to inaugurate a "bloody assizes," through which the leading Confederates were to be condemned to death as traitors.[1]

The effect of these declarations in the South was to create great anxiety and apprehension, and some of the Confederate leaders emigrated to Mexico and Central America to escape his threatened vengeance. This was so different from the conciliatory policy which Lincoln had begun that the Cabinet was led to intervene. Seward, the most influential member, having in the meantime recovered from his wounds, and imbued as he was with Lincoln's humane ideas of leniency and conciliation, now urged upon the President the expediency of adopting such a policy in dealing with the people and governments of the Southern States. This attitude of Seward is one of the evidences of the magnanimity and statesmanship of the man. Execrated before the war by the people of the South for his radical anti-slavery utterances, and stricken almost to death by a fanatical sympathizer with the Southern cause, he yet showed no resentment, but used, instead, his masterful influence with the President to induce him to adopt a moderate and, as everyone now believes, a wise, policy toward his unhappy countrymen of the South, who, as Seward said, had "come back from their wanderings to seek shelter in the common ark of our national security and happiness."[2] Seward was successful, and soon Johnson had abandoned his bloodthirsty course and was preparing to carry forward the conciliatory reconstruction policy of Lincoln.

[1] Blaine, "Twenty Years of Congress," vol. ii. p. 13.
[2] See on this point Bancroft, "Life of Seward," vol. ii. ch. xli.

Already Lincoln's policy had been worked out and put into operation in the three States of Tennessee, Louisiana, Arkansas, and to some extent in Virginia, before the close of the war, and his attitude can be best understood by a brief review of what was done under his direction in Louisiana and Arkansas. Soon after the capture of New Orleans in the spring of 1862, being anxious to encourage the inhabitants to return to their allegiance to the United States, he directed that they be given an opportunity to establish a civil government. Under the direction of the military governor an election was held, and Messrs. Flanders and Hahn, two old citizens of the State, were elected to Congress and were admitted to their seats, not, however, without objection and misgiving.

In a letter to the governor, General Sheply, Lincoln expressed his disapproval of the election of Northern men "at the point of the bayonet," and remarked that members of Congress from Louisiana were not particularly needed at Washington to enable the national legislature to get along with its business, but what they did want was conclusive evidence that there were respectable, loyal citizens of Louisiana who were willing to be members of Congress, and other respectable loyal citizens who were willing to vote for them and send them to Washington.[3]

After the fall of Vicksburg and the battle of Gettysburg Lincoln, foreseeing the ultimate collapse of the Confederacy, gave his attention to the working out of a more definite and systematic plan of reconstruction which could be applied to all the Southern States when the time for dealing with them should come. Accordingly, in his annual message to Congress of December 8, 1863, he announced his plan, which included an offer of amnesty to all who had directly or indirectly taken part in the Confederate service, with certain exceptions, upon condition that every such person should take and subscribe to an oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States and to abide by all laws and proclamations made during the war having reference to slaves, so long as not repealed by Congress or held void by the Supreme Court. Excepted from the benefits of the amnesty were those who had held high civil or military offices under the United States and had resigned to engage in the service of the Confederacy. Whenever a number of adult males equal to one-tenth of the votes cast at the

[3] Nicolay and Hay, "Life of Lincoln," vol. vi. p. 351.

presidential election in 1860 should have taken the oath of amnesty, and should have reëstablished a State government republican in form, such government should be recognized by the executive as the true government of the State and entitled to all the benefits and guarantees of the Federal Constitution. Lincoln, however, was careful to state that whether representatives sent to Congress from any State so reconstructed should be admitted to their seats was a matter which rested exclusively with the respective houses of Congress and in no sense with the executive.

In pursuance of this plan a convention representing the amnestied class of Louisiana was held in April, 1864, a constitution prohibiting slavery was adopted, and in due season was ratified by the required ten per cent. of the voters of 1860. Under this constitution a reconstruction government was established, and Michael Hahn was elected governor. In like manner the government of Arkansas was reconstructed early in 1864 and representatives and senators in Congress were chosen. When the latter, however, presented their credentials they were denied admission to their seats on the ground that in the "judgment of Congress the rebellion was not so far suppressed in Arkansas as to entitle the State to representation in Congress." Early in the following year, 1865, another "ten per cent." government, so-called, was established in Tennessee, but the representatives from this State were likewise refused admission to their seats.

It was now clear that the President's method of reconstruction did not meet the approval of Congress, and a conflict between the executive and legislative departments seemed inevitable. The people of the North, generally, seemed to be at a loss to know just what the proper course toward the late seceding States should be. They differed among themselves as to the legal and political status of these communities, and indulged in a great deal of useless discussion full of hair-splitting distinctions in trying to find a legal basis for a system upon which to proceed. In the civil wars of Europe it had always been the practice to deal severely with the unfortunate people who came out on the losing sides and to subject them to the loss of civil and political rights and to military government imposed without their consent. But in the United States this method seemed to be wholly contrary to American ideas. It was admitted on all hands that the collapse of the Confederacy left the Southern States in an anomalous condition so far as their politi-

1865

cal status was concerned, but opinions varied widely as to the exact nature of that status. The framers of the Federal Constitution apparently did not foresee the possibility of civil war and consequently had inserted no provisions in the fundamental law relative to the status of a State, which having once attempted to secede, should be reconquered and brought again under the authority of the United States.

One of the theories enunciated was the view held by President Lincoln and his supporters, that the act of secession in each State was the act of combinations of disloyal persons who had unlawfully subverted the State governments. The existence of the States themselves, he held, was not affected by the disloyal acts of their inhabitants, although he admitted that, as a result of attempted secession followed by civil war, the States were put out of their "proper practical relations" with the Union. He believed that the Union was "an indestructible Union of indestructible States," as the Supreme Court afterward expressed it in a famous case; that the ordinances of secession were null and void and that the legal existence of the States remained unimpaired.

In the opinion of Lincoln and his followers, the problem of reconstruction consisted simply in placing the loyal element of each State in control of the government, after which its normal relations with the Union could be resumed. By means of the executive pardon those who had followed the fortunes of the Confederacy could, upon promise of future loyalty, be restored to their rights and allowed to join with the loyal element in the reëstablishment of the State government. This process would perhaps require the use of the military arm of the government, but the intervention of Congress would not be necessary. It was his idea that the two great objects of the war, the preservation of the Union and the abolition of slavery, having been accomplished, the best way to reëstablish friendly relations between the people of the two sections was to forgive their past conduct as readily as possible and restore them to their old rights under the Constitution upon their taking an oath of allegiance to the United States. The spirit of vindictiveness was utterly foreign to Lincoln's mind, and he felt that the pacification of the country could not be expedited by imposing needlessly humiliating conditions upon the late Confederates. He was inclined to make use of the Confederate leaders in restoring order in the South rather than to drive them into opposition, and

some of the great Federal commanders like Grant and Sherman supported him in this view.[4]

Opposed to this lenient view was that of the more extreme radicals of whom Senator Sumner of Massachusetts and Thaddeus Stevens, a representative in Congress from Pennsylvania, were the most conspicuous leaders in their respective Houses. According to their view the Southern States, by act of war, had destroyed their corporate existence as self-governing commonwealths, had in fact committed suicide and should be held as conquered provinces or governed indefinitely as territorial dependencies under the plenary power of Congress.[5] They demanded that the late Confederates should be punished and humiliated for taking up arms against the authority of the United States, and that they should not be restored to their old rights until they should confess their wrongful conduct and beg penitently for forgiveness — an unnatural condition, considering the terrible earnestness and sincerity with which the people of the South had fought for the principles in which they believed and considering the sacrifices which they had made.

A third and somewhat intermediate view was that finally adopted by Congress; namely, that the Southern States as a result of resistance to the authority of the United States had "deprived themselves of all civil government" and had forfeited their rights of self-government. The States continued to exist, but rather as disorganized communities, subject to the paramount authority of Congress to restore them to their rights as States under such conditions as it might prescribe. Other views of the status of the Southern States were but modifications of these three. It is to be noted that, according to Lincoln's view, the whole task of reconstruction was an executive problem, while according to the view finally reached by Congress it was a legislative problem, being derived from the constitutional provision which makes it the duty of the United States to guarantee to each State a republican form of government — a duty which had been interpreted by the Supreme Court as one devolving upon the legislative branch. This difference of view led to important consequences and greatly complicated the whole process of reconstruction.[6]

[4] Read McCarthy, "Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction," ch. xii.

[5] See an article by Sumner in the *Atlantic Monthly* for October, 1863.

[6] For a learned discussion of the various theories advanced as to the status of the Southern States at the close of the War, see Dunning's "Essays on Civil

1865

In the meantime Congress had given other evidences of its disapproval of Lincoln's methods of reconstruction. In July, 1864, it had passed a measure embodying its own views, and known from its chief authors as the Wade-Davis bill for the reconstruction of the Southern States. This bill directed the President, upon the cessation of hostilities, to appoint a provisional governor for each of the seceded States, with authority to make an enrollment of all white male citizens; and if a majority of these should come forward and take an oath to support the Federal Constitution, a convention should be called to adopt a State constitution, with provisions disfranchising the late Confederate leaders, abolishing slavery and repudiating the war debt. The Constitution so framed should be submitted to a popular vote, and if approved by a majority of the voters, the President, with the assent of Congress, should then recognize as legitimate and constitutional the government so established.

This measure was a direct rebuke to Lincoln and a condemnation of his reconstruction policy. Instead of permitting one-tenth of the voters to reconstruct the government, the Wade-Davis bill required a majority, and even then the President could not recognize the government so established until Congress had directed him to do so. He was not disposed to antagonize Congress, but he had a high sense of the dignity and independence of his office, and he was in no humor to submit to so direct a censure of his course by a coördinate department of the government. The bill having been passed on the last day of the session, he took advantage of the opportunity to let it quietly die without the formality of a veto. A few days later he issued a proclamation in which he referred to the bill as "merely the expression of an opinion of Congress as to the best plan of reconstruction," which plan he thought fit to lay before the people for their consideration. He further asserted that he was unprepared by the approval of the bill to declare that the free State constitutions adopted in Louisiana and Arkansas should be set aside for naught, thereby repelling and discouraging the loyal citizens of those State from further effort. Some have expressed the opinion that had Congress been in session a serious breach would have occurred between the President and the national legislature, but it is not improbable that Lincoln, by his tact and

War and Reconstruction," pp. 63–136; see also McCarthy, "Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction," ch. vi.

genius for dealing with men, would have won Congress over to his view, or at least would not have provoked that body into outright antagonism, as did his less tactful successor.

In view of the approaching presidential election the Republican leaders generally acquiesced in his course and kept silent. Two of the ablest and most radical leaders, Benjamin Wade of Ohio and Henry Winter Davis of Maryland, however, were exceptions, and they prepared a "Protest" against the President's action and caused it to be widely published in the newspapers. The protest was written by Davis, who was one of the most brilliant men then in public life, and it arraigned the President in the most caustic and virulent language, denounced his action as "rash and fatal," declared that a more "studied outrage on the legislative authority of the people had never been perpetrated," warned him that the Union men of Congress would not submit to have their legislation impeached by him, and told him that he must confine himself to the execution of the laws and not attempt to enact legislation.[7] The great masses of the Republicans, however, did not approve of this denunciation of the President, and Davis's own constituents were so displeased that they refused him a reëlection to his seat in Congress.

The overwhelming majority for Lincoln in November, 1864, had been interpreted as an endorsement of his course, and in the general rejoicing which followed all criticism was hushed. Nevertheless, with his usual tact and caution, he showed no disposition at the opening of Congress to force his views further upon that body and he wisely refrained from making any reference to the controversy in his annual message or even to the subject of reconstruction in any form. But Congress could not refrain from dealing the President's policy another blow, and in February it passed a joint resolution prohibiting the counting of the electoral vote of any State that had passed an ordinance of secession, the purpose being to cut off the electoral vote of Lincoln's "ten per cent. States." The President promptly signed the resolution, but informed Congress in a vein of sarcasm that the two houses had the undoubted authority to count the electoral vote of any State without any right on the part of the President to obstruct that power. The incident was a singular illustration of Lincoln's keen perception and abundant common sense, and was popularly regarded as

[7] McCarthy, "Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction," p. 281.

a complete triumph over the radicals, who fancied that they had found another opportunity for annoying him.[8]

Without seeming to antagonize Congress, Lincoln continued quietly to adhere to what he called the "Louisiana plan." In his last public utterance, made on the evening of April 11 to a party which had called at the White House to extend their congratulations on the fall of Richmond, he adverted to his plan of reconstruction and insisted that the government should not spurn and reject the loyal people of the South in their efforts to reorganize their governments and bring their States again into "proper, practical relations" with the Union. "Grant," he said, "that the new government of Louisiana is only to what it should be as the egg is to the fowl, we shall sooner have the fowl by hatching the egg than smashing it." Concluding his remarks to an audience which listened to his voice as that of an oracle and which seemed loath to leave, he said, "It may be my duty to make some new announcement to the people of the South. I am considering and shall not fail to act when satisfied that action will be proper."[9] The announcement was never made, for three days later he was assassinated.

What would have been the course of reconstruction had he lived can only be surmised. At the moment he met his fate he wielded greater personal power and influence in the North than any President had done since Washington, while his kindly, forgiving disposition had won the universal respect of the people of the South. It is almost certain that had he lived he would have been able through his powerful influence to restrain the radicals, who were demanding the humiliation of the South and the immediate enfranchisement of the ignorant blacks. When we reflect that in all probability he would have led his party away from the blunders which it subsequently committed, we cannot avoid the conclusion that his death was one of the greatest disasters that has ever overtaken the nation.

As already stated, President Johnson, after breathing out threats of vengeance against Southern leaders, yielded to the conciliatory influence of Seward and took up Lincoln's policy of reconstruction without material change, but with the same violence of expression and fondness for extremes as when he advocated the

[8] Blaine, "Twenty Years of Congress," vol. ii. p. 46.
[9] Nicolay and Hay, "Life of Lincoln," vol. ix. p. 463.

exactly opposite policy. The anxiety, not to say consternation, which his utterances had caused throughout the South was allayed by the issuance of an amnesty proclamation on May 29 for the benefit of all who had not taken advantage of Lincoln's amnesty offer of December 8, 1863. It was substantially a repetition of Lincoln's proclamation, except that it excluded a somewhat larger number of persons from the benefits of amnesty, the chief class being all owners of $20,000 worth of property who had voluntarily enlisted on the side of the seceded States. It was Johnson's idea that the late conflict had been "a rich man's war, but a poor man's fight," brought on chiefly by the wealthy slaveholders, a class whom he personally disliked, and whom he therefore proposed to catch in a twenty-thousand dollar drag net and place under a special ban. Nevertheless, the proclamation announced that all those who belonged to the excepted classes would be allowed to make special application to the President for pardon, and the assurance was given that "such clemency would be liberally extended as was consistent with the facts of the case and with the peace and dignity of the United States."

On the same day on which the proclamation of amnesty was issued, another proclamation was announced appointing a provisional governor of North Carolina, who was charged with assembling a loyal convention for the purpose of amending the State constitution so as to bring it into harmony with the new conditions created by the war. At the same time the several heads of departments were directed to reëstablish the machinery of the Federal government in the said State, such as the postal service, Federal courts, etc.

During the course of the ensuing weeks provisional governors were appointed for the other Southern States not already reconstructed. Throughout the summer the registration officers were busy administering the amnesty oath to the thousands of ex-Confederates, who instead of sulking, came forward and were absolved from whatever guilt may have attached to them for their conduct during the war. Likewise most of those who were excepted from the benefits of the proclamation forwarded their applications to the President, and pardons were issued almost without question. From the ranks of the loyal class thus created conventions were elected, and before the end of the year they had assembled in all the unreconstructed States except Texas, and had adopted con-

1865

stitutional amendments, either repealing the ordinances of secession or declaring them null and void *ab initio*. In the same manner they had all adopted amendments abolishing slavery, most of them had repudiated their debts incurred in aid of the rebellion, and in all except Mississippi and Florida the legislatures had ratified the proposed thirteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution. In all of them, too, elections had been held, State officers chosen, the machinery of the State governments reorganized, and senators and representatives in Congress elected. When, therefore, Congress met in December, 1865, President Johnson took great satisfaction in informing that body that all the late insurrectionary States except Texas, whose convention was not to meet until the following March, had been reconstructed and were ready to resume their constitutional places in the Union. He did not realize that he was going too fast for the great mass of the Republican party and was arousing in this way the very bitterness in the North which, above all things, was to be avoided.

In the meantime a new amendment to the Federal Constitution, the first since 1804 and the thirteenth since the foundation of the government, had been proposed and ratified by the requisite number of States. The amendment was first proposed by the Senate in April, 1864, but was rejected by the House. Upon the reassembling of Congress in December, 1864, the amendment was again proposed, and the early collapse of the Confederacy being certain, the House fell into line and gave its concurrence. It was sent out to the State legislatures and, being ratified by three-fourths of them, it was proclaimed, in December, 1865, to be a part of the fundamental law of the land. This, the most far-reaching of all the amendments, declared that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except in punishment for crime, should exist in any part of the United States, or in any place subject to the jurisdiction thereof, and authorized Congress to enact appropriate legislation to carry it into effect. The provision relating to involuntary servitude was directed against certain forms of apprenticeship and peonage, which it was feared would be resorted to as a means of holding the ignorant blacks in bondage against their will. In general, the purpose of the amendment was to legalize and make permanent and universal, so far as the United States was concerned, the Emancipation Proclamation. It will be remembered that this edict was rather a preliminary measure, the constitutionality of which

was doubtful, and furthermore it applied only to slaves in those States that had passed ordinances of secession. It did not affect slavery in Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, West Virginia, Tennessee, or in parts of Louisiana. The amendment which now became a part of the organic law of the nation struck the shackles from every slave within the territorial limits of the Republic, and forever placed it beyond the power of the government or of any individual to hold in bondage another man, black or white, against his will except as a punishment for crime.

II

THE ATTITUDE OF CONGRESS; FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH AMENDMENTS; CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS FOR FREEDMEN

Meantime Congress was busy discussing the problem of reconstruction. It heard with professed amazement Johnson's announcement that the Southern States were all reconstructed and were ready to resume their old places in the Union, and utterly ignored all that he and Lincoln had done toward rehabilitating the governments of those States. The new senators and representatives from the reconstructed States, some of whom a few months before were leading Confederate hosts, now presented their credentials, but were denied admission to their seats, and the radicals in both houses succeeded in having a resolution passed for the appointment of a joint committee of fifteen members to inquire into the condition of the Southern States and report whether any of them were entitled to representation in Congress. The alleged reason which led Congress to take this action was the feeling of pique that Johnson should have gone ahead and reconstructed the Southern States along very lenient lines without consulting the national lawmakers, and also that the reconstructed State legislatures, which had assembled during the summer, had greatly offended Northern sentiment by the drastic character of the police legislation enacted by them for regulating the conduct of the freedmen.

On account of the rather stringent provisions of some of these laws many in the North were led to believe that their purpose was to keep the blacks in a condition of involuntary servitude, if not of actual slavery. The offense of vagrancy was greatly extended and in some cases restricted to persons of color. Those who were un-

able to pay the fines imposed upon them were to be "sold out," their former masters being given the preference as lessees. A rigid apprentice system for binding out colored minors was adopted. In Mississippi freedmen were prohibited from renting or leasing land in incorporated towns, and in most of the Southern States they were denied the right of giving testimony in the courts, except in cases in which the freedmen were parties. The people of the South justified this legislation on the ground that the demoralization among the blacks, due to their sudden emancipation, was such as made drastic police measures necessary as a means of preserving order and protecting the white people. During the spring and summer following the downfall of the Confederacy the negroes left the plantations, roved about the country in the full enjoyment of their liberties, committed depredations by day and by night, and refused to enter into labor contracts or to observe them when entered into. There can be no doubt that the times required drastic measures of restraint, but there were features about the acts of some of the Southern legislatures that were discriminating and greatly offended the people of the North, who were quick to see, or professed to see, in them only evidences of hostility to the negro.

The effect of this legislation, followed by Mr. Johnson's intemperate personal denunciation of some of the congressional leaders in his public speeches, put Congress in a rather bad humor for dealing calmly with the situation. But when all is said that can be said against these black codes, it is very doubtful if they had much, if anything, to do with the action of Congress in rejecting Johnson's work. Much of this legislation, in fact, came after Congress had rejected it; Congress had already repudiated much of Lincoln's work and it had made up its mind to treat Johnson's likewise. It is probable that the real reasons for its attitude were the growing reaction against the dictatorial war powers of the executive, the leniency of the President and the rapidity with which he "reconstructed" the Southern States, as well as personal dislike of Johnson, whose Southern States Rights Democracy Congress could never forget, and the fear that under his plan, which did not allow negro suffrage, the Southern Democrats, in alliance with those at the North, would succeed in gaining control of the government.

Soon after the organization of Congress the great debate on

the question of reconstruction began and lasted for several months, the radicals, now in the majority, doing everything in their power to head off the President and reconstruct the Southern States according to their own views. In February they passed an act for the establishment of a Freedman's Bureau in the War Department, charged with aiding and protecting the freedmen in various ways. The President, who was determined to interpose every obstacle in the way of the congressional policy, promptly vetoed the bill. In March Congress passed an important measure, known as the Civil Rights Act, designed to confer upon all persons of color the rights of citizenship and placing them upon a footing of equality with white citizens in the making and enforcing of contracts, in suing and giving testimony in the courts, in acquiring, holding, and conveying real estate, as well as personal property, and in the enjoyment of equal protection of the laws for the security of person and property. The United States courts were given jurisdiction of cases arising under the act, and the President was empowered to use the army and navy to enforce it. The President promptly vetoed this measure, and with equal promptness Congress passed it over the executive veto.

Foreseeing the possible return to power of the Democratic party and the consequent repeal of the act, Congress immediately proposed a new amendment to the Federal Constitution, the fourteenth, embodying the principles of the Civil Rights Act. To incorporate it in the Constitution meant the placing of the civil rights of the negro beyond the reach of any hostile Congress. Ratification of this amendment by the Southern States was made a condition precedent to their restoration to the Union. At first they rejected it, and it was not until July, 1868, that the amendment was ratified by the requisite number of States. The amendment declared all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, to be citizens of the United States and of the State in which they reside, a definition which of course included the negro. It provided for a reduction of the representation in Congress of any State that should deny the suffrage of any of its adult male citizens; disqualified many of the prominent ex-Confederates from holding Federal office; invalidated all debts and other obligations incurred in "aid of the rebellion"; and prohibited the States from abridging the privileges of citizens, or depriving them of life, liberty, or property without due process

of law, or denying to any person within their jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

By the threat of reducing their representation in Congress an inducement was offered to the Southern States to give the negro the right of suffrage, but it was soon discovered to be insufficient, and in February, 1869, a new amendment (the fifteenth) was proposed, which declared that the right to vote should not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. This latter amendment, while not conferring the suffrage directly on the negro, exempted him from a discrimination on account of race or color. In the month following the enactment of the Civil Rights Bill (April, 1866) Texas, having complied with the requirements of the Johnson scheme of reconstruction, the President issued a proclamation officially declaring the Civil War at an end.

III

THE RECONSTRUCTION ACTS; THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU

In June, 1866, the Reconstruction Committee, after a long and elaborate investigation, made its report, declaring that the Southern State governments established under the executive auspices were illegal (although they had been regarded as good enough to ratify the thirteenth amendment); that Congress alone had authority to reconstruct these governments; and that guarantees of future security should be required as a condition of restoration to the Union. The committee recommended the denial of representation to these States until sufficient guarantees for the protection of the civil rights of the negro were forthcoming, and that a portion at least of those guilty of having taken part in the "rebellion" be disfranchised and disqualified from holding office.

Congress now adjourned and the people turned their attention to the campaign for the election of a new Congress — a campaign almost as fierce and exciting as that which stirs the people during presidential years. The chief issue was Johnson's Southern policy against that of Congress. The Democrats, aided by a goodly number of conservative Republicans, bestirred themselves as in the days of their dominance before the war. They held a great national convention at Philadelphia, and delegates from the North and dele-

gates from the South marched arm in arm as a sign of the returning sectional fraternity. An incident of the campaign was the President's famous "swing around the circle,"—a tour to Chicago, ostensibly for the purpose of laying the corner stone of a monument to Stephen A. Douglas, but in reality to make speeches along the route. The trip was humorously described by James Russell Lowell as "an advertising tour of a policy in want of a party." [10] The President, abused, misrepresented, and provoked almost to desperation, made a number of speeches unbecoming his exalted station, and which only created offense in the minds of those who heard or read them. He denounced the radical leaders of Congress, declared that some of them, whom he mentioned by name, should be hanged, and even stooped to engage in angry colloquies with individual hearers, who took exception to his statements.[11] Such incidents only served further to discredit him, and the result of the election was to leave his party in a hopeless minority in the next Congress.

The radicals naturally interpreted the election as an approval of their course, and so proceeded to ride rough-shod over Johnson with their almost merciless policy of "thorough." Acts were passed over his veto limiting his power to remove officers appointed by him; requiring him, in violation of the Constitution, as many believed, to issue his military commands through Grant, who was now elevated to the rank of a full general; abridging his power to grant pardons (a measure designed to prevent him from pardoning Confederate leaders), likewise in violation of the Constitution; and calling the new Congress to meet on March 4, in order that it should be in session ready to deal with any situation to which the President's conduct might give rise.

In February Congress passed, in spite of the President's veto, the first of the Reconstruction Acts for the "more efficient government of the late insurrectionary States." This act grouped the said States, except Tennessee, which had been readmitted in 1866, into five military districts, each of which was to be placed under the command of an army officer not below the rank of brigadier general, who was charged with the maintenance of order and the protection of property. The State governments rehabilitated by Lincoln and Johnson were left intact, but were declared

[10] "Political Essays," p. 296.

[11] Dewitt, "Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson," pp. 116–117.

to be provisional only and subject to the paramount authority of the United States. By a supplementary act of March 19, likewise passed over the President's veto, the military commanders were directed to cause to be made a registration of the qualified voters, without regard to race or color, and to call a convention, if the majority of the voters were in favor of one, for the purpose of adopting a new constitution. When the constitution so framed should be ratified by a majority of the new electorate and approved by Congress, the State should be readmitted to representation in both houses of the national legislature, provided the State legislature should have ratified the fourteenth amendment.

Military commanders were promptly appointed for the different districts and with adequate forces they took possession and proceeded to govern the inhabitants according to the forms of martial law. Arbitrary arrests were common, trial by jury was superseded by trial by military commission, and various orders having the force of law were issued for the regulation of the conduct of the citizens. The new colored voters were registered, many of the old white voters were excluded for serving in the Confederate army, conventions containing many negro delegates and white adventurers from the North were chosen in all the Southern States by the new electorate, and by May, 1868, these conventions had all adopted constitutions establishing negro suffrage and disfranchising large numbers of white persons. In all the States except Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia these constitutions were promptly ratified, and in June these States were readmitted to representation in Congress. But in Mississippi, where a constitution containing several provisions of a particularly proscriptive character had been framed, the whites, after a determined campaign, succeeded in defeating it at the polls. In Texas and Virginia, where likewise obnoxious provisions had been inserted in the constitutions, the reconstructionists were induced to delay indefinitely submission to the people. These three States, therefore, continued under military rule.

In the meantime the legislature of Georgia, having excluded the negro members-elect from their seats, the United States Senate refused to admit the senators from that State to seats in Congress. Consequently at the time of the accession of the new President in March, 1869, four of the Southern States were still unrestored to their constitutional positions in the Union. The President was

induced to recommend the resubmission of the constitutions of Mississippi and Virginia to the voters in such way as to enable them to vote separately upon the obnoxious clauses. Congress so directed, the constitutions were resubmitted, and were ratified without the objectionable provisions. By the same act Congress directed the submission of the Texas constitution to the people, and it was duly ratified. These three States, however, were punished for their tardiness by the imposition of an additional condition precedent to restoration; namely, the ratification of the fifteenth amendment. Early in 1870, having complied with this additional requirement, they were readmitted to representation in Congress and restored to their full positions in the Union. Finally, after having been twice reconstructed, Georgia complied with the new conditions imposed by Congress and in June was likewise restored to her place under the Constitution. The military governments now gave way to the State governments, Federal interference was withdrawn and reconstruction, technically at least, was complete.

One of the agencies through which the process of reconstruction was worked out was the Freedmen's Bureau, first established in March, 1865, and placed under the supervision of the War Department. In general, its purpose was to aid and advise the large number of freedmen who were thrown upon their own resources and hence greatly demoralized. During the last years of the war thousands of blacks left the plantations and gathered about the camps or followed in the wake of the Union armies. To provide for their support was a difficult problem which every commander in the South had to meet. At first, appeals were made to philanthropic persons of the North for funds with which to support this class, and generous responses followed; but as the end of the War approached the number of negro "contrabands" increased until it was found impossible to rely wholly upon the support of charitable relief. Released from the restraints of slavery, many freedmen made use of their liberty to quit work and wander about the country, only to find themselves after a brief season, in a state of destitution. The bureau undertook to provide hospitals and medical relief for the sick and infirm; it distributed large quantities of food to the destitute; it undertook to prevent the infringement of the civil rights of freedmen and provided special courts for trial in all cases in which the State excluded the testimony of negro witnesses; it examined and approved their labor contracts; cir-

1866

ciated the emancipation proclamation among the blacks of the remote districts; instructed them as to their new duties and responsibilities; urged them to labor, and impressed upon them the sacredness of the marriage contract; established schools and supplied teachers to such communities as wished them, and labored in various other ways to aid those whom emancipation had left to shift for themselves. The officials of the bureau also used their influence with the credulous blacks to induce them to enter into labor contracts with planters and thus performed a service not without value to the white race.

The organization of the bureau was quite elaborate. Its head was a commissioner, this office being held by General O. O. Howard, who had led one of Sherman's divisions in the "March to the Sea"; there was an assistant commissioner for each State, and a number of sub-commissioners, each in charge of a particular district of the State. In every locality was stationed an agent who acquainted the freedmen with the orders of the bureau, distributed the rations, and performed various other duties. The law as passed in 1865 made no appropriation for the support of the bureau, but its income from the sale of certain confiscated property and the rent of abandoned lands was sufficient to meet expenses. In July, 1866, a new act was passed and the operations of the bureau largely extended. It was not finally withdrawn from all the Southern States until 1872. Although the bureau accomplished some good, it did not promote harmonious relations between the two races, as was expected. Its agents were often camp followers, missionaries, discharged soldiers, and occasionally subordinate military officers, a considerable number of whom turned out to be inefficient and unscrupulous. Not infrequently able-bodied freedmen were encouraged to idleness by the distribution of government rations, while in not a few cases they were led to believe that the lands of their former masters would be distributd among them.[12]

IV

THE IMPEACHMENT OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON

While Congress was working out its plan of "thorough" the strife between it and the President was daily increasing. He

[12] See Pierce, "The Freedmen's Bureau."

maintained his course to the last and showed no disposition to yield to the policy of the law-makers, but vetoed its measures as fast as they were sent to him. In December, 1866, an ineffectual attempt was made to impeach him. In March, 1867, Congress passed a measure that was destined to bring matters to a head. This was the Tenure of Office Act, which, like the other great measures of Johnson's administration, was passed over the executive veto. Its purpose was to prevent Johnson from removing, without the consent of the Senate, all officers whose appointment required the confirmation of the Senate. As was pointed out in the preceding chapter, the question of whether the consent of the Senate should be required in order to enable the President to make removals was decided in the negative, by the casting vote of the Vice President in Washington's administration, and this continued to be the rule until 1867. Now that a great strife had arisen between the President and Congress the latter took advantage of every opportunity to curtail the executive authority. Accordingly the President was shorn of his power to remove from office those whose sympathies were with Congress or who might otherwise be obnoxious to him.

Soon after the breach between the President and Congress the Cabinet, which was of Lincoln's appointment, became divided in their allegiance, and three of the members resigned. A fourth member, however, who sympathized with Congress, Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, clung to his office by advice of the radicals, continued to criticise his chief, and firmly refused to resign when the President requested his resignation, as he did in August, 1867. Johnson then suspended him from office during the recess, as the Tenure of Office Act allowed, and appointed General Grant Secretary of War *ad interim*. When Congress reassembled in December the President reported his action to the Senate, as required by the Tenure of Office Act in cases of suspension. But the Senate refused to concur in the suspension, and so the President was forced to undergo the humiliation of retaining as one of his chief personal advisers a man with whom he was not on speaking terms, and with whom he held no personal communication. It is hard to say whose conduct was the more reprehensible — Stanton, who apparently without any sense of official propriety insisted upon the continuance of so unnatural a relation; or the Senate, which supported him in his extraordinary conduct. Grant promptly surrendered the office to Stanton, in violation, as John-

son claimed, of a promise that he would hold the office until an issue could be raised in the courts and the question of the constitutionality of the act passed upon. The unfortunate affair led to a break in the personal relations of Johnson and Grant, to the great pleasure of the radicals, who were planning to make the latter their presidential candidate.

Johnson, now driven almost to desperation, dismissed Stanton from the Cabinet, thus defying the Senate and violating the Tenure of Office Act, as the radicals claimed, although the history of the measure seemed to show that its framers did not consider that Cabinet officers came under the act — certainly Johnson did not so understand it. A resolution impeaching the President of high crimes and misdemeanors was introduced in the House of Representatives the same day, and two days later it was adopted by a strict party vote of 126 to 47. Seven of its ablest members were chosen to prosecute the President before the bar of the Senate, all of course being his bitter enemies. On March 5, 1868, the managers appeared in the Senate Chamber, Chief Justice Chase being in the chair, and presented formal accusations against the President. Eleven charges were preferred, but the most important, and the one on which the issue really hinged, was the removal of Stanton in violation of the Tenure of Office Act.

The President entered his appearance to the summons of the Senate through an imposing array of counsel, which for legal ability and high character could hardly have been surpassed. They asked for a delay of forty days in which to prepare their answer to the charges. The House managers very ungenerously objected to giving them any time whatever, but the Senate overruled them and allowed ten days. When the Senate reassembled as a court of impeachment the President's counsel presented his answer, which was substantially as follows: The Tenure of Office Act did not apply to Stanton's case in view of the provision in the act which declared that the Cabinet members should hold their offices for and during the term of the President by whom they were appointed, and for one month thereafter, subject to removal by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Stanton had been appointed by Lincoln in 1862 and had been retained in the Cabinet by Johnson. It is clear to any impartial mind that the phrase "*during the term of the President by whom they may have been appointed*" was not intended to apply to any other term. Johnson's prosecu-

tors contended that Stanton was still holding during the term of the President by whom he was appointed, since, as they said, Johnson was merely serving out the residue of Lincoln's term.[13]

Johnson's counsel showed conclusively from the Constitution and from precedent beginning with the accession of Vice President Tyler to the Presidency in 1841, that when the presidential office is vacated the Vice President becomes President, not "acting President" or something else, and that the remainder of the term which he serves is his own term, not that of the deceased President. Since, therefore, Stanton had not been appointed by Johnson, but simply allowed to hold over, he was not protected by the law, but was subject to removal. The President's counsel moreover contended that even if the Tenure of Office Act could be applied to Stanton's case, the President had acted within his right, and that he had committed no crime at all, but in removing Stanton had acted with a view to raising an issue so as to get the Supreme Court to pass upon the constitutionality of the Tenure of Office Act. As to the charge that he had sought to bring Congress into contempt by his intemperate criticism, it was asserted that he had simply exercised his right as a citizen of the Republic to express an opinion of the government or any department thereof, and it may be added that it is very questionable whether he had said harsher things of Congress than Congress had said of him. What he said may have been coarser, but it was no more reprehensible. In speaking of the thirty-ninth Congress as no lawful Congress, he meant only to express his opinion that it represented only a part of the States, and he had no intention of denying the validity of its acts. To his answer the House filed a replication, whereupon the President's counsel asked for thirty days for the preparation of their case. Again the House managers objected to giving the President any time. But after a long debate the Senate voted to allow him six days.

At the expiration of this period, that is to say, March 30, the great trial opened with a most severe, almost brutal attack on the President by General Benjamin F. Butler, one of the House managers. As the trial proceeded the President's counsel undertook to show that when the Tenure of Office Act was laid before the President for his approval every member of the Cabinet, including Stanton, advised him to veto it on the ground that it was un-

[13] See Dewitt, "Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson," ch. vi.

constitutional, and that the duty of preparing a veto message setting forth the reasons for its unconstitutionality was entrusted to Seward and Stanton. The managers objected to the admission of this testimony, but Chief Justice Chase, the presiding officer, overruled the objection and directed that the testimony be admitted as a means of showing the motive which had governed the President in his action. Thereupon the Senate reversed the decision of the Chief Justice, and excluded the testimony. The President's counsel next offered to show that the Cabinet had agreed among themselves that Lincoln's appointees were not within the purview of the Tenure of Office Act, and the Chief Justice ruled that the admission of the testimony was proper. But again the Senate overruled the decision of the presiding officer and excluded the testimony. Finally the President's counsel offered to prove that the Cabinet had advised the President that a proper regard for the public service made it desirable that an issue should be made up and a judicial determination of the constitutionality of the act obtained, and that such issue could only be raised by the removal of Stanton. The Chief Justice, tired of having his decisions overruled, submitted the question of the admissibility of the evidence at once to the Senate, and it was promptly excluded. For his effort to raise the proceedings above a partisan investigation and to hold them to their proper character of a judicial process, Chase deserves the credit of averting a great public danger. But notwithstanding his desire to be fair and impartial, he greatly offended the radicals, who even went so far as to charge him with personally soliciting votes for Johnson's acquittal.[14] Every attempt of the President to establish purity of motive and to show that he had not acted exclusively upon his own initiative, but that he had acted upon the advice of the eminent statesmen who had sustained and advised Lincoln, was thus thwarted by the animosity of the Senate.

It was certainly an extraordinary proceeding, marked by bitter partisanship, and undoubtedly strengthened Johnson's case in the popular estimation. As one to-day calmly reads all the evidence, together with the powerful arguments of the President's counsel, and compares them with those of his prosecutors, it seems strange that the latter should have made any serious impression at all.[15] There was only one point with regard to which the prosecution

[14] Hart, "Life of Chase," p. 360.

[15] Burgess, "Reconstruction and the Constitution," p. 182.

seemed to have the advantage, and that was their denial of the right of the executive to violate an act of Congress believed to be void, for the purpose of raising an issue to test the validity. It must be admitted that the President has no such power. As a weapon of defense against the encroachment of Congress the Constitution gives him a qualified veto over its acts, and when the veto power has been exercised and overriden by the extraordinary majority required by the Constitution, the President must acquiesce and enforce its will.[16]

After a trial lasting eighty-two days, during which the whole country looked on with intense interest, the Senate was at last ready for a vote on May 16. To convict upon impeachment charges the Constitution requires a two-thirds majority. There were fifty-four senators, hence it would require thirty-six to convict. The President must have nineteen votes to escape. The seceded States, except Tennessee, being unrepresented, there were only eight Democratic senators in Congress, all of whom, of course, would vote for acquittal. There were also four administration Republicans who were known to be in favor of acquittal, which would give Johnson twelve. He needed the votes of seven other Republicans in order to escape deposition. When all was ready, the voting began, the Chief Justice putting the question to each senator: "Mr. Senator, how say you? Is the respondent guilty or not guilty?" It was a solemn occasion and almost breathless silence prevailed as the roll was called.[17] The Senate chamber was crowded by the representatives, the galleries were packed with spectators who followed the roll call with tally papers, all eager to see how each senator would vote, while all over the country crowds gathered at the telegraph stations to hear the result. By order of the Court the first vote was taken on the eleventh article, which was a sort of summary of all the charges preferred. The result showed thirty-five in favor of conviction and nineteen in favor of acquittal. Johnson therefore had received exactly the number of votes required to save him; one more in favor of conviction would have removed him from his high office.

After the announcement of the vote the Court adjourned until the 26th, when it again reassembled and proceeded to vote on the second and third articles, with the same result as on the eleventh.

[16] Dunning, "Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction," p. 201.
[17] Dewitt, "Impeachment of Andrew Johnson," pp. 551–554.

Thereupon the Senate as a court of impeachment adjourned *sine die* and gave up the attempt to convict the President. As soon as this happened Stanton sent in his resignation, and the President appointed General Schofield as his successor, and the Senate confirmed the nomination. Stanton, as Secretary of War during the great civil strife, had rendered the government valuable service; he was a man of great force, of vast administrative ability and of official honesty; and he clung to his office, as his friends have always claimed, only because he believed that the welfare of the country required that he should not relinquish it, though there are many to assert that his motives were not so exalted.[18] Upon the accession of President Grant he was appointed a justice of the Supreme Court, but weighed down by disappointment and with health broken by his labors, he died before taking his seat.[19]

On account of the strong passions and prejudices of the time, the Republicans who voted for the acquittal of the President were severely denounced by members of their own party, and most of them were forced into retirement; but looking at the situation from the calm viewpoint of to-day, we are bound to admit that they rendered both their party and the country a great service.[20] Had the President been removed, Senator Benjamin Wade, a radical of Ohio, and President *pro tem.* of the Senate, would have succeeded to the Presidency. Wade was admired by his party for his rugged honesty, good sense and physical courage, and the Republicans felt confident that he would make a successful President; but he was, says Dunning, "notoriously free from any taint of reform principles,"[21] and it is a matter of regret that his sense of official propriety did not lead him to abstain from voting in the impeachment case when he was so directly interested. His popularity thereafter waned, and he was not returned to the Senate by the legislature of his State.

Johnson served out the remainder of his term without further strife with Congress, and in 1875 was returned to the Senate by the legislature of Tennessee, but died the same year. No President has been the victim of so much abuse and villification founded on preju-

[18] Dewitt, "Impeachment of Andrew Johnson," pp. 232–237, 248–265, 272–75.
[19] Gorham, "Life of Stanton," vol. ii. p. 474.
[20] Blaine, "Twenty Years of Congress," vol. ii. p. 376; see also Chadsey, "The Struggle Between Congress and President Johnson," p. 141.
[21] "Essays on Civil War and Reconstruction," p. 255.

dice and passions as Andrew Johnson. He was unfitted by nature and training to be the President during the critical period following the Civil War. In quiet times he might have been successful, at least as much so as others who have been called to the Presidency under similar circumstances. Of humble origin and breeding, uneducated, unrefined, obstinate in disposition, and intemperate, he was wholly out of place in the White House; yet he was none the less a man of unflinching courage and patriotism, and his intentions were generally good. His stand for the Union under circumstances when his character was put to the most rigid test, his unfaltering allegiance to the Republic when his Southern brethren were dropping away, his encouragement to the Union men of east Tennessee, entitle him, in the opinion of one of them, to be numbered among the heroes of the Civil War.[22]

[22] Burgess, "Civil War and Reconstruction," p. 221.

Chapter XXXVI

THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT GRANT AND THE RESULTS OF RECONSTRUCTION

1869–1873

I

ELECTION AND INAUGURATION

ON May 20, 1868, four days after the adjournment of the Senate as a court of impeachment in the case of Andrew Johnson, the national convention of the Republican party assembled at Chicago to nominate candidates for President and Vice President of the United States. Although sorely disappointed at the failure of the Senate to convict Mr. Johnson, the delegates were filled with enthusiasm at the prospect of a harmonious convention and the certainty of success at the elections. The chief work of the convention had already been determined, so that little was left but to ratify the popular choice. On the first ballot General Grant was nominated for President. Like that other great military hero who twenty years before had been elevated to the Presidency, General Grant was not a politician; in fact his political views were hardly known to the public at large. Before the war he had voted with the Democrats, but since then had given indications that his sympathies were with the Republicans, and after his break with Johnson there was no doubt as to where he stood. For Vice President the convention nominated Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, a man of great popularity, who was then serving his third term as Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The platform adopted by the convention contained two important and conspicuous declarations, one relating to negro suffrage and the other to the manner of the payment of the public debt. The first declared (the fifteenth amendment, it will be remembered, had not yet been proposed) that it was the duty of Congress to guarantee the suffrage to the negroes of the South, but that the States of the North should be left free to determine

for themselves[1] whether they should have negro suffrage or not. In other words, the Republicans proposed to force negro suffrage, with all its consequences, upon the States of the South, while those of the North, where the black population was inconsiderable, were to decide the question for themselves. That they did not want negro suffrage for themselves at this time was clearly shown by the fact that several of the Northern States, notably Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota and Kansas, in the previous year had voted down negro suffrage amendments to their constitutions by large majorities, in Ohio the majority aggregating over 50,000 votes.[2] Mr. Blaine, one of the Republican leaders of Congress at the time pronounces this declaration an evasion of duty quite unworthy of the Republican party, and asserts that it carried with it an element of deception.[3] Mr. Blaine further characterizes it as a "stroke of expediency" intended to overcome the prejudices against negro suffrage in some of the Northern States, particularly Indiana and California, where a close vote was anticipated. Looked at from whatever point of view, it was discreditable to the party, and its leaders have never ceased to apologize for it. The provision in the platform with regard to the payment of the public debt, on the other hand, was highly commendable. It declared that the debt should be paid, dollar for dollar, in coin instead of legal tender currency, which would mean partial repudiation. A few days after the adjournment of the convention General Grant accepted the nomination in a brief letter, which is chiefly memorable for the sentiment of the old soldier, "Let us have peace." It expressed the feeling of many good men in both parties, and it proved to be a popular cry.

The Democratic national convention met in the city of New York on July 4. Great interest, not to say anxiety, was felt as to who would be the nominee and what attitude the convention would take on the question of reconstruction and the payment of the public debt. No one doubted what its position toward negro suffrage would be: it could only be one of hostility. The two most conspicuous candidates were George H. Pendleton and Chief Justice Chase, both of Ohio. Pendleton was the leading advocate of the greenback policy and favored the payment of the national debt in

[1] "Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia," 1868, p. 744.
[2] Dunning, "Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction," p. 227.
[3] Blaine, "Twenty Years of Congress," vol. ii. p. 388.

legal tender notes, though depreciated at the time far below the standard of coin. This meant outright repudiation, and the Eastern Democrats rejected Pendleton, although they were obliged to accept his platform.

Chief Justice Chase, who, as has been stated, had resigned from the Cabinet in 1864 to seek the Republican nomination against Mr. Lincoln, was now an anxious aspirant for the Democratic nomination.[4] Few men have had more ardent ambitions for the Presidency than had Chase. For a time he looked forward with hope to the Republican nomination in 1868, but when it became evident that General Grant undoubtedly would be the nominee, he turned to the Democratic party and eagerly sought its support. He had started upon his political career as a Free Soil Democrat; recently he had taken occasion to criticise the reconstruction policy; he had presided over Johnson's impeachment trial to the satisfaction of the Democrats, and had, as Chief Justice, concurred in several important opinions which upheld Democratic theories of government.[5] "I do not believe," he wrote in September, 1868, "in military government for American States, nor in military commissions for the trial of American citizens; nor in the supervision of the executive and judicial departments of the general government by Congress, no matter how patriotic the motive may be."[6] These Democratic virtues were highly extolled, but unfortunately for the political ambition of the Chief Justice he was a believer in negro suffrage, his platform being "universal amnesty and universal suffrage." At this time the Democrats were ready to take a candidate with almost any views, provided he possessed availability; but a negro suffragist was too much for them, and so Mr. Chase was set aside.

After taking twenty-one ballots, in the course of which various candidates were voted for, Horatio Seymour of New York was nominated for President by a unanimous vote. He was the presiding officer of the convention, and doubtless would have been nominated earlier had he not persistently refused to allow the use of his name. Even when he saw the drift toward himself he endeavored, as chairman, to prevent his own nomination, but without avail. Seymour was a man of large ability, a persuasive

[4] Shuckers, "Life of Chase," ch. i.
[5] Notably the cases of *ex parte* Garland and *ex parte* Cummings.
[6] Hart, "Life of Chase," pp. 362–368.

speaker and a popular politician. During the war he was governor of New York, and, while criticising the administration for some of its acts, he gave it cordial military support.[7]

For Vice President, General Francis P. Blair of Missouri was nominated. Blair had been a Republican, but was now a radical Democrat and had recently made utterances which proved a heavy burden for his party to carry; among other things he had suggested that the President should disperse the "carpet-bag" governments of the South and allow the white people to reorganize their governments as they pleased. The platform adopted declared that all the obligations of the government, not payable by their express terms in coin, ought to be paid in lawful money; that is, in depreciated paper. On the question of suffrage it declared that "any attempt of Congress, on any pretext whatever, to deprive any State of its right to regulate the suffrage or interfere with its exercise, is a flagrant usurpation of power which cannot find any warrant in the Constitution." The Reconstruction Acts were declared to be "usurpations unconstitutional, revolutionary and void"; immediate restoration of all the Southern States to their rights in the Union was demanded, and the Republican party was denounced for the "unparalleled oppression and tyranny which have marked its career."[8] These were the main issues. "The same currency for the bondholder and the plowholder" was one of the favorite catch phrases of the Democrats, while the Republicans aptly responded, "the best currency for both the bondholder and the plowholder."

With a strong appeal to the nation to keep its plighted faith with those who aided it with loans in its darkest hours, and with an invincible military hero as their candidate, the Republicans had from the first an overwhelming advantage. Blair took the stump, but his speeches did the Democratic cause more harm than good. In the last days of the campaign Mr. Seymour went into the field and by his persuasive oratory endeavored to stem the tide, but to no avail. Grant received 214 votes as against 80 for Seymour. Three of the eleven seceded States, Mississippi, Virginia and Texas, took no part in the election. Of the other eight Grant carried six, thanks to negro suffrage, white disfranchisement and "carpet-bag" governments in the South.

[7] Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. iv. pp. 273, 276.
[8] Stanwood, "History of the Presidency," pp. 322–323.

1869

The joy of the Republicans, however, subsided when they paused to analyze the vote which Grant received. As a matter of fact he lost New York, New Jersey, Oregon, and Delaware, of the Northern States, and carried California only by the small majority of 514 votes, Indiana by only 961, and various other States by smaller majorities than they were accustomed to cast for Republican tickets. Had not the Republicans been able to carry the South by means of the "carpet-bag" governments, organized there and maintained largely by Federal troops, Seymour would have been elected by a large majority. Considering the circumstances, says Mr. Blaine, the presidential election of 1868 must be regarded as the most remarkable and the most unaccountable in our political annals.[9]

General Grant was inaugurated President on March 4, surrounded by the customary civic and military displays, but contrary to the usual custom governing inaugural ceremonies, the retiring President did not ride to the Capitol with the President-elect, on account of the strained personal relations which had existed between them since the unfortunate Stanton episode. The new President delivered a brief inaugural address, saying that the great office which he was about to assume had come to him unsought and that he entered upon the discharge of its duties untrammeled; he pleaded for the payment of the public debt in sound money and expressed the hope that the fifteenth amendment would be speedily ratified.[10] For his Cabinet he chose E. B. Washburne, long a representative in Congress from Illinois, to be Secretary of State; A. T. Stewart, the merchant prince of New York, to be Secretary of the Treasury; General Jacob D. Cox of Ohio, a Civil War veteran, to be Secretary of the Interior; E. R. Hoar, an able jurist of Massachusetts, to be Attorney General; J. A. J. Creswell, of Maryland, to be Postmaster General; A. E. Borie, of Pennsylvania, to be Secretary of the Navy, while General Schofield was retained as Secretary of War.

The President was greatly chagrined shortly afterward to find that Stewart was ineligible, on account of an old law which provided that no person was eligible to the position of Secretary of the Treasury who was directly or indirectly interested in foreign trade or commerce. Mr. Stewart's nomination having al-

[9] "Twenty Years of Congress," vol. ii. p. 408.

[10] Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," vol. vii. p. 7.

ready been unanimously confirmed with the other Cabinet appointees, the President suggested that he be exempted from the operation of the law. But this proposition was not looked upon with favor, and the President was compelled, with great reluctance, to withdraw the nomination. George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, was appointed in his stead. Other changes in the Cabinet soon followed. Mr. Washburne resigned to accept the post of minister to France, and was succeeded by Hamilton Fish, of New York. Mr. Fish belonged to one of the old Knickerbocker families, had served in both houses of Congress, and as governor of New York. He filled the position of Secretary of State throughout the eight years of Grant's administration, with distinguished ability, and more than any other of the President's official advisers added strength and prestige to the administration. The retirement of General Schofield from the War Department, and Mr. Borie from the Navy Department, soon led to still other changes in the Cabinet.

The Congress which organized on March 4, 1869, was the first since the outbreak of the war in 1861 which contained representatives from the seceded States. Among the leading senators and members from the North were James G. Blaine, of Maine, who was elected Speaker of the House; Hannibal Hamlin, of the same State and formerly Vice President; George F. Edmunds, of Vermont; Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, one of the ablest of the old-time Democratic members; John Sherman, of Ohio; Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, and Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware.

As a result of the abnormal conditions in the South, nearly all the members from that section were Republicans, and about one-half of them belonged to the class stigmatized as "carpet-baggers." To occupy the seat which Jefferson Davis had resigned in 1861, the legislature of Mississippi, composed mainly of colored members and "carpet-baggers," sent to Washington a negro parson who had, in the capacity of chaplain, followed the Union army into the State during the war. His colleague was a Federal brigadier from Maine, who had scarcely been in the State more than a year, who owned no property there and had few acquaintances. These were fair types of the senators and representatives which, as a result of the reconstruction policy of Congress, the Southern States sent to Washington in 1869. Most of them were men of doubtful character, and were, besides, too little identi-

fied with the interests of the South to win the confidence of the substantial people of that section. Coming to the South with the army and remaining there to make use of the vote of the ignorant blacks in order to secure office, they naturally aroused the suspicion if not the enmity of the white people of the South.

Soon after his inauguration President Grant caused it to be known to the Republican leaders that he desired the repeal or modification of the Tenure of Office Act in order to have a free hand in the matter of appointments and removals. He intimated that if this were not done he would permit Johnson's appointees to remain in office. Being anxious to have their own friends appointed to the offices, the congressional leaders made haste to bring in a bill modifying the obnoxious law, and it was promptly passed. There was no reason for continuing the law, since it had been enacted for no other purpose than to checkmate President Johnson.[1]

Throughout the greater part of Grant's administration the Southern question continued to occupy a position of paramount importance in national politics. At the time of his accession to the Presidency, Mississippi, Virginia, and Texas were still unrepresented in either house of Congress and were still held under military rule. With commendable good sense the President urged Congress to give the people of these States an opportunity to vote separately on the obnoxious provisions of the constitutions which had been framed by the reconstruction conventions and which as a whole had failed of ratification. Congress followed his recommendation, the constitutions were resubmitted and ratified without the obnoxious clauses, the States were readmitted to representation in 1870, and, as already stated, the military government therein came to an end. At last reconstruction was accomplished, but its fruits ripened just in time to plague Grant's whole administration and to almost ruin the South.

II

"CARPET-BAG" AND NEGRO RULE IN THE SOUTH; THE KU-KLUX-KLAN; THE NEGRO PROBLEM

The reconstruction acts, by enfranchising the colored race and disqualifying large numbers of the more influential whites,

[1] The Tenure of Office Act was not entirely repealed until 1887

made it possible for the blacks to get control of the governments in most of the Southern States and to rule them in the most ignorant and extravagant manner.[12] The black voters were often made use of by unprincipled white adventurers from the North, who flocked to the South after the close of the war, some to engage in the profitable industry of cotton planting, others to fill the offices from which the more prominent Southern whites were excluded. These Northern immigrants came to be called "carpet-baggers" by the native whites, in allusion to the popular assertion that all their worldly effects were carried in a carpet-bag. By no means all the Northern men who came to the South at this time were unscrupulous adventurers bent upon plunder, yet they all allied themselves with the negro in political matters, and undertook to destroy his confidence in the Southern white man. A few ex-Confederates also became Republicans in order to share the offices with the white "carpet-baggers" and negroes. They were stigmatized as "scalawags." The influence of the carpet-bag class over the negroes was at first very great. They organized the blacks into political clubs, instructed them in the art of voting, and made use of them to further their own political ambitions. They secured for themselves the nominations to the more important offices and were easily elected by large majorities.

But the colored voters soon manifested discontent at this policy and accordingly demanded a share of the offices for themselves, inasmuch as they furnished the votes. Consequently many of the important positions came to be held by ignorant blacks, who but a few years before were field-hands on the plantations. Some of the more intelligent were elected representatives and senators in Congress. In several States they filled the offices of lieutenant governor, secretary of state, superintendent of education, and other important positions. In Mississippi in 1873 three of the five principal State offices were occupied by negroes, and two of them proved to be rascals of the worst type. In some instances they even sat upon the benches of the higher courts, and filled many minor judicial positions. In South Carolina there were said to have been at one time 200 trial justices who could not read, and there were counties in Mississippi in which not one of the justices

[12] Although the fifteenth amendment was not ratified until 1870, the negroes voted in 1867 under the Reconstruction Acts, and thereafter under the reconstruction constitutions, which in every case gave them the right of suffrage.

of the peace could write his name nor any member of the board of supervisors read the ordinances which they passed. They occupied seats in the legislatures of all the Southern States, that of Mississippi, in 1871, having as many as 64 colored members, while South Carolina had 85 black as against 72 white members in 1868.[13] A considerable portion of these were ignorant, some of them were unable to read or write, and most of them were the pliant dupes of unscrupulous white men.

With the State and local governments controlled by ignorant negroes and designing white men, an era of extravagance, misrule, and corruption set in, which in some instances amounted to outright robbery and plunder. Long and frequent sessions of the legislature were held, for service in which the members voted themselves large *per diem* allowances. Old laws were ruthlessly repealed and replaced by bulky statutes, many of which bore the ear-marks of animosity and oppression. Counties were rechristened with names full of offense to Southern whites, laws favoring social equality were passed, public school systems on an extravagant scale for the children of both races were established and taught by Northern teachers. Offices were greatly multiplied — many of them mere sinecures — for the benefit of Republicans. Gigantic schemes of public improvement were launched, marked by frauds and extravagance, and bonds were issued as if they created no obligation to pay. The rate of taxation was increased out of all proportion to the impoverished condition of the people resulting from four years of destructive war. In Mississippi this rate was increased from one mill on the dollar in 1868, to fourteen mills in 1871, and the inability of the people to pay resulted in the confiscation of one-fifth of the land of the State.[14]

The following comparative table of expenditures in Mississippi under Democratic and Republican administrations is significant:[15]

Year	Democratic Expenditures	Year	Republican Expenditures
1867	$625,817.80	1870	$1,061,249.66
1868	525,078.80	1871	1,720,046.34
1869	463,219.71	1872	1,506,828.04

[13] Garner, "Reconstruction in Mississippi," p. 294.

[14] Report of the State Auditor in "Miscellaneous Documents," second session Forty-third Congress, No. 265, p. 530.

[15] Garner, "Reconstruction in Mississippi," p. 320.

The cost of public printing rose from $8,675 in 1868 to $127,848 in 1871; the cost of maintaining the judicial establishment increased from $144,565 in 1861 to $434,973 in 1872; the *per diem* of members of the legislature amounted to $46,362 in 1866 and $166,632 in 1870; while the cost of clerical service for the legislature increased from $5,861 in 1866 to $32,634 in 1873. Fortunately for the taxpayers of Mississippi, the constitution contained limitations on the power of the legislature to borrow money or loan the credit of the State, as a result of which the reconstructionists were prevented from plunging the State in debt to the same extent as was done in other Southern States.

In South Carolina a wholesale system of plunder and robbery was carried out by the reconstructionists. The amount of taxes levied and collected increased from $400,000 in 1860 to $2,000,000 in 1871, notwithstanding the fact that during this period the value of taxable property in the State decreased from $490,000,000 to $184,000,000. After four years of reconstruction the State debt had increased from $5,407,306 to $18,515,003, including unpaid interest for three years.

As soon as the reconstructionists became intrenched in power the legislature proceeded to fit up the legislative chambers after the manner of a European palace. Clocks that cost five dollars apiece and which had been considered good enough for the aristocratic *ante-bellum* law-makers were discarded for others at six hundred dollars each; in the place of forty-cent spittoons eight-dollar cuspidors were installed; two hundred-dollar sofas were placed in the lobbies for the comfort of members and their friends; ten-dollar desks were too common for colored legislators and "carpet-baggers" to stretch their legs under, and so they were torn from the chambers and replaced by handsome mahogany ones costing $175 apiece; finally, for the benefit of the young and effeminate Solons the walls were hung with mirrors and pier glasses costing from $400 to $600 each. Two hundred thousand dollars was expended in four years for furniture for the capitol, and $125,000 was spent in maintaining a restaurant and bar-room for the convenience of members and their friends. Large sums were voted to officials and private individuals in form of gratuities, while millions were squandered in reckless schemes of public improvement.[16]

[16] See Herbert (editor), "Why the Solid South," pp. 89, 99, 101; see also

In Louisiana the results of negro and "carpet-bag" rule were but little better than in South Carolina. Before the war the average annual State expenditures barely exceeded $1,000,000; from 1868 to 1872 they averaged over $5,000,000. In the short period of four years more than $54,000,000 were added to the

State and city indebtedness of Louisiana, with nothing to show for it.[17]

The rate of taxation in New Orleans increased from 15 mills on the dollar in 1868 to 30 mills in 1873, notwithstanding the enormous decline in the value of all taxable property. During

Pike, "The Prostrate State," Allen, "The Administration of Governor Chamberlain in South Carolina," and Nordhoff, "The Cotton States in 1875."

[17] Sage, in Herbert's "Why the Solid South," p. 405.

this period the governor of Louisiana was a young adventurer from the North who found himself at the close of the war without means or acquaintances. Ingratiating himself with the negroes, whom he organized and controlled with remarkable success, he was elected governor and for four years plundered the State with a shameful hand and retired from office with a fortune of no mean amount.

In North Carolina the chief sin of the reconstructionists was the wholesale squandering of public funds in improvements of various kinds. The legislature authorized the issue of over $25,000,000 in bonds for railway construction, and $14,000,000 were actually issued, although not a mile of railroad was built.[18]

The compass of this work will not allow a detailed account of the saturnalia of misrule, extravagance and plunder which afflicted the Southern States during the negro and "carpet-bag" régime. The picture given above will suffice for the rest. In all, as in Mississippi, South Carolina and Louisiana, it was the rule of the ignorant, the corrupt and the vicious, although in none of the others was the plunder and robbery so great.

Under these conditions the whites, who paid 99 per cent. of the taxes and were driven almost to desperation, resorted to violent means for ridding themselves of the negro incubus. This was accomplished by the organization of secret bands, of which the Ku-Klux-Klan, said to have originated in Giles County, Tennessee, in 1866, was the most effective.

At first it was intended to serve as a disciplinary organization for frightening the ignorant blacks into good behavior, but with the political ascendency of the negro the purposes of the Ku-Klux-Klan were perverted to meet the new situation. Its jurisdiction was styled the "Invisible Empire"; the chief functionary was the Grand Wizard; each State was a realm ruled over by a Grand Dragon. Then there were Dominions, Provinces, and Dens presided over by Grand Titans, Grand Cyclopses and Ghouls. The organization was elaborate and mysterious; there was a constitution and a solemn ritual, and a gruesome mode of initiation, all of which appealed to the curious and at the same time excited the fear of the superstitious blacks. The members of the Klan wore hideous disguises, the sight of which at night terrified the negroes and sent them running to their cabins.

[18] Vance, in Herbert's "Why the Solid South," p. 82.

Exaggerated tales were circulated among the freedmen in regard to the character and powers of the Ku-Klux. The mere rumor that they were "riding" in the neighborhood caused every black to retire to his cabin. It was common among them to magnify a band of a dozen into a hundred. They were never visited in their own minds by less than fifty, and the number was usually two or three hundred. The idea was widespread among the negroes during the early days of reconstruction that the Ku-Klux were spirits of dead Confederate soldiers, and were possessed of supernatural powers, such as the ability to take themselves to pieces at will, rattle their bones, and drink whole pailfuls of water. The Ku-Klux practice of conversing in mysterious and unintelligible language, the negroes called "mummicking." In Mississippi they told of a horrible monster who lived in the Yazoo swamps and went about the land with a flesh bag in the shape of a heart, "hollerin' for fried nigger meat."

The "decree" of the camp was sometimes delivered to the person for whom it was intended by the captain, in a pompous manner, and was pronounced as an order of the Grand Cyclops registered in some corner of Hades. If it was simply a warning, the offender was informed that it was the practice of the Klan never to give its warnings but once, and the notice was usually posted in some conspicuous place about the premises of the person for whom it was intended.

The following warning, found on the door-post of a Freedmen's Bureau Agent in Mississippi, in 1868, is an illustration of Ku-Klux methods.

K. K. K. *Dismal Swamp*

2 D, XI.A. *11th hour*

Mene, mene, tekel, upharsin. The bloody dagger is drawn; the trying hour is at hand; beware! Your steps are marked; the eye of the dark chief is upon you. First he warns; then the avenging dagger flashes in the moonlight.

By order of the Grand Cyclops:
LIXTO

Another specimen of this class of document, which was put in evidence before the Congressional Ku-Klux Committee, is here appended, it being reproduced with all its peculiarities.

[A picture of crossed swords, coffin, skull and crossbones, owl, bloody moon and a train of cars, each labeled K.K.K.]

Damn your Soul! The horrible sepulcher and bloody moon has at last arrived. Some live today, tomorrow "Die." We the undersigned understand through our Grand Cyclops that you have recommended a big Black Nigger for Male Agent on our nu rode; wel sir Jest you understand in time if he gets on the rode you can make up your mind to pull roape. If you have anything to say in regard to the matter, meet the Grand Cyclops and Conclave at Den No. 4, 12 o'clock midnight Oct. 1, 1871.

When you are in Calera we want you to hold your tongue and not speak so much with your mouth or otherwise you will be taken on supprize and led out by the Klan and learnt to stretch hemp.

Beware! Beware! Beware! Beware!

PHILLIP ISENBAUM
Grand Cyclops
JOHN BANKSTON
ESON DAVES
WARREN THOMAS
BLOODY BONES

You know who and all others of the Klan

Prominent negro politicians, obnoxious "carpet-baggers," and "scalawags," and even Northern teachers of negro schools, were the most common victims of the Ku-Klux outrages.

After the withdrawal from the Southern States of the military governments between 1868 and 1870 the Ku-Klux disorders increased to such an extent as to threaten the general peace and security of the South. Republican legislatures passed anti-Ku-Klux acts, and Republican governments offered large rewards for persons guilty of going in disguise to commit crime; but public sentiment was too much in favor of Ku-Klux methods to make either effective. Moreover, it was next to impossible to convict anyone if caught and put on trial. Upon the recommendation of President Grant Congress appointed a joint committee to make a thorough investigation of conditions in the South, and the voluminous testimony which it took showed conclusively that many murders had been committed in the Southern States by Ku-Klux bands, besides many outrages of a less flagrant character.

To meet the situation Congress passed, in 1870, the so-called Enforcement Act, giving the Federal courts jurisdiction over certain offenses committed with the intent of depriving colored persons of their rights as citizens of the United States; imposing heavy penalties on all persons guilty of committing or attempting such offenses; and authorizing the President to suspend the writ of

habeas corpus and to make use of the army and navy to enforce the act. In April of the following year Congress passed another Enforcement Act which further extended the jurisdiction of the United States courts and authorized the President to employ the army and navy and to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* if necessary to put an end to the Ku-Klux outrages. It also empowered Federal judges to exclude from juries persons believed to be in sympathy with the Klan. In pursuance of this act the Federal attorneys in the Southern States made special exertions to bring about the indictment of those engaged in committing Ku-Klux outrages, and hundreds of indictments were found, but few convictions followed.

Just after the war, when the South was threatened with grave disorders on account of the sudden emancipation of the entire slave population and the partial collapse of the civil authority, the Ku-Klux organization might have been justifiable, as were the vigilance committees in California in 1851. For this reason the leading men of the South — among them many of the late Confederate commanders like Generals Gordon and Forrest — joined the organization and gave it their support; but when its purposes degenerated into political persecution they withdrew, and henceforth the organization was made up principally of lawless and irresponsible men. Our judgment must be that much of the responsibility for these Ku-Klux disorders must rest ultimately upon the authors of the congressional system of reconstruction. The policy by which political power in the South was suddenly transferred from the hitherto dominant class to their late slaves controlled by adventurers from the North was one of the most dangerous experiments ever undertaken by the law-makers of any country. That such a policy could have been carried out unattended by social and political disorders, especially in view of all the attendant circumstances, no intelligent man will for a moment suppose. History abounds with illustrations of the truth that the secret conclave, the league, and the conspiracy are the sequences of political proscription and disfranchisement. The Illuminés in France, the Tugendbund in Germany, the Carbonari in Italy, and Nihilism in Russia are notable examples. In the Southern States opposition to the congressional policy of reconstruction did not take the form of armed and organized resistance, but of secret retaliation upon its agents and

specially favored beneficiaries, regardless of race, color, or nativity.[19]

Acts were also passed by Congress for the supervision of Federal elections by United States officers, in the hope of securing to colored voters the unobstructed enjoyment of the right of suffrage, which the fifteenth amendment had indirectly conferred upon them. But all such efforts of Congress failed in the end, because, as then attempted, the policy involved negro domination over the white race, an impossible condition. To hand the Southern State governments over to the rule of the ignorant blacks is now generally admitted to have been a grievous error.

For a time the Republicans in the South were able, with the aid of Federal troops, to maintain their power; but as the extravagance and corruption of their rule increased, the discontent of the whites grew in similar proportion. Organized intimidation and ballot box frauds were openly committed for the purpose of defeating the Republicans in the elections. Race collisions and election riots were of frequent occurrence, and in all of them the blacks were the chief sufferers.[20] In several States rival governments were set up and civil war was threatened. Negro militia companies were organized to sustain the Republican governments, but they were ineffective and served only to inflame the passions of the whites and increase their determination to overthrow the Republicans by violence. As time passed the government at Washington showed less readiness to call out troops to interfere at the elections and a growing disposition to leave the Southern State governments to

[19] See Garner, "Reconstruction in Mississippi," pp. 338–353; also Brown, "The Lower South," ch. iv., Fleming, "The Ku-Klux Constitution," and "The Ku-Klux Ritual," and the "Majority and Minority Reports of the Congressional Committee on Affairs in the Insurrectionary States."

[20] In 1874 a battle occurred between the blacks and whites at Vicksburg, Miss., in the course of which 30 or 40 negroes were killed. The affair grew out of trouble between the races on account of extensive frauds and abuses in the administration of the county government, which was chiefly in the hands of colored officials. In the following year an ante-election riot occurred between the whites and blacks at Clinton, Miss., which resulted fatally for many blacks and some white men. Others of less importance took place in other parts of the State. In Arkansas two "carpet-baggers," Brooks and Baxter, rival claimants for the governorship, and their adherents kept up a struggle for two years. President Grant finally settled the matter in favor of Baxter. In Louisiana a somewhat similar struggle was kept up between Kellogg and McEnery, and later between Packard and Nicholls. An armed battle took place in New Orleans, and Kellogg was driven from the State House, whereupon Federal troops intervened and reinstated him.

take care of themselves. Already as early as 1870 the Democrats had regained control of North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Georgia and Virginia. Meantime the progress of the Southern movement was aided by the wholesale removal by Congress of the political disabilities of the Southern whites, and the division of the Southern Republicans into radical and conservative wings, the latter of which joined with the Democratic organizations in their opposition to negro rule.

In 1874 Alabama and Arkansas were carried by the Democrats, and the "carpet-bag" governments in those States came to an end. In the following year, after a remarkable campaign, characterized by violence, riots and wholesale intimidation, Mississippi was "redeemed" and the newly elected Democratic legislature speedily got rid of three of the State officers, including the governor, by means of impeachment.[21] In the following year the "Mississippi plan" was employed with success in the three remaining Southern States which were still "unreclaimed," namely Louisiana, Texas and Florida. Solid Democratic delegations were now sent to Washington, most of the "carpet-baggers" departed from the South, leaving the Southern whites in control, and the unfortunate era of misrule, extravagance, ignorance and oppression happily came to an end. The recent disfranchisement of the negro voters in Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, Alabama, North Carolina and Virginia, and the practical judicial approval by the Supreme Court of these disfranchising constitutions, insures the permanent rule of the white race and removes the incentive for the former disfranchisements by force and fraud.[22]

By decisions of the United States Supreme Court in 1872 and 1875 the Enforcement and Ku-Klux Acts were practically nullified, it being held that they did not apply to the actions of individuals or bands in depriving colored persons of their rights, but only to State action.[23] An act of Congress, passed in 1875, to secure equal treatment of colored persons with white persons in all hotels, theaters, railroad cars, steamboats and other public places, was held by the Supreme Court in 1883 to be null and void as being beyond the power of Congress.[24]

[21] Garner, "Reconstruction in Mississippi," ch. xi.

[22] Williams vs. Miss., 170 U. S. 213.

[23] See the cases of U. S. vs. Cruikshank, 92 U. S. Reports, and U. S. vs. Harris, 106 U. S. Reports.

[24] Civil Rights cases, 109 U. S.

So far, therefore, as the political and social rights of the negro are concerned, the work of the reconstructionists has been largely undone.[25] The civil rights secured to him by the various statutes and amendments, however, remain intact. In acquiring, holding and disposing of property, in entering into contracts, in making use of the courts, in his personal freedom, in the right to engage in any occupation, business or profession that his inclination or capacity may allow; in short, in the right to all the benefits of equal protection of the laws he is on a legal equality with the white man. In the benefits of the public school system he shares equally with the white man, although he bears but an insignificant portion of the burden. Most communities in the South to-day maintain public schools for the benefit of colored children, and there is not a Southern State that does not maintain a university or a normal college for the higher education of the young men and women of the colored race. These were the great results to the negro race of the Civil War and the resulting legislation.

It is only in social and political matters that the colored man is at a disadvantage. The Anglo-Saxon entertains a natural feeling of prejudice against him and refuses to mingle with him on terms of social equality. But this is not a matter that can be changed by legislation; the futile attempts of the reconstructionists to do this show how unavailing such legislation is. The only solution is the elevation of the race through its own exertion to the same mental and moral plane as that occupied by the white race; that done, Anglo-Saxon prejudices will disappear. Until then it will perhaps be better for both races that they should live apart socially. And the same may be said of the political rights of the negro. It is now universally admitted that the sudden investment of the great mass of ignorant blacks with political power so soon after their emancipation was the greatest blunder the reconstructionists committed. The sad years of misrule and plunder which followed in the South abundantly proved this. The right to vote and hold office in a democratic republic like ours is a responsibility which cannot be safely intrusted to the ignorant, either in the North or the South. Those of the negro race who have not qualified themselves by education have no right to complain if they are denied the ballot. And what is said of the disfranchisement of the igno-

[25] See "The Undoing of Reconstruction," by Professor W. A. Dunning, in *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. lxxxviii. p. 437.

rant black applies with equal force to the ignorant white man. Such devices as the "grandfather" clause adopted in some of the Southern constitutions, the real purpose of which is to exclude the ignorant negro and at the same time enfranchise the ignorant white man, are not only indefensible, but wholly unnecessary to the maintenance of white supremacy.

That the future of the colored race must depend largely upon its own efforts, sociologists and economists are practically agreed. Equality in social matters and political privileges are not indispensable, are in fact hardly conducive to its healthy development. What it must have, and what on the whole it does have, is industrial and educational opportunity. Political and social privilege it can easily forego until the race, as a race, has reached a higher intellectual and moral plane.

III

FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1867–1873; THE FRENCH IN MEXICO; PURCHASE OF ALASKA; SETTLEMENT OF THE "ALABAMA" CLAIMS CONTROVERSY

Several episodes in the foreign relations of the United States which occurred during the reconstruction period deserve a brief notice. The first of these grew out of the occupation of Mexico by France during the Civil War. For some time prior to the outbreak of the war Mexico was torn with dissension and was in consequence reduced to a state bordering on anarchy. Within forty years there had been nearly forty revolutions, with counter-revolutions led by some chief of either the Liberal or the Clerical party; and during the same time there had been over seventy supreme executives. Assaults and murders were common in the City of Mexico; the provinces were shaken by guerrilla warfare and the highways terrorized by bands of outlaws. The outrages upon foreigners became so numerous that several European countries were led to make formal protests to the Mexican Government. In 1860 Juarez, the leader of the Liberal party, succeeded in driving out Miramon, the head of the Church party, and installed himself as President of the republic. One of the first acts of the Juarez government was to suspend payment for two years of all foreign debts. Among the foreign nations affected were England, France,

Spain and the United States, who held claims against Mexico amounting to more than $80,000,000. Seeing no prospect of collecting the amounts due, England, France and Spain decided upon joint intervention, and late in 1861 sent ships to Vera Cruz to seize the Mexican customs houses and sequestrate the revenues. But England and Spain, soon becoming dissatisfied with the conduct of France and aroused by her suspicions, withdrew, leaving the French a free hand. The French emperor, Napoleon III., restless and uneasy, now saw a chance, as he thought, to check the supremacy of the United States in matters on the Western hemisphere by establishing a French empire in Mexico. Accordingly, after making a demand upon the Mexican Government for an indemnity which he knew could not be met, and receiving a negative reply, he dispatched an army of 35,000 men to Mexico, and in June, 1863, it triumphantly entered the Mexican capital. The French commander called an assembly, mainly of enemies of the Juarez government, and the convention, under French auspices, decreed the overthrow of the republic and the establishment of an empire. The crown was offered to the Archduke Maximilian of Austria, brother of the present Austrian emperor, Francis Joseph, and in June, 1864, he made a brilliant entry into the Mexican capital, animated by generous motives, but with no better support for the maintenance of his crown than the aid of French troops.[26]

The United States held that the action of France was a violation of the Monroe Doctrine, but as the hands of the government were tied on account of the Civil War it was unable to do more than quietly protest, saying that it could not look "with indifference upon any armed European intervention for political ends in a country situated so near and connected with us so closely as Mexico." After the close of the war, however, Secretary Seward firmly informed the French Government that the United States earnestly desired to remain on friendly terms with France, but that such relations "would be brought into imminent jeopardy unless France could deem it consistent with her interests and honor to desist from the prosecution of armed intervention in Mexico, to overthrow the domestic republican government existing there and to establish upon its ruins the foreign monarchy which had been attempted to be inaugurated in the capital of the country." [27] Na-

[26] Bancroft, "Life of Seward," vol. ii. p. 424.
[27] "Diplomatic Correspondence," for 1865, p. 490.

MAXIMILIAN GOING TO EXECUTION

Painting by Jean Paul Laurens

poleon could not mistake the animus and meaning of Seward's communication, especially when it became known that General Sheridan had been dispatched to Texas with a large force of Civil War veterans for purposes which were well understood. The French army was accordingly withdrawn in February, 1867, leaving poor Maximilian, who had been made the dupe of the French emperor, to shift for himself. The Mexicans did not want him, and a few weeks later an army of Liberals under Juarez, which had been supplied with thirty thousand American muskets by order of General Sheridan,[28] captured and executed him, in June, 1867, under circumstances which called forth general sympathy for the unfortunate Archduke. Thus a valuable lesson was taught the European nations. They were made to understand as they had never understood before that the Monroe Doctrine was not merely an empty declaration, but a living policy to be rigorously enforced at all times and under all circumstances, as occasion demanded — although it is a singular fact that the Monroe Doctrine, while constantly appealed to by the newspapers and politicians, seems never to have been mentioned in any official dispatch from the United States Government.[29]

Another of Seward's diplomatic triumphs, often called his greatest service to his country, was his conclusion of a treaty with Russia for the cession of Alaska. As far back as Polk's administration the United States had offered the Russian government $5,000,000 for the territory, but before an answer was given Polk had retired from the Presidency and the matter was dropped. Since the beginning of the century Alaska had been governed practically by the Russian-American Company, whose charter expired in 1861. On account of the monopolistic character of the company and its unsatisfactory treatment of the natives, the Russian Government hesitated to renew its privileges. To provide the territory with an organized colonial government meant the addition of a large expense to the Russian budget, for a country, moreover, which in case of war with the United States or Great Britain it would be impossible to defend. In view of these circumstances the Czar decided to part with Alaska if a fair price could be obtained. In February, 1867, his minister at Washington, Baron Stoeckel, offered it to the United States for $10,000,000. Seward

[28] Sheridan's "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 224.
[29] Bancroft, "Life of Seward," vol. ii. p. 441.

thought $5,000,000 a reasonable price, but after a brief discussion they compromised on $7,200,000. On the evening of March 27, 1867, while Seward was enjoying a game of whist, the Russian minister called to inform him of the receipt of a dispatch announcing the Czar's acceptance and suggested that the treaty be prepared and signed the next day. Seward replied: "Why wait till to-morrow, Mr. Stoeckel? Let us make the treaty to-night." The necessary clerks were called in, the treaty was drawn up and by four o'clock in the morning it was completed and ready to be laid before the Senate, which was done a few hours later, to the great surprise of every member except Sumner, who knew of what had taken place.[30]

The treaty, however, did not meet with general popular favor. Although a vast area of 577,000 square miles had been acquired, it was popularly believed to be only a dreary frozen region of polar bears and glaciers and inhabited only by savages. It seemed an utter waste of money to buy such an inhospitable country. But there was one consideration which probably turned the scales in favor of ratification; namely, the friendly attitude of Russia toward the United States during the Civil War. She refused Napoleon's proposition of intervention in 1862, and in the following year sent a fleet to America on a friendly visit — not to aid the United States in case of war with France or Great Britain, as is often asserted.[31]

It was largely out of gratitude to Russia, therefore, that her offer to sell Alaska was accepted, although Seward and Sumner fully appreciated its enormous strategic and economic value to the United States. The treaty was ratified with only two dissenting votes, and the House, after much opposition, made the appropriation. The purchase removed a possible source of dispute between the two countries, since it put an end to Russian dominion on the American continent. The price paid was then considered large, but in view of the valuable fisheries and furs, as well as the immense natural resources of the country subsequently discovered, there is no longer any doubt that it was an excellent bargain. The receipts of the government from the sealing industry of the Pribylov Islands alone have amounted to more than $12,000,000.[32]

[30] Bancroft, "Life of Seward," vol. ii. p. 477.

[31] Read O. W. Holmes' poem, "Who was Our Friend when the World was Our Foe?"

[32] Foster, "Century of American Diplomacy," p. 410.

The purchase of Alaska was the beginning of a general but premature expansion movement which followed the Civil War. Indeed, Seward declared that he wished to see the Union extended from the Pole to the Tropics. Before Lincoln's death negotiations had been opened, and later a treaty was concluded with Denmark, for the cession of the Danish West India Island of St. Thomas for $7,500,000; but the treaty, although approved by a plebiscite of the inhabitants and ratified by the Danish Riksdag, did not meet the approval of the Senate, partly on account of a sudden change of sentiment as to the value of the island as a naval station, caused by a destructive earthquake and hurricane on the island while the treaty was pending, and partly because of a feeling that no further acquisitions of foreign territory were desirable. After the rejection of the treaty the House adopted a resolution declaring that "in the present financial condition of the country any further purchases of territory are inexpedient, and this House will hold itself under no obligation to vote money to pay for any such purpose."[33] An effort was then made by President Grant to bring about the annexation of the Dominican Republic, the "African Republic" of the Ostend Manifesto, comprising the eastern portion of the Island of San Domingo, altogether about 28,000 square miles in area. The President took the greatest interest in the project and seemed unable to understand why anyone should oppose it.

In May, 1869, he sent one of his private secretaries, General Babcock, in a man-of-war to San Domingo to inquire into the condition and resources of the island. In September Babcock, acting without instructions, concluded a treaty with one Baez for the annexation of the island, the United States to assume the Dominican debt of $1,500,000. The President transmitted the treaty to the Senate, with a message setting forth the resources of the island in exaggerated terms, as was then thought, but which it is now believed were within the limits of reason. But the project aroused strong opposition in the Senate, partly on account of the belief among some of the Senators that the negotiation had been tainted with corruption, and partly because the little negro republic, then as now a hot-bed of revolution, was not wanted. Besides, the manner of negotiation, doubt as to the authority of Baez, and the arbitrary use of the navy by Babcock, added much to the

[33] "Congressional Globe," 1867, p. 702.

opposition. The treaty accordingly failed to receive the necessary two-thirds vote of the Senate.

At the opening of the next session of Congress the President again recurred to the subject in his annual message and made an earnest plea for the ratification of the treaty, but the most that Congress would do was to provide for a commission to visit the island and inquire into its political condition and natural resources. As members of the commission the President appointed Benjamin F. Wade, of Ohio, Andrew D. White, of New York, and Samuel G. Howe, of Massachusetts, all men of high character and ability. They made an exhaustive investigation and reported that the President's claim that the island could supply the United States with all the sugar, coffee and other tropical products needed for its own consumption was well founded, and they recommended annexation. But the Senate took no action, and the President did not again press the matter, although he referred to the subject in his last annual message nearly six years after the project was first broached, and asserted that if his views in the matter had been followed the country would have been in a more prosperous condition.

An unfortunate incident of the controversy was a break between the President and Senator Sumner. Sumner was chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and led the fight against the treaty, although it had been chiefly through his powerful support that the Alaska treaty was ratified. For some reason he had conceived a strong dislike for Grant, and in the course of the debate delivered a severe attack upon the President, charging him with personal corruption — a charge which even Grant's own enemies rejected. The language of the speech was undignified, intemperate, and totally unworthy of the Massachusetts senator. After that the President never had any personal intercourse with him, and caused his removal from the chairmanship of the Foreign Relations Committee.[34] In obeying the executive mandate to drop Sumner from his position many senators, says Blaine, committed an act against their conception of right and justice, as well as against what they believed to be sound public policy.[35] As a fur-

[34] Storey, "Life of Charles Sumner," p. 396. Storey denies that Sumner entertained a personal dislike of Grant, but see Blaine, "Twenty Years of Congress," vol. ii. p. 460.

[35] "Twenty Years of Congress," vol. ii. p. 461.

ther punishment of the Massachusetts senator the President removed his intimate personal friend, Mr. Motley, from the position of minister to England.

But the chief diplomatic event of President Grant's administration was the amicable adjustment of the irritating dispute growing out of Great Britain's failure to observe strictly the rules of neutrality during the Civil War. Her chief offense had been in allowing vessels intended for the Confederate service to be built and fitted out in British shipyards. The most noted of these Confederate cruisers was the *Alabama*, built by Messrs. Laird and Sons, of Birkenhead. While the ship was in course of construction the United States minister to Great Britain, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, protested to the British Government that the vessel was being built for the Confederate service, and produced what he considered the necessary evidence to sustain his allegation. But the Crown lawyers uniformly advised Her Majesty's Government that a sufficient case against the vessel had not been made, for the terms of the British Foreign Enlistment Act were rather uncertain. This act prohibited "the fitting out, equipping, and arming of vessels for warlike purposes," but did not, they asserted, prevent the building of a warship as one operation and the purchase of arms and munitions to equip such vessel when built, as another operation.[36] Mr. Adams demanded that the government detain the *Alabama*, but he was put off with excuses and delays until at last she escaped from British waters upon the pretense of making a trial trip and made her way to the Azores. Here she was met by two British vessels, which supplied her with the necessary armament and other equipment. Hoisting the Confederate flag in August, 1861, she started out under the command of Raphael Semmes upon her wonderful career of destruction, creating consternation and terror wherever she went. Sweeping across the Atlantic and capturing over twenty United States vessels, she turned southward through the Gulf of Mexico and the West Indies, passed along the coast of Brazil, thence sailed to the region of South Africa, and finally to Cherbourg, France, where, in the summer of 1864, after a sharp engagement, she was sunk by the *Kearsarge*. Altogether, the *Alabama* had destroyed sixty vessels, aggregating ten million dollars' worth of property.[37] "It is clear," said Seward,

[36] C. F. Adams, Jr., "Life of C. F. Adams, Sr.," p. 307.
[37] Bernard, "Neutrality of Great Britain," pp. 362-370.

in a dispatch to Adams, "that there will be no commerce left to the United States if the transaction of the '290' [the alias of the *Alabama*] is to be repeated without check and with impunity."[38] Among other vessels built in English shipyards and which played havoc with the American merchant marine were the *Shenandoah*, which made thirty-six captures; the *Florida*, which made thirty-seven, and the *Tallahassee*, which made twenty-nine. A number of other Confederate commerce destroyers were built in British ports, only to be abandoned or wrecked soon after, though some were detained by the British authorities on evidence of their hostile character.

At the close of the war Mr. Adams laid before Earl Russell, the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, a statement of the American losses occasioned by the depredations of the English built Confederate cruisers, and proposed that the claims of the United States be submitted to arbitration. This proposition Earl Russell met with a flat refusal, saying that the British Government disclaimed all responsibility for the acts of the Confederate cruisers and that it would neither make reparation nor permit the question to be referred to the arbitration of any foreign state.[39] Earl Russell was succeeded in the Foreign Office, in 1867, by Lord Stanley, who, although more kindly disposed toward the United States, would not consent to recognize the claims which as then presented were rather exaggerated.

In the following year Mr. Adams retired from the British mission and was succeeded by Reverdy Johnson of Maryland, a man eminent in law and in politics. Mr. Johnson speedily concluded a treaty in February, 1869, with Lord Clarendon, who had in the meantime succeeded Lord Stanley as Minister of Foreign Affairs; but the treaty proved to be very unsatisfactory on account of the extraordinary concessions which it made to Great Britain, and on account of the mode provided for the choice of an umpire. It was, therefore, almost unanimously rejected by the Senate, and indignation was expressed by some members at the thought of acceptance. "It offered not one word of regret," said Senator Sumner, "or even of recognition," nor any "semblance of recognition," and was, in fact, only a convention for the settlement of private claims. "Nothing was said," he continued, "of the in-

[38] Bancroft, "Life of Seward," vol. ii. p. 386.
[39] Moore, "International Arbitrations," vol. i. p. 496

dignity to the nation, nor want of the damages to the nation." In the meantime General Grant had become President, and in his annual message of December, 1869, he announced his entire disapproval of the treaty, and expressed the belief that in view of the unfavorable state of public opinion created by it, further attempts at negotiation had better be suspended until a returning sense of justice in the British Government would make it possible for the two nations to approach each other on more friendly terms.[40] Thus a year passed without any action. In his annual message of December, 1870, the President recommended that the government ascertain the amount of the various claims and assume their payment, so as to give them an international status, and to keep the question squarely before the British authorities in that light.

In the beginning of 1871 Great Britain sent Sir John Rose to the United States to ascertain whether negotiations looking toward the settlement of the question in dispute would be acceptable to the President. The United States Government received his advances with cordiality, and on January 26 Sir Edward Thornton, the British minister at Washington, formally proposed the appointment of a Joint High Commission to meet at Washington for the purpose of devising means for settling the various matters at issue between the two countries — a proposition which was readily accepted by the American Government. The President appointed as commissioners on the part of the United States Hamilton Fish, Ebenezer R. Hoar, Justice Samuel Nelson, Robert C. Schenck, and George H. Williams. The British Government selected as its commissioners Earl of Grey and Marquis of Ripon, Sir John MacDonald, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Edward Thornton, and Montague Bernard. The Joint Commission entered at once upon its task, and on May 8 concluded an agreement which received the prompt approval of the two governments, and which is known as the Treaty of Washington. In addition to the settlement of the dispute growing out of the *Alabama* claims, provision was made for the adjustment of the differences with regard to the Northeastern fisheries by the appointment of a mixed commission to meet at Halifax, pass upon the relative value of the reciprocal privileges granted each of the contracting parties in the treaty of 1854, and award Great Britain a sum of money equal to the difference. Finally, provision was made for submitting to the arbitration of

[40] Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," vol. vii. p. 34.

the Emperor of Germany the dispute concerning the Northwest boundary. The treaty also expressed "the regret felt by Her Majesty's government for the escape of the *Alabama* and other vessels . . . and for the depredations committed by them."

For the settlement of the *Alabama* claims provision was made for an international court of arbitration to consist of five members to meet at Geneva, Switzerland. The arguments of both parties were to be delivered not later than six months after the exchange of ratifications, and the decision of the tribunal was to follow, if possible, within three months from the close of the arguments on both sides. In case the tribunal should find that Great Britain had failed to fulfill any of her neutral duties it might, if it should think proper, proceed to award a sum in gross to be paid by Great Britain to the United States for all claims referred to it, which amount was to be paid in coin within twelve months after the date of the award. Of the five arbitrators one was to be appointed by each of the governments concerned, one by the King of Italy, one by the Emperor of Brazil, and one by the President of the Swiss Republic. The rules agreed upon by the contracting parties for the guidance of the tribunal in the interpretation of certain terms used in the treaty, and of certain principles of international law governing the obligations of neutrals were: "(1) A neutral government is bound, first, to use diligence to prevent the fitting out, arming, or equipping, within its jurisdiction, of any vessel which it has reasonable ground to believe is intended to cruise or to carry on war against a power with which it is at peace; and also to use like diligence to prevent the departure from its jurisdiction of any vessel intended to cruise or carry on war as above, such vessel having been specially adapted, in whole or in part, within such jurisdiction, to warlike use; (2) not to permit or suffer either belligerent to make use of its ports or waters as the base of naval operations against the other, for the purpose of the renewal or augmentation of military supplies of arms, or the recruitment of men; (3) to exercise due diligence in its own ports and waters, and, as to all persons within its jurisdiction, to prevent any violation of the foregoing obligations and duties." The agreement on the part of Great Britain to these rules was qualified by the declaration that "Her Majesty's Government cannot assent to the foregoing rules as a statement of principles of international law which were in force at the time when the claims mentioned

arose, but in order to evince its desire of strengthening the friendly relations between the two countries, and of making satisfactory provision for the future, agrees that the arbitrators should assume that the British Government had undertaken to act on the principles set forth in the rules."

The arbitrators appointed were Charles Francis Adams, on the part of the United States, Sir Alexander Cockburn, on the part of the British Government, Count Sclopis, a distinguished Italian jurist and man of letters, appointed by the King of Italy, Count d'Itajuba, by the Emperor of Brazil, and Mr. Jacob Staempfli, by the President of Switzerland. An imposing array of eminent counsel was appointed by each side to conduct its case before the tribunal, those for the United States being Mr. William M. Evarts, Mr. Caleb Cushing, and Mr. Morrison R. Waite, afterward Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. On December 15, 1871, the tribunal organized by the election of Count Sclopis as president, and began its long sittings. After receiving the printed cases of each side and ordering the filing of the counter cases on or before April 15, the tribunal adjourned to June 15. The aggregate of claims for direct damages amounted to $26,101,907.[41] The American case also included claims for the *indirect* damages caused by the Confederate privateers, such as the increase in rates of insurance, the national expenditures incurred in fitting out vessels in pursuit of Confederate cruisers, the transfer of American shipping to the British flag, and the prolongation of the war. No estimate of the indirect damages was submitted, but the amount ran far into the millions. But a storm of opposition arose in England, and the British Government finally announced that such damages should not be included in the claims submitted to the tribunal. But the American Secretary of State insisted with equal firmness that they should be, and for a time it looked as if all the efforts to settle the differences would end in failure and the two governments would be thrown back into the position occupied before the conclusion of the Treaty of Washington. At this juncture, however, the tribunal settled the matter by deciding against the American contention as one not well founded in international law. The government of the United States accepted the ruling, and the tribunal proceeded with its work, which was completed early in September. The case of each of the English built Confederate cruisers was dis-

[41] Moore, "International Arbitrations," vol. i. p. 500.

posed of separately, the tribunal deciding in each case that the British Government had not acted with "due diligence" as defined in the Treaty of Washington, and condemning Great Britain to pay to the government of the United States the sum of $15,500,000 in gold.[42] With regard to the *Alabama* the tribunal declared that Great Britain had omitted, notwithstanding the warnings and official representations of the diplomatic agents of the United States, to take in due time effective measures of prevention, and that the orders which it did give were issued so late that their execution was not practicable. The British arbitrator protested with ill grace, and refused to sign the award. Altogether the decision met with general disapproval throughout England, but in due time the amount was paid and the long standing controversy ended.

The dispute with regard to the boundary between the United States and British Columbia was decided by the German Emperor in October of the same year (1872), the award sustaining the claim of the United States.[43] In the fisheries dispute the contention of the British Government was that the rights and privileges granted by Great Britain to the people of the United States by the reciprocity treaty of 1854 were more valuable than those granted by the United States to the people of Canada, and that a specified sum should be paid to the government of Great Britain as an offset. By the Treaty of Washington it was agreed, as already stated, that the British contention should be referred to a commission of three persons, one appointed by each of the two governments concerned, while the third was to be selected conjointly. The first two commissioners were promptly selected but were unable to agree upon a third. As the agreement provided, the Austro-Hungarian ambassador was referred to, and he named Mr. Delfosse, Belgian minister at Washington, the very man to whom the United States had objected on account of the close relations between Belgium and Great Britain. Our government felt great surprise, but promptly accepted Mr. Delfosse and congratulated him on his appointment. The commission finally met at Halifax in 1877, and made its award in November of the same year, nearly seven years after the conclusion of the Treaty of Washington.[44] By a vote of two to

[42] See Moore, "International Arbitrations," pp. 653–659, for the text of the award.

[43] *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 230.

[44] *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 745.

one, Great Britain was awarded the sum of $15,500,000 in gold. The American commissioner protested, and the feeling was strong throughout the country that the amount of the award was out of all proportion to what it should be. The government protested, but finally paid the amount into the British treasury, and a little later gave notice of its intention to renounce the treaty.

Our relations with Spain during Grant's administration were greatly strained, and for a time war between the two countries seemed imminent. In 1868 the Ten Years' Insurrection of Cuba against Spain broke out, and the barbarous methods by which the Spanish Government undertook to suppress the insurrection elicited general sympathy in the United States for the struggling Cubans. In the summer of 1869 the President prepared a proclamation according the rights of belligerency to the Cubans, but on account of the earnest protest of Secretary Fish against this course the proclamation was never issued. Nevertheless, the United States remonstrated against the inhuman Spanish methods in Cuba, a fact which caused great irritation in Spain. The American legation building at Madrid was threatened, American vessels were seized and searched in an offensive manner, and American citizens were maltreated and even murdered.

All this was exasperating enough, but matters were brought to a climax by the affair of the *Virginius*, which occurred in October, 1873. The *Virginius* was an American merchant vessel, and while en route from Jamaica to Costa Rica, October 30, 1873, she was captured by a Spanish man-of-war at a point about sixty miles from the coast of Cuba. She was boarded by a Spanish officer and the crew and passengers were made prisoners, sent to Santiago, speedily tried by a court-martial, and fifty-four of them, including a number of British subjects and American citizens were put to death. The character of the *Virginius* was questionable, and the seizure may have been justifiable, but the summary execution of those on board upon conviction by a drum-head court-martial was unwarrantable, and the United States protested. The news of the affair caused great excitement, and indignation meetings were held in many places. The government prepared for war, and the American minister at Madrid was instructed to demand reparation, and if it was not given within twelve hours he was to close the legation and leave Madrid. But happily war was averted. Spain agreed

to restore the *Virginius*, surrender the survivors and salute the American flag on Christmas Day following. In the meantime, it having been made to appear to the satisfaction of the United States that the *Virginius* was not entitled to carry the American flag, the salute was dispensed with.[45]

[45] Davis, "International Law," p. 491.

Chapter XXXVII

GRANT'S SECOND TERM. 1873–1877

I

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1872

MEANWHILE the time for another presidential election had come around with its usual political turmoil and disturbance to business. General Grant's administration had given much dissatisfaction to some Republican leaders, and it was the subject of widespread popular criticism, irrespective of party. He had filled many of the offices with his personal friends and relatives without consulting either Cabinet or leaders, and quite a number of his appointees turned out to be rascals. He was himself strictly honest and had good intentions, but seems to have committed the blunder of supposing that all men were like himself in this respect.[1] It was found easy to impose upon him, and some of the unscrupulous politicians took advantage of his good nature to gain his ear, only to abuse the trust which he reposed in them. The result was scandalous demoralization and much corruption in high circles at Washington almost unprecedented in the history of the government. "The Civil Service had become," declared the Liberal Republican convention at Cincinnati, "a mere instrument of partisan tyranny and personal ambition, . . . a scandal and a reproach to free institutions."[2] Aside from political scandals a great many of the more conservative and liberal-minded Republicans were disgusted with the President's Southern policy. The "carpet-bag" governments, with their carnival of misrule and plunder, had caused many of the better Republicans to blush with shame and feel that a great wrong had been committed, not only to the people of the South, but to the entire country. They refused to endorse further such a policy or to support those

[1] Hoar, "Autobiography of Seventy Years," vol. i, p. 305.
[2] Stanwood, "History of the Presidency," p. 343.

who were responsible for it. Among those who thus broke away from the ranks of the regular Republicans and formed the "liberal movement" were Horace Greeley, Charles Francis Adams, son of President John Quincy Adams, Senator Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, and his colleague, David Davis; Carl Schurz, senator from Missouri, an able man of German birth; Stanley Mathews, George W. Julian, Horace White, David A. Wells, Cassius M. Clay, George William Curtis, John G. Whittier, Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, Charles Sumner, Alexander Kelly McClure, and many others. They were supported by some of the most influential newspapers of the country, such as the *New York Tribune*, Chicago *Tribune*, and the Cincinnati *Commercial*. Senator Sumner, in a speech in the Senate on May 31, 1873, entitled "Republicanism v. Grantism," asserted that the party had become the "instrument of one man and his personal will. . . . Not only," he said, "are the Constitution and the law disregarded, but the presidential office itself is treated as little more than a plaything and a perquisite." [3]

The Liberal Republican movement had its beginning in Missouri, where, under the leadership of Carl Schurz and B. Gratz Brown, a section of the Republican party, disgusted with the proscriptive policy which had been pursued against the ex-Confederates of that State, broke away from their party, joined with the Democrats, and carried the State on a platform favoring a removal of the disabilities of ex-Confederates. In response to a call issued by the Liberal Republican convention of Missouri, a national mass convention of Liberal Republicans was held at Cincinnati, May 1, 1872. The convention was largely attended and contained among its delegates some of the ablest leaders of the Republican party, representing every shade of opinion, but all united in their opposition to "Grantism." A platform was adopted demanding the removal at once of all the political disabilities of ex-Confederates, the cessation of military rule in the South, the supremacy of civil over military power, the reform of the civil service, and as a fling at Grant, declared that no President should be eligible to succeed himself. The platform charged that the administration had wantonly disregarded the laws, that the President had prostituted his high office for personal ends, that he had kept "notoriously corrupt and unworthy" men in office, that he had interfered in local affairs with "tyrannical

[3] Storey, "Life of Sumner," p. 413.

arrogance," and that he was "culpably careless" and "deplorably unequal" to the task imposed upon him by the necessities of the country. Not being able to agree upon a tariff plank, no declaration was made on this subject, and so the party went before the country uncommitted. The coöperation of all patriotic citizens, irrespective of previous political affiliations, was invoked for the success of the principles thus set forth.

A more difficult task than framing a platform was the nomination of a candidate to run against Grant. Charles Francis Adams seemed to be the first choice. Like his father, he was a trained statesman and a finished scholar, and had rendered distinguished diplomatic service; but like his father, also, he lacked tact and was deficient in the personal qualities of a successful politician or a manager of men. Just before the meeting of the convention he wrote a letter to David A. Wells expressing indifference with regard to the nomination and saying that if he was expected to make certain pledges they might "take him out of that crowd."[4] His characterization of the convention as a "crowd" was resented, and he was dropped. David Davis, of Illinois, a justice of the United States Supreme Court, was also a prominent candidate, but the Eastern delegates developed a hostility to him, and he, too, was likewise dropped. After balloting for a while for Senator Trumbull and Horace Greeley, the convention finally nominated Mr. Greeley for President and, with him, B. Gratz Brown for Vice President.

Horace Greeley was known far and wide as the brilliant but eccentric editor of the *New York Tribune*, the most influential Republican newspaper, perhaps, in the country. Of humble birth, he left his father's farm in Vermont in early life and went to Erie, Pennsylvania, where he engaged in the printer's trade. From there, after a short stay, he moved to New York City, journeying partly on foot and partly by canal boat, reaching the metropolis in August, 1831, with scarcely a dollar in his pocket. Again he engaged in the printing business at six dollars a week. Saving up a little money he founded the *Tribune* in 1841, which rapidly grew in influence, until it came to be read by nearly every Republican and Whig in the country. Greeley soon became a powerful writer, and one of the leaders of the Republican party; but with a style almost vitriolic, he made enemies, and consequently never won the political

[4] Stanwood, "History of the Presidency," p. 340.

recognition to which his eminent talents entitled him. As a polemic writer, with the faculty of lucid statement and forceful reasoning, he was easily the ablest editor that the country had ever produced.

On July 9 the Democratic national convention met at Baltimore, nominated Greeley and Brown, and adopted the Liberal Republican platform, showing thereby that indifference to their party, their convictions, and their traditions, which has been their chief stumbling block for the past thirty years. Ever since he entered political life Mr. Greeley had been the relentless and implacable foe of the Democratic party, and now they had nominated him for the Presidency. The very prince of protectionists, he had consistently assailed free trade doctrines with all the power with which he was so abundantly endowed. But he was opposed to Grant, and had won the sympathy of the Southern Democrats by stepping forward and signing the bail bond of Jefferson Davis,[5] and by his earnest advocacy of universal amnesty. Greeley was accepted by the Democrats simply because they realized the impossibility of contending successfully against Grant with a real Democrat, and they wanted first of all to beat the Republicans and gain office on any terms. It was, in truth, a case of "anything to beat Grant."

On June 5 the national Republican convention assembled at Philadelphia and renominated, amid great enthusiasm, General Grant for President without a dissenting voice, and with him Henry Wilson, one of the Massachusetts senators, for Vice President. Wilson, like Lincoln and Johnson, was of humble origin, and early in life followed the occupation of a shoemaker, but by force of character and native ability he rose to be a United States Senator in a State which has always been distinguished for the high character of the men it sends to the upper house of Congress. The platform adopted by the Republicans was devoted largely to glorification of Republican policies and achievements. It declared that the party had "accepted with grand courage the solemn duties of the time," that it had "suppressed a gigantic rebellion, emancipated four million slaves, decreed the equal citizenship of all, established universal suffrage, and exhibited unparalleled magnanimity to reb-

[5] At the close of the war Mr. Davis was captured in Georgia and imprisoned in Fortress Monroe for about two years, where he was held on the charge of treason against the United States. He was finally released on bail, but was never put on trial.

1873

els." Nothing was said in eulogy of the administration, but a reform of the civil service laws was recommended, "which shall abolish the evils of patronage and make honesty, efficiency, and fidelity the essential qualifications for public positions." [6]

Throughout the campaign the regular Republicans argued that the election of Greeley would mean the restoration of the Democrats to power and the consequent loss of many of the fruits of the war, an argument which undoubtedly had great weight in the campaign. Mr. Greeley personally took the stump and undertook to stem the tide which the September elections showed to be setting in against him. His speeches were able, earnest, and were delivered to large and responsive audiences throughout Pennsylvania, Missouri, and Ohio. But they were not convincing to the majority of the voters, and Grant swept the country as no candidate had done since Monroe's unopposed election in 1820. He carried every Northern State, and all but six in the South. In the Southern States the Greeley nomination was too bitter for the old-time Democrats to swallow, and they stayed away from the polls and allowed the election to go by default. Many Northern Democrats did likewise. At the same time many timid Republicans of the liberal way of thinking were alarmed at their own hardihood, and unwilling to come under the Democratic wing, re-considered in time and cast their votes for Grant.

Mr. Greeley's defeat had a melancholy termination. He was one of the most ambitious of men politically, and he eagerly hoped for success. He was not unprepared for defeat, but the greatness of it was more than he expected and more than he could bear. Only the day before the election he had followed the body of his wife — the faithful companion of his long struggles — to the grave. Heart-broken with bereavement, sorely disappointed at the result of the election, his vigorous constitution shattered by the strain of years of incessant labor, his mind gave way, and he had to be carried to an insane asylum, where, in a few weeks, his great career came to an end. The people of all sections, and of all parties, forgot the political antagonisms and estrangements of the past, and remembering only his magnanimity, his purity of heart, his intellectual greatness, and his noble impulses, united in honoring the memory of one of the Republic's most remarkable men.

[6] Stanwood, "History of the Presidency," p. 347.

II

THE INAUGURATION; FRAUDS IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE; FINANCIAL PANIC OF 1873

President Grant was inaugurated for a second time on March 4, 1873 — an occasion long remembered by those present for the severity of the cold and dreariness of the day. The President pronounced a brief inaugural address, in which he referred to the circumstances under which he had been called into public life, alluded to the criticism directed against him, and declared that he looked forward with the greatest pleasure to the time when he should be released from the cares and responsibilities of public office. "I have," he said, "been the subject of abuse and slander scarcely ever equaled in political history," but in view of the result of the election, such criticism, he felt, might be diregarded.[7] Unfortunately, however, his second administration was to be characterized by even greater political demoralization and corruption than the first. Scandal, fraud, and extravagance seemed to permeate all the departments of the government. This condition, his friends alleged, was the necessary consequent of such a convulsion as the Civil War; while Grant, with his purely military training and habits, was not the man to understand or resist the evil forces.

One of the most extensive series of frauds was discovered in the Treasury Department. A number of officials in the internal revenue service had been bribed by the manufacturers of whisky to secure immunity from the payment of the high tax on spirits, as a result of which the government was thus defrauded of about $4,000,000 of revenue. The "Whisky Ring," as the conspiracy was called, had its headquarters at St. Louis, and branches at Milwaukee, Peoria, Chicago, Cincinnati, and New Orleans. Through the vigorous efforts of Mr. Bristow, Secretary of the Treasury, the frauds were discovered, but with difficulty on account of the perfect organization and ingenious methods of the "ring." About $3,500,000 of distillery property was seized, and 238 persons were indicted, including distillers, collectors, revenue agents, supervisors, gaugers, storekeepers, and others, the President's position being tersely stated in his directions to the prosecuting officers to "let no guilty man escape." Among those indicted was General Or-

[7] Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," vol. vii. p. 223.

1873

ville E. Babcock, the President's private secretary and "aide de camp," who had negotiated the treaty with San Domingo; but he was acquitted. A few of the conspirators were also convicted, but were shortly afterward pardoned.[8] In March, 1876, a committee of the House conducted an exhaustive investigation of the subject and made a report giving startling revelations of the disgraceful condition of the civil service at the time.

The management of the Post Office and Interior Departments was also marked by scandals, but of less extent than those in the Treasury Department. The Bureau of Indian Affairs was found to have had its ring of contractors, who exploited the government and defrauded the Indians of the supplies to which they were entitled by treaty, causing great discontent among them and ultimately leading to outbreaks. The Secretary of War, William Worth Belknap, was charged with accepting a bribe for making an appointment to the position of post trader in the Indian Territory, and investigation showed that he had received thousands of dollars in the form of bribes for other appointments, and for awarding contracts. He was speedily impeached by the House of Representatives, but before the Senate could reach his case he resigned to escape conviction. The President was widely and deservedly criticised for accepting the resignation, thus preventing the Senate from going on with the trial.

Members of Congress themselves did not escape from the taint of corruption during a time when corruption seemed to be everywhere. The most widely known instance arose in connection with the notorious *Credit Mobilier* — a corporation organized under the laws of Pennsylvania in 1865 to construct the Union Pacific Railroad from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean.[9] The promoters of the scheme, desiring favorable legislation for the road, placed stock in the hands of influential members of Congress, "where," as one of them remarked, "it would do the most good." The fact soon became known, and the New York *Sun*, of September 4, 1872, published the story under the headlines: "*The King of Frauds! How the Credit Mobilier Bought Its Way Through Congress!*" This journal asserted that 30,000 shares of stock, worth $9,000,000, had been distributed as bribes

[8] See article, "Whisky Ring," in Lalor's "Encyclopædia of Political Science," vol. iii. pp. 1112-1113.

[9] See Hoar, "Autobiography of Seventy Years," vol. i. pp. 314-324.

among members of Congress, and these charges were widely circulated during the election campaign of 1872.

Congress investigated the charges, through a committee under the chairmanship of Luke P. Poland, of Vermont, found them to be partly true, and strongly censured two of its members, Oakes Ames, of Massachusetts and James Brooks, of New York.[10] The whole affair was probably the most extensive legislative scandal ever known in the United States.[11] But some of those involved were innocent, while others, who had accepted stock, were not guilty of the criminal motives imputed to them by a clamorous public. The popular disgust with Congress was further increased by an act passed in 1873, raising the salaries of members from $5,000 per year to $7,500, and making the law retroactive for more than a year. There was not so much objection to the increase of salary in view of the general financial condition of the country, and the great increase in the cost of living, but the retroactive feature of the law was furiously attacked and denounced as the "back salary grab." It was as if the members had voted themselves a gratuity of several thousand dollars apiece. The measure created such a storm of indignation throughout the country that some of the more timid members refused to accept the increase, while others who had done so, fearing the displeasure of their constituents, returned the extra amount to the treasury. The popular clamor was so great that the same Congress which passed the act repealed it. All of these things made excellent Democratic capital in the congressional election campaign of 1874, and to this stock of capital was added a widespread financial panic in 1873.

For several years a wave of speculation and extravagance had swept over the country. Thousands of miles of railroad had been constructed in regions where railroads were hardly needed. Business enterprises of every character had been established, frequently on borrowed capital, an extraordinary inflation of prices had occurred and over-issues of money had followed. The panic began by the failure of the great banking house of Jay Cooke & Co. of Philadelphia, on September 18, 1873.[12] In the short space

[10] "Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia," 1872, pp. 213, 671.

[11] Alexander Johnston, in "Lalor's Encyclopædia," vol. i. p. 709.

[12] In September, 1869, occurred the great gold conspiracy in New York, which was an attempt of Jay Gould, James Fisk, and one Corbin, a brother-in-law of the President, to corner the supply of gold. To further their project they

of one month thousands of commercial establishments were prostrated, the wages of hundreds of thousands of workmen were cut off, stock exchanges, trust companies, and banking concerns were overthrown, the government was compelled to curtail its customary payments of the public debt, and general financial distress prevailed throughout the entire country.[13]

The Democrats, of course, in accordance with the customary practice of political parties, charged this to the administration in power, and, with the frauds which had been unearthed in the government service, went before the people in the congressional elections of 1874 and swept the country. The old Republican State of Ohio now elected a Democratic governor. New York elected as governor Samuel J. Tilden, who had won distinction by his prosecution of the notorious "Tweed Ring" in the metropolis. The Republican majority of nearly a hundred in the House of Representatives was now turned to a Democratic majority almost as great, and James G. Blaine, who had been Speaker for the past six years, was replaced by Michael Kerr, of Indiana, a Democrat. For the first time since 1860 the Democrats were in a position where they were able to control to some extent the policy of the government.

III

RESUMPTION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS; REFUNDING OF THE NATIONAL DEBT; THE GREENBACK MOVEMENT; LEGAL TENDER DECISIONS

Of far-reaching importance also during Grant's administration was the legislation concerning the national finances — the one thing above all others that stands out to the credit of the Republican party during the troublous years which followed the war. Toward the end of the war, and for several years thereafter, the

gained the ear of the President, and persuaded him to promise to issue an order suspending the customary sale of $1,000,000 worth of gold per month. They then proceeded to buy all the gold in sight, causing pandemonium in the money market, which culminated in a day long remembered as Black Friday. But unfortunately for them, Grant was convinced of his error, and was induced to order the sale of $5,000,000, which had the effect of breaking the conspiracy and ruining the conspirators. The derangement of the money market, however, was but temporary.

[13] "Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia," 1873, p. 270.

country was especially fortunate in having two singularly strong men in control of the national finances. These were Salmon P. Chase and Hugh McCulloch. The national debt at the close of the war was, as has been said, about $2,800,000,000. The management of this debt was one of the herculean tasks of the Secretary of the Treasury, and McCulloch, who became Secretary in 1865, discharged this duty with distinguished ability. Beginning in 1866, he retired $66,000,000 of the "greenbacks" from circulation, when Congress, yielding to the popular clamor, particularly in the West, directed that no more should be withdrawn.[14] Through McCulloch's skillful management the national debt had been reduced by more than $200,000,000 before he retired from office in 1869, and the public confidence had been greatly restored.

The faith of the people in the promises of the government was still further strengthened the same year by a resolution of Congress announcing that at the earliest practicable moment the government would resume specie payments — that is, it would pay in coin or its equivalent all obligations except where expressly stipulated in the issue that they might be paid in legal tender notes. It was in truth a creditable stand for national honesty, and a declaration of war against repudiation and financial dishonesty. The Democratic party, however, protested against resumption on the ground that payment in coin would contract the volume of currency and entail unnecessary hardships upon the people. They attributed the financial stringency of 1873 mainly to the promise of resumption, and demanded the abandonment of that policy.[15]

In July, 1870, Congress passed an act, which was supplemented by another in January, 1871, for refunding the national debt in bonds bearing five, four and one-half and four per cent. interest. These acts authorized the issue of $500,000,000 of bonds at five per cent., redeemable after ten years, $300,000,000 at four and one-half per cent., redeemable after fifteen years, and $100,000,000, at four per cent, redeemable after thirty years. These bonds were all exempted from taxation, and were made payable in coin. By thus refunding the bonds of the government at a lower rate of interest than they were then paying, an annual saving of several millions of dollars in interest was insured. By the act of July, 1870, the income tax was repealed, to take effect

[14] Bolles, "Financial History of the United States," vol. iii. p. 280.
[15] John Sherman, "Recollections of Forty Years," vol. i. p. 521.

January 1, 1872, and the duties on tea, coffee, sugar and certain iron and steel products were lowered, thus greatly reducing the revenues of the government. By separate acts passed in the summer of 1872 various internal taxes were removed, the duties on tea and coffee were entirely repealed, and the tariff on various imported articles was reduced ten per cent.

In February, 1873, the Republican Congress passed another financial measure, the merits of which have until this day been a mooted question. This was the act for the demonetization of silver, the "Crime of '73," as its enemies dubbed it. It enacted that the old silver dollar of 412½ grains should be dropped from the list of coins. This "discrimination" against silver was followed by a great fall in the price of silver bullion and created much dissatisfaction, particularly in the West. The cry was soon raised for the restoration of the "dollar of our daddies," and in a few years Congress yielded and restored it to its old place in the monetary system.

One of the results of the business depression of 1873 was the creation of a widespread demand for the inflation of the currency. Under such conditions there is always a large class of people who believe that the proper remedy for all economic and financial ills is more money — fiat money, if necessary. At the time of which we are now writing this belief was not confined to the ranks of the Democratic party; a large and respectable portion of the Republican party, in fact, felt that the demands of the country required an increase of the volume of currency. Early in 1874 Congress passed an act for this purpose, providing for the increase of the national currency to the extent of about $100,000,000. The President, who had led his friends in Congress to believe that he favored such a measure, promptly vetoed it, having apparently been persuaded of his error.

Finally, before surrendering the House of Representatives to the Democrats, Congress passed, in January, 1875, the celebrated Resumption Act, for the resumption of specie payments — one of the most far-reaching financial measures ever enacted by the Congress of the United States. Its chief provision was that which declared that after January 1, 1879, all the paper obligations of the United States should be redeemed in specie. All the Democrats of both houses voted against it, and some twenty Republicans voted with them. President Grant approved the measure

after suggesting certain additional legislation to make it more effective.[16] Thus Congress fulfilled its solemn pledge of 1869, and just ten years after the close of the war it was announced that the strength of the Republic was such that the government would in four years begin to redeem in coin the enormous volume of paper obligations issued to carry on the war. It was a striking tribute to the wise management of the national finances since the war, as well as to the prosperity and unwavering honesty of the people.

The Supreme Court was also called upon to contribute its share in the financial readjustments of the period. As stated in a previous chapter, the act of 1862, giving the legal tender character to the treasury notes issued by the government was strongly opposed, both on constitutional grounds and for reasons of expediency. After the war the question was taken to the courts in order to test the validity of the law, and in 1869 the Supreme Court decided by a vote of five to three that Congress had exceeded its constitutional authority in passing the act.[17] Curiously enough, the opinion was given by Chief Justice Chase, who, as Secretary of the Treasury, had issued the legal tender notes. He asserted that he had never favored giving the legal tender quality to paper currency, and the majority of the justices concurred with him in the view that not only had Congress no power to make anything but gold and silver coin a legal tender, but it was unnecessary since the circulation of the notes was assured by making them receivable for all national taxes and dues to the government.

The decision was a great disappointment to the government, but the disappointment was short lived. One of the justices who pronounced against the validity of the legal tender act died soon afterward, and Congress created an additional justiceship, thus making two vacancies on the Supreme bench. President Grant thereupon appointed two justices who were favorable to the Legal Tender Act, the case was reconsidered, and the decision reversed by a vote of five to four in 1872, the Court holding that the making of the treasury notes a legal tender in the payment of debts was an appropriate means of prosecuting the war, and was not expressly prohibited by the Constitution.[18] "The time and the circumstances under which they were issued," said the Court, "must

[16] Blaine, "Twenty Years of Congress," vol. ii. p. 563.

[17] Hepburn vs. Griswold, 7 Howe, p. 700.

[18] The Legal Tender Cases, 12 Howe, p. 457. The charge was made that the

be taken into consideration." A great civil war was waging, and the existence of the government was threatened, large armies and navies had to be supported, the treasury was empty, the credit of the government was exhausted, banks had suspended specie payments, taxation was insufficient, the army was unpaid, and the expenses of the war exceeded one million dollars per day. Congress was called upon to meet these emergencies, and it had a choice of means to meet so legitimate an end. All it did, said the Court, was to enact that the promises of the government to pay should for the time being be treated as equivalent in value to the representatives of value determined by the coinage acts. Finally, in 1884, the Court went further and declared that not only could Congress create a legal tender currency as a war measure, but it could do so in time of peace as well.[19]

IV

INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS; THE CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION; INDIAN TROUBLES IN THE WEST

The eight years of President Grant's administration were years of recuperation and industrial progress. One of the notable events of the time was the completion in the first year of his term of the first transcontinental railway to the Pacific Ocean. The discovery of gold in Colorado and Montana had caused a movement of immigration to the Rocky Mountain region, and the rapid development of the Pacific Coast had created a demand for railway communication with the East. Moreover, the Civil War had shown the strategic value of having all parts of the Republic bound together by railroads. Yet the cost of building a railroad across this vast and sparsely settled country, covered with high mountain barriers, was so enormous that private capital could not be tempted to make the venture. But the benefit of such a road to the country as a whole appeared to be so unquestioned that the government was induced to aid in the work. Two companies were organized, the

President had "packed" the court purposely to secure a reversal of the decision, but there seems to be no evidence that he knew the views of either appointee beforehand. See Hoar, "Autobiography of Seventy Years," vol. i. p. 289.

[19] Julliard vs. Greenman, 110 U. S. Reports, p. 421.

Central Pacific to build the line eastward from the Pacific Coast, and the Union Pacific to build from Omaha westward, and their bonds were guaranteed by the government. As an additional inducement they were given every alternate section of land on both sides of the road, aggregating many millions of acres, which the railroad companies were able to sell at good prices. Starting in 1862, the two roads met at a point near Ogden, Utah, in 1869, and the last spike was driven with impressive ceremonies. At last the far-off Pacific region was firmly united with the East, and its industrial development now bounded forward with rapid strides.

But in this period of progress set-backs occurred, and two of the largest cities of the country, Chicago and Boston, were each devastated by terrible fires, the former in October, 1871, the latter in November, 1872. The population of Chicago at the time of the fire was about 300,000, and it stood fifth among the great cities of the country. The fire began on Sunday evening, October 8, and continued in spite of all efforts to check it until the following Tuesday morning. It swept from street to street, devouring massive stone blocks as if they were cardboard boxes. The detonations, the falling of walls, the roar and crackle of the flames, the excitement of the people, and the light of the burning buildings presented a grand but awful spectacle. The total area covered was 2,124 acres; 17,450 structures were burned; nearly 100,000 persons were rendered homeless, 250 persons lost their lives, and about $290,000,000 worth of property was destroyed.[20] It was the most disastrous fire in the history of the country, and more than fourscore insurance companies were made bankrupt. From all over the country contributions for the relief of the stricken city poured in, and within a month three and a half million dollars had been received. The enterprising people of the city were sorely tried, but the burning embers had barely cooled before they began the work of reconstruction, and carried it forward on a scale, and with a determination, which won the admiration of the entire country.

The Boston fire began on Saturday evening, November 9, and was not checked until the following Monday. Sixty-five acres of buildings were laid waste, comprising the business district and including many of the finest blocks in the city. Some eight hun-

[20] "Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia," 1871, p. 394.

dred buildings were destroyed, and the total loss amounted to about $80,000,000.

In the final year of Grant's administration, the centennial of American independence, a great exposition was held at Philadelphia, the birthplace of the Republic. Not only the United States, but, in jubilee with them, the leading nations of the world assembled their varied products of agriculture, science, commerce, manufacturing, and the other industrial and mechanical arts. The exhibition was a splendid proof of the industrial progress of the country during the first one hundred years of its existence as an independent nation, and it was especially fitting that it should have been held in Philadelphia, the "Home of Independence," and a city famous for its historic places. The government of the United States lent its aid to the extent of two million dollars, the city of Philadelphia appropriated one and a half million dollars, and the State of Pennsylvania one million, while forty-three foreign nations accepted invitations to participate in the exhibition.[21] The Exposition was held in the beautiful Fairmount Park on the banks of the Schuylkill. Five mammoth structures, the Main Building, Machinery Hall, Agricultural Hall, Horticultural Hall and Memorial Hall, the latter a beautiful granite building costing $1,000,000, and intended to be permanent, together with numerous smaller buildings covering altogether about two hundred acres, were erected. The gates of the Exposition were opened on May 10 with impressive ceremonies and in the presence of one hundred thousand spectators, including President Grant and the Emperor of Brazil. Wagner composed a special march, a thousand voices sang Whittier's noble Centennial hymn, Lanier, the Georgia poet, read his "Centennial Ode," and Richard Henry Lee, whose grandfather moved the Declaration of Independence in the Continental Congress, read the declaration from the original copy amid the prolonged cheers of the multitude.

For the first time in the history of the country the varied products of all climates and peoples were brought together and placed on exhibition. The American display of textiles, vehicles of transportation, musical instruments, watches, tools, and furniture surpassed those of any other nation. The exhibit of American-made machinery was especially creditable and attracted the greatest attention. The art collection was the poorest feature

[21] "Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia," 1876, p. 703.

of the exhibit, but it was nevertheless the largest and most notable ever seen in America up to that time. The country had been devoted chiefly to industrial development, practical invention and manufacturing, rather than to the fine arts, and one of the valuable lessons of the Exposition was to lead Americans to a realization of the superiority of the European nations in this particular, and to stimulate them to greater interest in art and the finer aspects of civilization. The attendance at the Exposition was very large. All through the summer and autumn tens of thousands of visitors from every quarter of the land poured into the city and filled the fair grounds. On one day, September 28, 275,000 persons passed through the gates. From the first to last there were 9,900,000 admissions, more than those of any previous international exposition, except that of Paris in 1867, where the gates were open nearly two months longer than were those at Philadelphia.

While the country was happy in the contemplation of the industrial progress of the United States as revealed by the Exposition, and the people were rejoicing at the pacification of the South and the termination of all domestic and international controversies, they were suddenly shocked by the news of a frightful Indian massacre in the West. As already noted, the administration of Indian affairs during President Grant's term had been such as to create great discontent among the Indians in various localities. Contractors systematically swindled them, while unscrupulous agents withheld the government supplies to which they were entitled, so that in some cases the Indians were reduced to the verge of starvation.

In 1872 the Modoc Indians of Oregon became turbulent and refused to remain on their reservation. General E. R. S. Canby, a veteran of the Mexican and Civil Wars, was sent against them, but they retreated to the lava beds and prepared to resist the United States. The advance of the American troops was greatly impeded by the peculiar topography of the country, and a good many of them were picked off by Indian sharpshooters concealed behind the rocks and crags of the lava beds. Efforts were then made to negotiate with them, and on April 8 an unarmed conference was held between General Canby and two peace commissioners, on the one hand, and a number of Modocs, including their chief, Captain Jack, on the other. While seated on stones around a small fire, two Indians who were concealed in the bushes rushed

from their hiding place with guns and shot to death General Canby and one of his companions. A vigorous campaign was now begun against the treacherous Indians, and in the following summer General Jefferson C. Davis, who succeeded General Canby, captured the Modoc band. Captain Jack and three other leaders were tried by military commission and hanged, while two others were imprisoned for life. Altogether the war cost half a million dollars, sixty odd soldiers and Indian allies were killed and nearly as many wounded.

A more disastrous Indian war was that against the Sioux of Dakota, Montana and Wyoming, in the summer of 1876. A large portion of this tribe under their chiefs, Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse, and others, refused to be assigned to a particular reservation which the government had set aside for them, and besides persisted in making war on Indians friendly to the United States. The government prepared to bring the rebellious Indians to obedience by force, and they in turn made ready for a determined resistance. Three columns, led by Generals Gibbon, Crook and Terry, moved forward with the intention of closing in simultaneously upon the hostile Indians. Lieutenant-Colonel George A. Custer, with the Seventh United States Cavalry, six hundred strong, was sent by General Terry to make a detour, and in June he pursued Sitting Bull into the valley of the Little Big Horn River. At this juncture Custer detached over two hundred of his men and sent them under command of Major Reno to cross the river and strike the hostile Indians from another direction. With only 262 men left Custer, May 25, suddenly came upon Sitting Bull's force, numbering 2500 warriors. The brave little band dismounted and prepared to make their last stand. Presently the whole army of the Indians swooped down upon them, stampeded their horses, causing them to run away with bags of ammunition, and in twenty-five minutes all was over. Not a single man was left alive to tell the tale. The remaining companies of the Seventh Cavalry were saved by the brave and prudent conduct of Major Reno and the timely arrival of General Terry.[22]

[22] "Appleton's Cyclopædia," 1876, p. 43.

Chapter XXXVIII

HAYES AND THE END OF THE SOUTHERN QUESTION
1877–1881

I

THE TILDEN-HAYES CONTEST; THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION

WHILE the country was sorrowing over the awful tragedy on the Little Big Horn, the Republican national convention was gathering at Cincinnati for the purpose of nominating its candidates for President and Vice President of the United States. There were no more Grants and Lincolns, and consequently for the first time since the accession of the Republican party to power, sixteen years before, the work of the national convention was undetermined in advance by public opinion. The leading candidate in the popular estimation was James G. Blaine, of Maine, a statesman of great promise, who had been a prominent member of Congress since the outbreak of the war and had served for several terms as Speaker of the House of Representatives. He was placed in nomination by Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll, who referred to the candidate as a "plumed knight" who "marched down the halls of the American Congress and threw his shining lance full and fair against the brazen foreheads of the defamers of his country and the maligners of his honor." [1] This eloquent outburst had reference to charges affecting Blaine's personal integrity in connection with the *Credit Mobilier* scandal. It was true that Blaine had courted investigation, and he was cleared of the charge to the satisfaction of his friends, but there were many who were not so thoroughly convinced. In consequence of the state of public opinion at this time respecting corruption in high places during the last four years, and the practical certainty that reform would be one of the chief issues in the approaching campaign, it was deemed inexpedient to nominate anyone whose

[1] Crawford, "Life of James G. Blaine," p. 389.

record was not spotless. This was the view of the late Senator Hoar, who said, "I did not think it wise to put at the head of a movement for reform and for purity of administration a man whose supporters must defend him against such charges, and who must admit that he had most unwisely, of his own accord, put himself into a position where such charges were not only possible, but plausible."[2] Furthermore, Blaine was somewhat radical on the Southern question, and it was feared would not be strong in the States of the South. He was therefore defeated by what Webster called the "far-seeing doctrine of sagacious availability." Other prominent candidates were Senator Oliver P. Morton, the noted war governor of Indiana; Roscoe Conkling, the brilliant senator from New York and the devoted friend of General Grant, and Benjamin F. Bristow, of Kentucky, Secretary of the Treasury, who was the candidate of the reform elements in the party, a man of spotless integrity and great ability. He was well remembered for the service which he had rendered the country in unearthing the whisky frauds and in breaking up the ring of conspirators. Moreover, coming from Kentucky, his selection would tend to remove the charge of sectionalism from the Republican party and give it strength with the white people of the South. The convention met on June 14, and three days later the balloting began. On the first ballot Blaine led with a large plurality, receiving nearly enough votes to nominate him. Bristow received the second largest number, and Morton followed third. On the second ballot Blaine gained eleven votes. On the sixth ballot his strength had risen from 285 to 308. When the seventh ballot opened the New York and Pennsylvania delegates retired for consultation, and under the lead of Conkling and Cameron determined to unite on a candidate and defeat the nomination of Blaine. As the roll call proceeded there was a stampede to Governor R. B. Hayes, of Ohio, who had from the first been supported by the Ohio delegation, and who on the fifth ballot had received the vote of the Michigan delegation as well. He was nominated, and with him William A. Wheeler of New York for Vice President. The platform contained more than the usual number of platitudes with regard to liberty, equality, civil and political rights, and the like. It eulogized the deeds of the Republican party, declared in favor of a thorough-going reform of the civil

[2] "Autobiography of Seventy Years," vol. i. p. 379.

service, asserted that the pledge with regard to the resumption of specie payments must be fulfilled, "recognized" the pacification of the South, and affirmed that the protection of all citizens was a sacred duty.

The nomination of Governor Hayes was a surprise to the country and a disappointment to many, as "dark horse" candidates usually are. He was a graduate of the Harvard Law School and had served four years in Congress without gaining any special distinction. He had gone through the war, rising to the rank of brigadier general, and was serving his third term as governor of Ohio at the time of his nomination to the Presidency. He was a conservative Republican, conciliatory in disposition, of good sense, quiet and unostentatious in his methods and pleasing in manners. Sometimes belittled by historians, he was nevertheless above the average in ability of the men who have been chosen to the Presidency and his administration was marked by tact, good judgment, and excellent intentions. "He was," says Senator Hoar, "one of the wisest, sincerest, and most honest and patriotic men who ever held the office." [3]

Two weeks after the nomination of Hayes and Wheeler the Democratic national convention met at St. Louis full of hope at the prospect of success in the approaching election. The Democratic "landslide" in the elections of 1874 and the "recovery" by the Democrats of most of the Southern States, together with the cloud under which Grant's second term was approaching its end, inspired additional hope. Moreover, the Democrats were no longer at sea for a candidate as in 1873. They had at hand an irresistible leader of the Jacksonian type — one of the most striking figures that the Democracy had produced since Jackson's day. Public opinion had already settled upon him and the convention had but to ratify the popular choice. This man was Samuel J. Tilden, Governor of New York. Tilden was an able lawyer and through extraordinary industry and ability had acquired vast wealth. He was now more than three score years of age, and although he had not achieved high political honor until late in life, he had been an influential leader in the politics of a State where politics is an art of the highest skill.

He was a shrewd political manager, trained in the famous school of the Albany Regency. Having won fame by breaking

[3] "Autobiography of Seventy Years," vol. i. p. 382.

up the notorious "Tweed ring" in New York City, the people of the State elected him governor. As the executive of the State he destroyed the "canal ring" and brought about other notable reforms in the administration of the State government. Of all men in the country, therefore, he seemed the most fitted to lead the party in a campaign in which civil service reform was to be the chief issue. Tilden was accordingly nominated on the second ballot and by a unanimous vote. Governor Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana was nominated for Vice President. The platform adopted was notable as being the most elaborate declaration of principles ever put forth by a national nominating convention. Much of it was cast in the form of an indictment against the Republican party and in the language of vituperation. The paramount and all-pervading sentiment was the necessity for reform in the administration of the government. Other declarations recognized the finality of the slavery amendments, denounced the existing tariff law as unequal and unjust, and demanded the repeal of the Resumption Act on the strange ground that it was a hindrance to the resumption of specie payments.[4]

Two minor political parties came into existence about this time, and both nominated candidates, adopted platforms of principles and conducted regular campaigns. The first of these was the Greenback party, which advocated the payment of the government obligations in greenbacks and an increase of the volume of currency by the issue of paper money. The other was the Prohibition party, which demanded the prohibition of the traffic in intoxicating liquors. The Greenback party nominated for President the venerable Peter Cooper, the New York philanthropist, and the Prohibitionists put forward Green Clay Smith as their candidate. Neither party was strong enough to choose a single elector, and neither, therefore, affected the general result.

It was clear from the first that the Democrats had put up strong candidates, and that in consequence of the general disgust at corruption in the government service they stood an excellent chance of winning at the polls. On the morning after the election nearly all the newspapers of the country announced that Tilden was chosen. Most of the Republican leaders likewise conceded it. But there was one notable exception. This was the manager of the Republican campaign, the astute Zachariah Chandler, who,

[4] Stanwood, "History of the Presidency," pp. 375–378.

in the early morning hours of the day following the election, sent out the following telegraphic dispatch: "Rutherford B. Hayes has received 185 electoral votes, and is elected." On the face of the returns Tilden had carried the Northern States of New York, New Jersey, Indiana and all the Southern States. But Mr. Chandler having received what he regarded as evidence of fraud and intimidation in the three Southern States of Florida, Louisiana and South Carolina, decided to set up a claim to those States, knowing that they were still under "carpet-bag" governments, largely maintained by Federal troops, and could, therefore, be manipulated in any way that the Republicans wished.

Tilden had unquestionably received 184 votes, or one less than the number required to elect without counting the vote of the three disputed States. Hayes had undoubtedly received 166 votes, exclusive of the Florida, South Carolina and Louisiana vote. In other words, Hayes would need the entire vote of these States to elect him. This vote could be secured by the Republican "returning boards"—bodies which had full power to determine the results of the elections in these States — by throwing out the votes of any place where in their opinion fraud and intimidation had occurred, and counting the vote for Hayes and Wheeler. This was done despite the fact that, as the "cipher dispatches" subsequently proved, as the Republicans have always claimed, that Mr. Tilden and the Democrats were themselves trying to get control of these boards by purchase or otherwise. The electoral vote from these States was sent to Washington, certified to by the Republican "returning boards," as having been cast for Hayes and Wheeler. Another set of returns was sent up by the Democratic authorities, who claimed that theirs was the true return. There were also double returns from Oregon, arising from the discovery that one of the three Republican electors who had been chosen to cast the vote of that State was technically disqualified under the Constitution of the United States, and being compelled to resign, the Democratic governor gave the certificate to the Democrat elector receiving the highest number of votes. If Tilden could get the vote of this elector he would be secure. But this was not to be. The Republican canvassing officer certified to the election of the three Republican electors, and hence a disputed return was sent to Washington.

There can be little doubt, however, that the Republicans had

honestly carried Oregon and that Hayes and Wheeler were entitled to its electoral vote, but probably the reverse was more nearly true in the case of the disputed Southern States. The Constitution of the United States provides that the electoral vote of each State shall be sent to the seat of government addressed to the President of the Senate, who shall in the presence of the two houses open all certificates and the votes shall then be counted. The president of the Senate was a Republican, and a few of his party took the stand that by the Constitution he was vested with power to count the electoral vote, and hence to decide upon the disputed returns. But the language of the Constitution had never been so interpreted, and, in fact, could not be without doing violence to its spirit and letter, and no president of the Senate had ever ventured to claim such power. Indeed, no occasion had ever arisen for it, since there had never been a dispute as to the electoral vote when such dispute would affect the result. The only reasonable interpretation, therefore, was to hold that the duty of counting the vote in case of a dispute devolved upon the two houses acting concurrently. This would have been an easy enough matter to settle in 1874, when both houses were Republican, but now that only the Senate was Republican and the House of Representatives Democratic, the prospects of an agreement seemed shadowy indeed. The prize was so large that both parties determined to do everything within their power to get possession of it. The situation was, indeed, grave, intense excitement prevailed throughout the country, and threats of open resistance were made in some quarters. Some of the hot-heads threatened to raise an army and prevent the installation of Hayes in the event he should be declared elected, but the great majority of the party did not approve of any such lawless action. Moreover, President Grant had quietly strengthened the military forces about Washington for the purpose of suppressing any disorder which might arise. This, the Democrats asserted, was done for the purpose of intimidation and with a view of installing Hayes in the Presidency by the aid of the army of the United States.

In the meantime, all eyes were turned to Congress as the only authority which could settle the difficulty. What would it do? On December 14, 1876, the House appointed a committee of seven to act with a similar committee of the Senate to determine upon some mode of counting the electoral vote. On the

18th the Senate appointed a similar committee, and the two acting conjointly soon got down to work to find a solution. Plan after plan was proposed and rejected. Finally a scheme was agreed upon, reported to the two houses and adopted. It provided for the creation of an Electoral Commission to be composed of five members of the Senate, five members of the House of Representatives, and five members of the Supreme Court. To this commission were to be referred all questions touching the electoral return from any State, and its decision was to stand unless rejected by the concurrent votes of the two houses. The five members chosen by the Senate consisted of three Republicans and two Democrats; the five chosen by the House consisted of three Democrats and two Republicans; four justices of the Supreme Court, two Republicans and two Democrats, were designated by the act creating the commission, and these four were directed to choose the fifth man, who would be the umpire in every question of disputed returns. At the time the act was under discussion it was agreed that Justice David Davis should be the fifth man. Before the war he had been a Republican and a close friend of Mr. Lincoln, by whom he had been appointed to the Supreme bench, but during the reconstruction period he had turned Democrat and was a supporter of Mr. Tilden in the late election. He called himself an independent, and was believed to be freer from party prejudice than any other member of the Court. The Democrats were entirely willing to risk their case in his hands, and they had almost unanimously voted for the bill creating the Electoral Commission, with the understanding that Judge Davis would be the fifth man. The Republicans on the other hand were not at all convinced of Judge Davis's freedom from political bias, and it is significant that strong opposition to the electoral scheme was developed in their ranks.

But just at this moment all plans and calculations were upset by the unexpected action of the Illinois legislature in choosing Judge Davis to a seat in the United States Senate, whether for the purpose of upsetting the plans of the Democrats or not will never be known. Be this as it may, having been chosen to a political office by a Democratic legislature, the impropriety of his serving as umpire was evident, and the four justices chose Justice Bradley, a Republican, as the fifth. The commission now consisted of eight Republicans and seven Democrats.[5] The Demo-

[5] The commission was as follows: Justices of the Supreme Court — Nathan

crats, however, still had hopes, since they had to gain only one of the disputed votes to win the Presidency, while the Republicans had to gain all. Both parties were represented before the commission by as imposing an array of eminent counsel as could be found in the country. The Republicans took the position from the first that the commission could not go behind the returns of the canvassing boards; that the decision of these boards as to the returns in their respective States was final; that neither Congress nor any agency created under its authority could inquire into or interfere with the choosing of the electors; and that the authority of Congress was restricted by the Constitution merely to the ministerial function of counting the votes certified to and sent to Washington by such authorities as the States may have created for that purpose. They insisted furthermore that as the Democrats had always claimed to be champions of the rights of the States as against the powers of the national government they should accept this view or forever lay themselves liable to the charge of gross inconsistency.

But the Democrats felt that if they were not entitled to a verdict by strict adherence to the law, equity and justice were on their side since it was almost incontestable that they had then been counted out in the three Southern States by canvassing bodies made up of ignorant negroes and "carpet-baggers," whether they had carried the elections fairly or not. The Republican argument, however, prevailed with the commission, or rather with the Republican members of it, and by the strict party vote of eight to seven it decided that the certificates issued by the governors of the four disputed States were conclusive as to the electoral votes of those States, and they were accordingly given to Hayes and Wheeler. In the early morning hours of March 2, but two days before the beginning of the new presidential term, they were proclaimed by the president of the Senate to have been elected President and Vice President respectively of the United States. The Democrats, of course, were sorely disappointed, and a number of the more radical members of the House resorted to dilatory motions in order to retard the progress of the count and prevent

Clifford, Samuel F. Miller, Stephen J. Field, William Strong, Joseph P. Bradley.
Senators — George F. Edmunds, Oliver P. Morton, Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, Thomas F. Bayard, Allen G. Thurman.
Representatives — Henry B. Payne, Eppa Hunton, Josiah G. Abbott, James A. Garfield, George F. Hoar.

its completion before March 4, when the duty of choosing a President would have devolved upon the House, voting by States. "When fraud is law," said one of the prominent Democratic members, "filibustering is patriotism."[6] A large number of the prominent Democrats of the House, however, including the Speaker, Samuel J. Randall, were opposed to all obstructive tactics intended to prevent the completion of the count, and through the resolution of the Speaker the dilatory motions were ruled out of order and the count completed. Threats were also made that Hayes should not be inaugurated, but Mr. Tilden caused it to be known that he strongly disapproved of such outbursts and advised his friends to submit to the decision of the commission. Mainly through the influence of Senators Lamar of Mississippi and Bayard of Delaware the Democrats accepted their defeat in a manner which was, on the whole, exceedingly praiseworthy.[7] Great relief was felt that the difficulty had been settled without trouble. For weeks there had been uneasiness and anxiety throughout the country in view of the reports, probably unfounded, that the Democrats would not submit to the installation of Hayes. Never had a presidential election come so near to precipitating the country into a civil war. Now that the crisis had passed it behooved Congress to make a permanent provision for counting the electoral votes thereafter in case of disputes, so as to avoid the dangers with which the country had been threatened.

II

BEGINNING OF A NEW ERA; THE RAILROAD STRIKE OF 1877; ANTI-CHINESE AGITATION; MONETARY LEGISLATION

Rutherford B. Hayes was inaugurated President on March 5, 1877 — the 4th falling on Sunday — although he had already taken the oath the day previous as a matter of precaution. He felt keenly the accusations printed in many Democratic papers that he was a fraudulent President and that another ought to be in his place. But he was not to blame, nor could he have well refused to obey the decision of Congress that he was the legally elected President. Nevertheless, he soon won the good opinion of his

[6] Cox, "Three Decades of Federal Legislation," p. 638.
[7] Hoar, "Autobiography of Seventy Years," vol. ii. p. 41.

Democratic critics by the announcement in his inaugural address that he proposed to withdraw the remaining Federal troops from the Southern States and leave the "carpet-bag" governments to take care of themselves. "The fact is clear," he said, "that in the progress of events the time has come when wise, honest, and peaceful self-government is an imperative necessity required by all the varied interests, public and private, of those States."[8] He, therefore, proposed to put the white people of those States upon their good faith and honor as regards their treatment of the black population. Indeed, it was asserted that Mr. Hayes had, before the decision of the commission, given assurance to leading Southerners that if the decision were in his favor he would pursue a different policy toward the South from that pursued by his predecessors. This part of the inaugural address caused a good deal of dissatisfaction among the more radical Republicans, but was strongly approved by the conservative element.[9] The President speedily carried into effect his new Southern policy, withdrew the Federal troops and allowed the "negro carpet-bag" governments to which he owed his office to collapse in Florida, South Carolina and Louisiana. They were succeeded by Democratic governments which the President recognized,[10] and thus the long and disgraceful era of "carpet-bag" rule came to an end in the South. In every Southern State the white people were now in control of their local governments, and the South now entered upon a period of progress and political quietude. But the President's Southern policy and the circumstances of his nomination and election caused him difficulty and embarrassment. He had, throughout his entire term, to encounter the opposition of all the principal leaders of his party in both houses of Congress. Conkling treated him with contempt, both in public and in private; Blaine was disgruntled chiefly because of his own defeat and partly because he was unable to dictate the appointment of a Cabinet member; while Cameron, Hamlin and others were hostile for various reasons. "With the exception of Stanley Mathews of Ohio and my colleague, Mr. Dawes," says the late Senator Hoar, "I was, I believe, the only

[8] Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," vol. vii. p. 443.

[9] Blaine, "Twenty Years of Congress," vol. ii. p. 595.

[10] The radical Republicans asserted, with some truth, that in recognizing the Democratic governments in these States and installing them in the places of the Republican governments the President was in effect acknowledging that Tilden had carried these States at the recent Presidential election.

cordial supporter of the President in the Senate." [11] Besides the opposition in his own party, the House of Representatives contained a Democratic majority during the first half of his term, and during the second half both Houses were against him.

The Cabinet selected by President Hayes was one of exceptional ability; perhaps there has never been a stronger since the beginning of the government.[12] Its more prominent members were William M. Evarts of New York, Secretary of State; John Sherman of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; Carl Schurz of Missouri, Secretary of the Interior, and Charles Devens of Massachusetts, Attorney General.

Among the new members of the Senate who had already won distinction in the lower House were George F. Hoar of Massachusetts, James G. Blaine of Maine, James B. Beck of Kentucky, Benjamin H. Hill of Georgia, and L. Q. C. Lamar of Mississippi. Of the new senators who had never served in Congress were David Davis of Illinois, who exchanged a seat on the Supreme bench for one in the Senate; Samuel J. Kirkwood of Iowa, A. H. Garland of Arkansas, Stanley Mathews of Ohio, and J. Donald Cameron of Pennsylvania, who succeeded his father Simon Cameron.

The House of Representatives organized by the election of Samuel J. Randall, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, Speaker over James A. Garfield of Ohio. Among the new members who entered Congress for the first time were Thomas B. Reed of Maine and William McKinley of Ohio.

The administration of President Hayes marks the beginning of a new order of things. The "carpet-bag" governments in the South had disappeared and the rule of the white man had succeeded. The vexatious Southern question which had been paramount since the close of the Civil War no longer forced itself to the front to disturb the returning friendliness between the people of the two sections. Two years before, Mr. Lamar of Mississippi had delivered in the House a brilliant eulogy upon the life and character of the late Senator Sumner, of all men the one whose memory was, perhaps, most execrated in the South. This tribute to the memory of a Northern abolitionist and negro suffragist from a former Southern secessionist was one of the signs of returning cordiality between the North and the South, and it created a pro-

[11] Hoar, "Autobiography of Seventy Years," vol. ii. p. 7.
[12] *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 16.

found impression throughout the country. Its concluding sentiment, "My countrymen, know one another, and you will love one another," was a sympathetic appeal for more intimate relations between the two hitherto hostile sections.[13] The incident was frequently referred to as the burial of the "bloody shirt"; it brought tears to the eyes of Speaker Blaine, who pronounced it a "mark of positive genius,"[14] and caused Lamar to be called "an inspired pacificator, who would stand out unique, almost incomprehensible, to other times." The people now turned from the discussion of the old questions growing out of secession, civil war, and reconstruction to the new questions of economic and industrial development.

One effect of the new conditions was the growth of powerful corporations and the rise of the problem of the relations between capital and labor. One of the results was the organization of a national labor party and the rise of the Grange movement. The "Grangers," or "Patrons of Husbandry," was an organization designed to promote the special interests of the farming class, particularly with respect to better transportation facilities and lower railroad rates. It was organized at Washington in 1867, mainly through the initiative of a clerk in the Department of Agriculture, but did not flourish until several years later. The organization was secret and membership was restricted to those actually engaged in agricultural pursuits. There were district, State and national organizations, and by 1873 there were not less than 13,000 subordinate Granges. In 1875 it had a total membership of 1,500,000, its chief strength being in the South and West, and it was soon to play an important part in the politics of these sections. Although the Grange was supposed to be a non-political organization, it nevertheless actively advocated legislation favorable to the farming interests and was largely instrumental in securing the enactment of the Interstate Commerce Law, the law creating experiment stations, the law creating the Department of Agriculture and others.

This period was also marked by the rapid growth of labor organizations and the rise of the labor agitator, both being accelerated by the enormous increase of immigration and the growth of the urban population. The "strike," the "boycott"

[13] Mayes, "Life, Times, and Speeches of L. Q. C. Lamar," p. 184.
[14] "Twenty Years of Congress," vol. ii. p. 546.

and the "black list" now made their appearance as weapons of laborer or employer.

It was in the mining regions of Pennsylvania that labor troubles first became so serious as to disturb the peace and security of society. A secret society known as the "Molly Maguires" was organized among the mining laborers of this State somewhat after the order of the Ku-Klux-Klan in the South. It terrorized districts of Pennsylvania and committed horrible atrocities upon employers and their agents, many of whom were assassinated, beaten or blackmailed. The "Mollies" had their signs, passwords and ritual. So numerous did they become that it was almost impossible to convict one, since they were always represented on the juries. Taking an active part in politics, they carried the local elections and were themselves chosen to many of the local offices. After terrorizing the coal regions of Pennsylvania for several years, the organization was finally broken up through the skillful work of detectives and vigorous prosecution by the law officers. Several of their leaders were captured, convicted and hanged.

These disorders in Pennsylvania were followed in July, 1877, by a great strike of railway employees — the greatest in fact that had ever occurred in the history of the country, and affecting nearly 100,000 laborers. The principal lines involved were the Baltimore & Ohio, the Pennsylvania, the Erie and the New York Central, aggregating about 6,000 miles in length. The immediate complaint of the striking employees was a ten per cent. cut in wages, but there were also grievances such as irregular employment, tardy payment, etc.[15] The employees of the Baltimore & Ohio ceased work on July 14, and were followed almost simultaneously by the employees of the other lines. For two weeks traffic in the portion of the country served by these lines was almost at a standstill. When attempts were made to fill the places of the striking employees with other men the strikers undertook to interfere. Thereupon the militia was called out to preserve the peace and several bloody riots followed. At Pittsburg the militia were besieged in the roundhouse by a mob of strikers and were compelled to evacuate on account of the action of the rioters in pushing burning oil cars against the building. Several bloody encounters took place here between the militia and the strikers.

[15] "Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia" for 1877, p. 423.

Finally the President was prevailed upon to send Federal troops to Pennsylvania, Missouri and West Virginia, and they were able to quell the disorders. At Scranton, Reading and Chicago riots also occurred, in every case resulting in considerable loss of life and destruction of property. In Pittsburg alone the destruction of property aggregated many millions of dollars. Machine shops, warehouses, and hundreds of freight cars and locomotives were burned, while the disorderly rabble fell to thieving and plundering the shops and stores of the city. Finally by the end of the month the strike subsided and the laborers returned to their work. This was the first serious labor strike in the country, but it was soon followed by others among the miners and the laborers of various other industries.

Closely following the labor disturbances of Pennsylvania and the States adjacent thereto was a labor agitation of a different kind on the Pacific Coast, namely, the movement against the Chinese, who were now flocking to California in great numbers. In 1858 a treaty between the United States and China had been negotiated by William B. Reed of Pennsylvania, by which immigration of Chinese to the United States was allowed.[16] Only an inconsiderable immigration followed, however, on account of the refusal of the emperor to allow his subjects to remove from the Celestial dominions. In 1868 the Reed Treaty was superseded by a more liberal one negotiated by Anson Burlingame, a former member of Congress from Massachusetts, who had been appointed minister to China by President Lincoln in 1861. After several years of service as American minister at Peking he was appointed by the Chinese Government as its envoy to visit the United States and various countries of Europe and negotiate new treaties. Reaching the United States in May, 1868, he speedily concluded a treaty with Secretary Seward which contained a stipulation by which the emperor recognized the right of voluntary emigration on the part of his subjects, while the United States conceded their right to enter this country for the purpose of permanent residence.[17]

The effectual attempts of the more civilized nations at this time to suppress the coolie trade led the Chinese to turn their eyes toward California and the other States of the Pacific Coast, and

[16] Foster, "American Diplomacy in the Orient," ch. vii.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 206.

soon they were arriving by the thousands. The discovery of gold and the demand for labor at high rates of wages was an especial incentive. At the time it was felt that the Chinese were a valuable addition to the labor element of the country, and the treaty was praised everywhere as a liberal and valuable one quite worthy of a great nation like the United States. But within a few years a change of sentiment respecting the desirability of the Chinese took place on the Pacific Coast, where the Chinese population was chiefly settled. Diligent and very frugal in their habits, they were able to compete fatally with white laborers in the mines and shops, on the farms and in domestic service. This fact soon aroused the hostility of the labor unions, and they began a crusade against the further importation of Chinese laborers. It was said, and with perfect truth, that on account of their methods of living they were able to work for wages so low as to virtually shut out white laborers, or degrade them to the abject condition of a servile class; that they segregated themselves from the white population in cheap, uncleanly houses, did not assimilate with the mass of the people, but retained their peculiar customs and superstitions, thus constituting a danger to the health, security and institutions of the white race. Finally it was charged that they did not bring their families with them to make homes and become citizens, but after remaining for a few years returned with their savings to China, only to have their places filled by others.

As the influx of Chinese immigrants increased the agitation against them became stronger and more violent. In 1871, in consequence of the murder by Chinamen of a policeman, a riot occurred at Los Angeles, California, in the course of which fifteen Chinese were lynched. It was about this time that the movement known as Kearneyism began to attract attention. It took its name from one Dennis Kearney, a shrewd, enterprising Irish laborer and loud-mouthed agitator who became the organizer and president of the "Workingman's Party of California," one of whose tenets was the ejection of the Chinese. "Sand-lot" meetings attended by thousands of California's riff-raff were harangued by Kearney, who launched abusive tirades against "thieving politicians," "blood-sucking capitalists," Chinese and all others above the lot of the common laborer. As Cato concluded his philippics with the words "*Delenda est Carthago*," so Kearney closed all his harangues with the declaration, "The Chinese must go."

These meetings were frequently attended with great disorder, occasional personal violence was wreaked upon the Chinese and their property, and some of the leaders, among them Kearney, were arrested and thrown into prison.

But the agitators did not cease, and their numbers increased until they were able to influence the elections. Local politicians curried favor with them, while the national political parties were forced to make promises in the hope of carrying the State in the presidential elections. State laws were passed restricting in various ways the rights of the Chinese and seeking to limit their immigration to this country, but whenever such legislation was contested in the courts it was generally held void as being in violation of the Federal Constitution or treaties. The anti-Chinese agitators now carried their fight to Congress, and succeeded in 1876 in having a joint committee appointed to visit the Pacific Coast and investigate the whole subject of Chinese immigration with a view to the abrogation or modification of the Burlingame Treaty. The committee, under the chairmanship of Senator Oliver P. Morton of Indiana, visited California, took a vast amount of testimony and made two reports. The one signed by the majority of the committee corroborated the charges which the white people had preferred against the Chinese, and recommended that measures be taken looking to a modification of the treaty with a view of placing some restrictions upon the great influx of Asiatics. Congress at once entered upon a long discussion of the subject, and in 1878 passed a bill so restrictive of Chinese immigration that in the language of the President it fell "little short of absolute exclusion," and was in direct violation of the treaty of 1868. This measure indicated a most radical change of public opinion toward the Chinese, and seemed such an open disregard of our international obligations that President Hayes was led to veto it. But this veto only baffled for a brief time the anti-Chinese agitators; they renewed their campaign, and in a few years a Chinese Exclusion Act became law.

In the congressional elections of 1878 the Democrats maintained their power in the lower House of Congress and, having carried a number of State elections, enough Democratic senators were sent to Washington to give the Democrats a majority in the Senate also. For the first time since the Civil War they now controlled both houses of Congress, but on account of a Repub-

lican President were unable to enact any important party measures. Whenever this was attempted Hayes used his veto power freely, and the Democrats, not having a two-thirds majority, were unable to override him. One part of the Democratic programme which thus fell through was the attempt to break down the Federal election laws by forbidding the use of troops and by refusing appropriations for deputy marshals, supervisors, etc. But Hayes vetoed all such measures, whether in the form of separate bills or as "riders" attached to the appropriation bills.

Important financial legislation during Hayes's administration was the Bland-Allison Act, passed over the President's veto, remonetizing the silver dollar, which, as has been said, was dropped from the list of American coins in 1873. Ever since the passage of the Demonetization Act the question of restoring the silver dollar had been widely discussed throughout the country, and many felt that Congress had made a mistake in thus discriminating against silver, while some even asserted that a great crime had been committed. Shortly after the act of 1873 an astonishing fall in the value of silver occurred, which was believed to have been due to adoption of a gold basis in the United States, Germany, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy and Greece, but which in reality was principally owing to the overabundance of silver.[18] Until the value of silver began to fall there was little or no demand in the United States for the "dollar of our fathers." But when silver became cheap people clamored for the remonetization of the silver dollar, either from a wish to pay off existing debts in a cheap money or from a desire upon the part of miners to keep up the demand for their product. It was in response to this agitation that the Bland-Allison Act was passed. As the bill passed the House it contained a provision for the free coinage of silver; but under the leadership of Mr. Allison in the Senate this mischievous provision was stricken out, and as a compromise it was agreed that the Secretary of the Treasury should be directed to purchase silver bullion enough to coin not less than $2,000,000, nor more than $4,000,000 monthly. It was believed that this demand for silver would keep up its value, but the amount was insufficient, and the value continued to fall until it reached the lowest point in our history. The act was therefore of no service, and had Mr. Bland's free coinage provision been adopted great

[18] Laughlin, "Political Economy," p. 311.

harm would have resulted, and our gold currency would have disappeared at once, leaving only silver in circulation.[19]

From the silver bill the attention of the public was directed to the approaching day set for the resumption of specie payments, January 1, 1879. Fortunately for the country the work of preparing for this devolved upon a skilled financier, John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury, who for years had served as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee. Many doubted to the last that resumption would be possible, but Sherman had been quietly gathering a supply of gold, and when the day came there was $134,000,000 on hand with which to redeem any of the greenbacks that might be presented.[20] Already, two weeks before, the premium on gold had disappeared and the confidence in the financial ability and integrity of the government was so great that few notes were now presented. From that day to this a greenback dollar has been worth as much as a gold dollar, although in reality it is but a promise of the government to pay at some future time.

During the summer of 1878 a yellow fever epidemic of unprecedented malignity swept over some of the Southern States, causing great loss of life, much suffering and general paralysis of business and industry. The disease made its appearance at New Orleans during the latter part of May and was traced to a steamer which arrived from Havana on the 23d of the month. The fever rapidly spread from house to house, until by August 20 the epidemic was declared by the Board of Health to be beyond control. Many towns and cities in Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee and other States were likewise afflicted. The greater part of the population of Vicksburg fled and it is estimated that as many as 15,000 of the inhabitants of Memphis did likewise. At one time scarcely 3,500 persons were left in Memphis, and of these one-third were fever-stricken. Altogether about 14,000 persons succumbed to the dread disease.[21] The largest death rate was in Memphis, where 4,200 persons died. Next came New Orleans, with 3,977, and Vicksburg with 1,138. In some towns almost one-fifth of the population perished. From all parts of the country physicians and nurses tendered their services and many of them fell victims to the plague while bravely laboring at their

[19] Laughlin, "Political Economy," p. 312.
[20] John Sherman's "Recollections," vol. ii. p. 687.
[21] "Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia," 1878, p. 319.

posts of duty. Contributions amounting to more than $383,000 were sent to the stricken communities from various parts of the United States and Europe. In New Orleans the suffering were cared for by the Howard Association, a body of good Samaritans, which employed over one hundred physicians and furnished relief to 24,000 stricken persons. The pestilence reached its height on September 11. Gloom hung like a pall over the city and the stillness of death reigned unbroken except for the clatter of unfollowed hearses and the hurrying hither and thither of nurses and physicians. Music was forbidden and the church bells were no longer rung. Business and trade had long since come to a standstill and there was hardly a thought of anything except for the dead or the dying. Finally with the appearance of the October frosts the ravages of the disease ceased and the most destructive epidemic in the history of the country came to an end.

Chapter XXXIX

GARFIELD AND ARTHUR. 1881–1885

I

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1880; THE "GRANT MOVEMENT"; TRIUMPH OF GARFIELD

IN 1880, as in 1876, there was no lack of candidates for the Republican nomination for President, and again the convention fell back upon a "dark horse." First among the candidates was General Grant, who, while probably not eager for the nomination himself, allowed his name to be proposed by some of his friends who wished to accord him the unprecedented honor of a third term. He had just returned from a remarkable tour around the world and was more than ever a hero. The rulers and statesmen of every important country on the globe had seemingly vied with one another in rendering his progress a continual ovation, and the honors bestowed upon him in foreign lands were probably greater than had ever before fallen to the lot of any American. The people of the United States felt a personal pride in the splendid reception which had been accorded to the ex-President abroad, and when he reached home, after an absence of nearly three years, he was welcomed after the manner of a returning hero. There was now a disposition to overlook and forget the mistakes of his administration and remember only his deeds as a soldier in the Civil War, while his absence had done much to soften whatever asperities had grown out of factional differences among his followers.

The leader of Grant's forces in the convention was Senator Roscoe Conkling of New York, the Republican dictator in that State and a devoted personal admirer of the ex-President, over whom he had wielded tremendous influence during his Presidency. He was ably supported by "Don" Cameron of Pennsylvania, who had succeeded to his father's power in that State, and also by Gen-

eral John A. Logan of Illinois, the most distinguished volunteer soldier of the Civil War on the northern side and a great favorite with the veterans throughout the country. But there were many among the Republican leaders who could not forget the scandals of Grant's second term and who realized that with him as a candidate it would be hard to meet the Democratic assaults. "There was a feeling," said the late Senator Hoar, "that the influence of unworthy politicians, which had been powerful with him during his second term, would be more powerful if he should go back to the Presidency with their aid." [1] More important still was the unwritten law against third terms, and if it were disregarded in General Grant's case it might lead to dangers unforeseen in the future. The example set by Washington in this respect they felt was worthy to be followed for all time. Next to Grant, Blaine, who had come so near getting the nomination in 1876, was the most popular candidate, his popularity having increased during the four years since his defeat. There were many who felt that he had not only been unjustly but cruelly treated, and were eager to record their verdict of acquittal from the malignant charges which had been made against him since 1876. But there were many more who preferred a candidate against whom no charges rested and who would not therefore be a handicap to the party.[2] Some of these preferred George F. Edmunds of Vermont, a man of eminent ability and long public service. And lastly there was John Sherman, who during the last four years had served as Secretary of the Treasury and had won great honor by the skill and success with which he had brought about the resumption of specie payments. The convention met at Chicago on June 2. Its action was largely the result of an old-time feud between Blaine and Conkling. Conkling was undoubtedly a brilliant man. He was handsome, always well and carefully dressed, and possessed remarkable oratorical power. But he was vain, imperious and dictatorial, frequently offensive in his manner, impatient of opposition and inclined to ride roughshod over those who opposed him. Blaine possessed far greater gifts of real statesmanship, was equally learned and imposing in presence, but not so highly gifted in the use of ornate language and entirely lacking in Conkling's swaggering assumption. The trouble between the two leaders dated

[1] Hoar, "Autobiography of Seventy Years," vol. i. p. 385.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 385.

back to April, 1866, when in the course of a debate Blaine denied Conkling's right to accept an appointment from the Secretary of War as Judge Advocate while at the same time serving as a representative in Congress.

A fierce war of words followed, and each, losing his temper, denounced the other in language which for biting sarcasm and vituperation was scarcely ever excelled on the floor of Congress. Blaine compared the New York Senator to a singed cat and a whining puppy, saying, "The contempt of that large-minded gentleman is so wilting, his haughty disdain, his grandiloquent swell, his majestic overpowering turkey-gobbler strut has been so crushing to myself and to all the members of the House, that I knew it was an act of the greatest temerity for me to venture upon a controversy with him."[3] From that day until Conkling died in 1888 he never spoke a word to Blaine, although they served fifteen years together in Congress. The rivalry of the two men for the leadership of the party led almost to a schism in its ranks. Conkling had defeated Blaine's nomination in 1876, and now that Conkling was doing all in his power to bring about Grant's nomination for a third term it was Blaine's turn to thwart Conkling by defeating Grant, to whom also he was honestly opposed. Conkling was present at the convention and took personal charge of the Grant movement. Fearing a "bolt" in the event of Grant's nomination, Conkling secured the adoption of a resolution by a vote of 719 to 3, pledging every delegate to vote for the nominee, whoever it might be. This done, Conkling demanded the adoption of the unit rule, by which the entire vote of each State is cast by a majority of the delegation, and also insisted that the delegates chosen by certain State conventions should be seated in preference to the contestants elected in the usual way by district conventions.

[3] Crawford, "Life of James G. Blaine," p. 140. Conkling seemed to take special delight in annoying the Southern members. On one occasion he aroused Lamar of Mississippi, and went so far as to say that nothing but the rules of the Senate would restrain him from denouncing the senator as a blackguard and a coward. Lamar replied in explanation of a previous statement: "Mr. President, I have only to say that the senator from New York understood me correctly. I did mean to say just precisely the words and all that they imported. I beg pardon of the Senate for the unparliamentary language. It was very harsh; it was very severe; it was such as no good man would deserve and no brave man would wear." Conkling's discomfiture was a source of great satisfaction to Blaine. Many feared that Conkling would demand an apology of Lamar, but he never took any notice of the latter's castigation. Mayes, "Life, Times, and Speeches of L. Q. C. Lamar," p. 384.

He was defeated on both positions, the unit rule being voted down and the delegates chosen by district conventions being seated. This meant a loss of many delegates for Grant, insured his defeat, and at the same time brought Garfield, who had led the opposition to the unit rule, to the front as a possible candidate. On the fourth day of the convention the nominations were made. Mr. Joy of Michigan presented the name of James G. Blaine. Mr. Conkling presented the name of General Grant in a powerful speech which created unbounded enthusiasm, and was followed by a storm of applause by the 15,000 persons in the galleries, lasting twenty-five minutes. He began by saying:

> "If asked what State he hails from,
> Our sole reply shall be —
> He comes from Appomattox
> And the famous apple tree."

John Sherman's name was presented by General Garfield in a speech which made a strong impression. "It was," says Senator Hoar, "one of the greatest oratorical triumphs that I ever witnessed." After the Grant applause had subsided Garfield quietly began: "I have witnessed the extraordinary scene of this convention with deep solicitude. Nothing touches my heart more quickly than a tribute of honor to a great and noble character. But as I sat in my seat and witnessed this demonstration, this assemblage seemed to me a human ocean in a tempest. I have seen the sea lashed into fury and tossed into spray, and its grandeur moves the soul of the dullest man; but I remember that it is not the billows, but the calm level of the sea from which all heights and depths are measured. When the storm has passed and the hour of calm settles on the ocean, when the sunlight bathes its peaceful surface, then the astronomer and surveyor take the level from which they measure all terrestrial heights and depths." It was apparent that since the meeting of the convention Garfield's star had been steadily rising, although he was not a candidate; was, in fact, the leader of Sherman's forces and pledged to do everything in his power to bring about Sherman's nomination. On the first ballot the vote stood: Grant, 304; Blaine, 284; Sherman, 93; and scattering, 75. Thirty-two ballots followed without any material change in the strength of Grant, Blaine or Sherman. On the thirty-fourth ballot Garfield received the sixteen votes of Wisconsin.

The Edmunds and other independent delegates and those also who had been voting for Blaine and Sherman now rapidly changed to Garfield under instruction from their chiefs at Washington. It was a case of anything to beat Grant. Blaine by telegraph was able to transfer every vote cast for him to Garfield except that of a colored delegate from Virginia. Sherman, who disliked Conkling quite as much as did Blaine, was able to do practically the same thing. On the thirty-sixth ballot General Garfield was nominated, receiving 399 votes, or twenty-one more than were necessary to a choice. Soon after the balloting began Grant's strength rose to 306 votes, and this he held until the last. These delegates came to be known as the "Old Guard," whom nothing could induce to desert their leader.

Garfield was greatly disturbed by his nomination, and amid the stampede about him sat pale and motionless in his seat. He is reported to have said that he would rather be shot with musketry than be nominated and have Sherman think he had been unfaithful to his obligations as leader of Sherman's forces. It is certain that he rose in the convention and attempted to decline the nomination, but was shut off on a point of order. Senator Sherman always believed that his friends betrayed him and thus caused his defeat,[4] but there is no evidence that Garfield ever sought the nomination for himself. There was never, in fact, any considerable number of persons who believed Sherman's nomination practicable.[5] Conkling's feelings can be better imagined than described. As a consolation he was allowed to name the candidate for Vice President, and he designated for this position Chester A. Arthur, collector of the port of New York and a conspicuous advocate of Grant. Arthur was nominated on the first ballot over E. B. Washburne of Illinois.

Although a "dark horse" in the convention, as the term goes, General Garfield was one of the best known public men in the country, and had for some time been the Republican leader in the House. Like so many of our Presidents, he was of poor and humble parentage. While still a child, his father, a small farmer in northern Ohio, died, leaving him to shift for himself. Working for a time as mule driver of a canal-boat, he gave his spare moments to study and soon acquired a thirst for knowledge. Presently he

[4] "Recollections of John Sherman," p. 776.
[5] Hoar, "Autobiography," vol. i. pp. 396–400.

entered Williams College, Massachusetts, and in due time graduated therefrom. He then became a professor in Hiram College, Ohio, and subsequently its president. A member of the Ohio legislature when the Civil War broke out, he enlisted in the army and rose rapidly to the rank of major general, this honor being conferred upon him in recognition of gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Chickamauga. While the war was still going on he was elected to Congress, where he soon became prominent, and ultimately rose to a position of leadership. At the time of his nomination he was a United States Senator-elect. Hardly any man in his party possessed a wider acquaintance with public questions or understood better than he the history and principles of the government. A persuasive and eloquent speaker, pleasing in person and most dignified in bearing, he made a good impression upon all who knew him.

The Democratic national convention was held at Cincinnati beginning June 22. The logic of the situation required the nomination of Mr. Tilden, who, his friends declared, had been counted out by the Republicans in 1876; but a few days before the meeting of the convention he wrote a letter declining to be a candidate. After several ineffectual ballotings General Winfield Scott Hancock of Pennsylvania received the nomination. General Hancock was one of the most distinguished soldiers of the Civil War, and was regarded by many as the real hero of Gettysburg. He was a graduate of West Point, a veteran of the Mexican War, and, besides his good generalship at Gettysburg, had won distinction at Antietam and in the Peninsular Campaign. He was a handsome, brave and chivalrous soldier, one of the strongest candidates that the Democrats could have possibly named. His nomination was received with enthusiasm both in the North and in the South. He was destined to be defeated, not because he was not trusted, but because of distrust of the Democratic party. William H. English of Indiana was nominated for the Vice Presidency.

The Greenback party, which had increased enormously in strength since the last presidential election, nominated General James B. Weaver of Iowa, while a fourth Civil War general, Neal Dow of Maine, was put forward by the Prohibitionists. The several party issues were substantially the same as at the previous election, except that the Democrats declared in favor of a tariff for revenue only, denounced the methods by which Tilden was counted

1881

out in 1876, and demanded honest money either of coin or convertible paper currency. Both parties made declarations in favor of restricting the immigration of Chinese to this country.

The campaign was not one of exceptional warmth or excitement. The Republicans made their usual charges concerning the incompetency of the Democrats to govern the country, persisted in "waving the bloody shirt,"[6] and poked fun at their opponents for an unfortunate utterance of General Hancock that the tariff was a "local issue." The Democrats harped on the need of reform in the government service, the electoral commission fraud and accused Garfield of complicity in the *Credit Mobilier* frauds. Just before election day the Democratic papers spread broadcast facsimiles of a letter purporting to have been written by General Garfield to one H. L. Morey of Lynn, Massachusetts, advocating increased immigration of Chinese laborers. The letter was proved to be a forgery, but not until it had done Garfield a good deal of harm. It cost him the electoral vote of both Nevada and California.

The results of the September elections were discouraging to the Republicans. By a small majority Maine was carried by the Greenbackers and Democrats, in spite of their declaration in favor of a tariff for revenue only. Until now Conkling and many of the Grant followers had sulked and refused to take the field in the interest of Garfield's election. Alarmed at the result of the Maine election, however, they came out and worked for the success of the ticket during the remaining days of the campaign. A marked feature of the canvass was the action of General Grant and Senator Conkling in taking the stump together in Ohio and Indiana. Conkling did most of the speaking, merely exhibiting Grant to the large audiences that gathered everywhere to hear the speeches of the one and see with their own eyes the other. It was a successful scheme and undoubtedly did much to enable the Republicans to carry those States.

The result of the election was that Garfield carried all the Northern States except New Jersey, Nevada and California. Hancock carried these three partly as a result of the "Morey forgery," together with all the Southern States. The electoral vote stood:

[6] It was about this time that this now well-known phrase came into use. It had reference to the alleged practice of the Republicans of raking up the old issues of the Civil War.

Garfield, 214; Hancock, 155; but Garfield's popular plurality was only 10,000 in a total of 9,000,000.[7] For the first time since the Civil War the Republicans had received no electoral votes from the States south of Mason and Dixon's line. From that time until now, except in one or two recent instances, the South has continued to go solidly Democratic in national elections. So long as the presence of the negro remains a disturbing political element the consolidation of this section in national political matters will probably continue. So long as there is a possible danger that negro suffrage and social equality with the black race may be forced upon the white people of the South by the Republican party, they will continue to feel that they must stand together in political opposition to that party. This is unfortunate, since it means political stagnation, and virtually forces the Southern white man who dissents from the financial and other policies of the Democratic party to vote against his conviction on those questions. There can be no doubt that the existence of two evenly divided respectable political parties organized along other lines than color or race would bring about more wholesome and healthy conditions to national politics in the South.

II

CONTROVERSY BETWEEN GARFIELD AND CONKLING; ASSASSINATION OF THE PRESIDENT

The fear of defeat at the polls had drawn the Republican factions together in the campaign, but unfortunately the trouble was soon to break out anew. Garfield, in making up his cabinet, chose Blaine for Secretary of State.[8] This enraged Conkling and set him bitterly against the Garfield administration. Many of Blaine's friends earnestly advised him not to accept the proffered portfolio with the expectation of circumventing his rival, and warned him that it would be fatal to him and to the administration. In view of the circumstances, both the President and Blaine were criticised as having acted unwisely, the one for offering the appointment

[7] Stanwood, "History of the Presidency," p. 417.

[8] The other members were: Secretary of the Treasury, William Windom of Minnesota; Secretary of War, Robert T. Lincoln of Illinois; Postmaster General, Thomas L. James of New York; Secretary of the Interior, J. Kirkwood of Iowa; Secretary of the Navy, William H. Hunt of Louisiana; Attorney General, Wayne McVeagh of Pennsylvania.

1881

and the other for accepting it; and yet it cannot be denied that Blaine was one of the best, if not the best, qualified men in the Republican party for the office. Blaine promised that in the administration of the office he would ignore all differences and would conduct himself so as to bring about reconciliation. This should have satisfied the imperious senator from New York, but he refused to interpret the appointment as anything other than a deliberate attempt to humiliate him, and henceforth there could be only unceasing war between him and the administration.

The appointment of Thomas L. James of New York as Postmaster General against Conkling's wish added further fuel to the flame. Hastening to the President's room upon receiving news of the appointment, Conkling charged back and forth for an hour in his dictatorial manner, accusing the President in the most vituperative language of treachery, falsehood and everything else. But Garfield never lost his temper or dignity, and listened to the whole tirade. He refused, however, to be deterred by Conkling's threats or to allow him to dictate the appointment of those who were to aid him in the discharge of his duties. A few weeks later he loaded the last straw on the camel's back by nominating Mr. Robertson to be collector of the port of New York. Robertson had been one of the seventeen New York delegates who had stood out against Grant in the Chicago convention and was, therefore, a bitter enemy of Conkling. Conkling was now furious, and claimed that he, as one of the senators from New York, had a right to be consulted. Appalled by the threatened schism in the party, some of the leading Republicans formed a reconciliation committee to establish harmony, if possible.

But Conkling could not be pacified, and proposed to rule or ruin. With his colleague, T. C. Platt, he demanded that the appointment of Robertson should be withdrawn from the Senate and another name sent in that would be acceptable to the New York senators. Garfield felt that if he yielded the entire people would know that Conkling instead of himself was master, and so he refused. Seeing that the nomination of Robertson would be confirmed by the Senate in disregard of "senatorial courtesy," Conkling and Platt petulantly resigned their seats, returned to New York and asked the legislature to endorse their course by a reelection. This the legislature declined to do, and in their places two senators representing the anti-Conkling faction were chosen.

This was the end of Conkling's brilliant political career — a career brought to a premature close by his own folly and arrogance. Platt's loss of influence was only temporary, and after a long interval he was again reëlected to the Senate. Garfield had triumphed, but his refusal to defer to Senator Conkling in making his appointments had created a breach in the party. Those who thought and acted with Conkling and Arthur came to be called "Stalwarts"; those who followed Garfield and Blaine were known as "Half-breeds." Much feeling of bitterness existed between the two factions and ugly rumors of all sorts filled the air.

At this juncture the country was thrown into consternation by the assassination of President Garfield. While standing in a railway station at Washington on July 2, waiting for a train to take him to Williams College, he was shot by one C. J. Guiteau, a disappointed office-seeker and fanatic, who for months had followed the President seeking an opportunity to murder him. The wounded President was borne tenderly to the White House, where all that skillful medical treatment could do was done to save his life. For many days anxious crowds watched the bulletin boards and prayed that he might recover. In the hope that the sea air would prove beneficial, he was removed in August to Elberon, New Jersey, but the benefit was only temporary. The nation hoped and waited while the sick President lingered on, but blood poisoning finally set in and on September 19 he died. The body was borne to Cleveland, Ohio, and surrounded by thousands of the President's old friends and admirers was laid to rest in Lakeview Cemetery, September 26. The day of the funeral was observed throughout the country as an occasion of general mourning in response to a proclamation of President Arthur. The people entertained a deep affection for Mr. Garfield, and he was now spoken of as another martyr President. His rise from the humblest of circumstances to the Presidency, his high character as a man, his patriotic course as an officer, and, lastly, his unyielding fortitude during his long sufferings were qualities which endeared him to the masses.

On February 22, by direction of Congress, memorial services were held at the National Capitol in honor of the dead President, and in the presence of the President of the United States, members of Congress, the Supreme judges, the diplomatic corps and other high civil and military functionaries, Mr. Blaine delivered an oration on the life and character of the late chief magistrate.

Guiteau was promptly taken into custody, when he is said to have exclaimed, "I am a 'Stalwart' and Arthur will be President," and that the Republican party would be united and the Republic saved. His words went to show that Garfield's assassination was indirectly, at least, a result of the unfortunate dissensions in the party. Subsequently Guiteau stated that he had been inspired of God to do the act and that in "removing" the President to heal the breach in the Republican party he had only done what certain newspapers and politicians had urged. The assassin was promptly arraigned, and after a long trial of several months he was convicted in January, 1882, and hanged. His defense was insanity, and it was pretty well established that this was his real condition, but popular feeling against the assassin was too strong for the jury to disregard, and hence they brought in a verdict of guilty.

III

ACCESSION OF ARTHUR; CIVIL SERVICE REFORM; STAR ROUTE FRAUDS; NEW TARIFF LAW; INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

In the early morning hours of September 20, soon after Mr. Garfield had breathed his last, Mr. Arthur, at his New York home, took the official oath as President, Judge Brady of the State Supreme Court officiating. After accompanying the remains of the dead President to Washington, he was sworn into office in a more formal manner, before the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, on the 22d, and delivered a brief address in which he expressed his sense of the grave responsibilities devolved upon him. "All the noble aspirations," he said, "of my lamented predecessor, which found expression in his life, the measures devised and suggested, during his brief administration, to correct abuses and enforce economy, to advance prosperity and promote the general welfare, to insure domestic tranquillity and maintain friendly and honorable relations with the nations of the earth, will be garnered in the hearts of the people, and it will be my earnest endeavor to profit, and to see that the nation shall profit, by his example and experience." Thus, peacefully and quietly and without shock or strain, did the government again pass from the hands of the elected President, who had been stricken down, to his constitutional successor. Thus, too, did it pass from the "Half-breed" faction to the "Stalwarts."

During President Garfield's illness Mr. Arthur's position had been a delicate one. For months the President was unable to discharge his duties, nor did he attempt to do so, except to sign in a mechanical fashion an occasional paper presented to him. The Constitution provides that in case of the inability of the President, the powers and duties of the office shall devolve upon the Vice President. There could be little doubt as to the President's "inability," but who was to decide upon it? Mr. Arthur, being a "Stalwart," naturally hesitated lest his motives and intentions would be misunderstood. So things dragged on without any action being taken. During this period Arthur conducted himself with singular discretion, refraining from all part in public affairs, and he had not been President many weeks before he had given evidence of exceptional ability, courage, fairness and dignity. A politician of only local reputation at the time of his nomination, he was as little known to the people of the country at large when he entered upon the Presidency as any man who was ever called to that high position. There was more than the usual anxiety and misgiving, but fortunately Arthur soon allayed all such fears. He refused to administer the government in the interest of the "Stalwarts," but conducted himself as if he were the President of the whole people, and not even Conkling could control him. On the whole his administration was superior to that of any of the previous "accidental" Presidents, and will compare favorably with that of any of those originally chosen to that office.

Soon after his elevation to the Presidency he reconstructed the Cabinet, retaining only one member appointed by Mr. Garfield, Robert T. Lincoln, Secretary of War. Frederick T. Frelinghuysen of New Jersey succeeded Blaine as Secretary of State and C. J. Folger of New York became Secretary of the Treasury. All of them, except Lincoln, belonged to the Grant faction.

During the first years of the administration the attention of the country was attracted by the discovery of the "star route" frauds in the postal service. In the West, where railroads were few, the transportation of the mails was in thousands of communities by star route (lines on which the mails cannot be carried by railroad or steamboat). A number of high officials, among others T. J. Brady, the Second Assistant Postmaster General, and S. W. Dorsey, a "carpet-bag" senator from Arkansas, were accused of forming a conspiracy with certain star route contractors to de-

fraud the government. Fictitious petitions numerously signed were gotten up praying for an increase of facilities, and "estimates" largely in excess of actual cost of the service were secured from the contractors. The rascals at Washington got these estimates allowed, and the excess was divided between them and the contractors. The frauds were discovered during the last days of Hayes's term, but it remained for Garfield's Postmaster General, Mr. James, who had already won a national reputation for the vigorous reforms which he had brought about in the New York post office, to break up the conspiracy and expose those who were responsible. Brady and Dorsey were both tried, but acquitted. In fact only one of those who were prosecuted was ever punished, and it is said that he was innocent.[9] W. P. Kellogg, a "carpet-bag" senator of Louisiana, was also indicted for receiving money for services rendered in relation to a star route contract, but his case was never brought to trial.

The murder of President Garfield by a disappointed office-seeker and the revelation of fraud and corruption in the public service had created a strong sentiment in favor of some method of civil service reform by which the pernicious spoils system might be done away with or its evils at least diminished. Since the inauguration of the system by President Jackson it had continued to hold full sway at the seat of government. As the volume of government business had grown, the power and evil of the system had increased correspondingly. It enfeebled and corrupted the government service, demoralized the administration, and consumed the time of the President and heads of departments. Appointments being bestowed as rewards for party support, with little or no regard to the qualifications of appointees, the official felt that his primary allegiance was due his party rather than his country, and he was expected to labor actively and contribute according to his salary for the success of the party at the elections.

One of its most pernicious features was the growth of a regular system of assessments by which office-holders were required to contribute a certain percentage of their salaries to the party campaign fund. Conditions were so disgraceful when General Grant became President that he took up the matter and induced Congress to pass a law providing for the creation of a civil service

[9] "Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia," 1881, p. 848; *ibid.*, 1882, pp. 753-762; *ibid.*, 1883, p. 777.

commission which was to prescribe a system of competitive examinations for appointments to the public service. Three prominent civil service reformers were appointed, and they adopted a system of rules by which appointments to the lower offices were to be made only on the basis of merit. In 1874, three years after the enactment of the law, Congress refused to appropriate the necessary funds to pay further the expenses of the commission and the work of civil service reform was suspended. President Hayes made repeated efforts to induce Congress to make provision for carrying on the work begun in Grant's administration, without success. The tragic death of Garfield aroused public sentiment on the question of civil service reform, and Congress was forced by public opinion to take action. Soon after Mr. Garfield's death Senator George H. Pendleton of Ohio, the leader of the Greenback party in the Democratic convention of 1868, brought forward a civil service bill along the lines of that of 1871.

At first it was opposed by the Republicans, but losing the House of Representatives in the congressional elections of 1882, they interpreted this as a popular rebuke, fell into line and gave their support to the measure. It was finally passed by an almost unanimous vote in January, 1883, and with some modifications and enormous extensions, which now cover practically every office, except consuls, which could be put under the law, is still in force. Following the act of 1871 it authorized the President to appoint three civil service commissioners, who were to prescribe rules for admission to the public service. It further provided that all employees holding clerical positions at Washington, and clerks in post offices and customs houses where fifty or more persons were employed, should be classified and placed under the civil service rules. Thereafter admission to the service in these offices could be only by competitive examination. Provision was also made for promotion from the lower to the higher positions on the basis of merit, successful candidates were to serve six months on probation before receiving a final appointment, and political assessments were forbidden. Any member of Congress or public official who should solicit or receive political assessments from any person in the employ of the government was liable to a heavy fine or imprisonment, and any employee who should take active part in a political campaign was to be summarily dismissed.

President Arthur was in sympathy with the measure, and he

promptly appointed the commissioners and otherwise put the act into effect.[10] At first applying to a comparatively small portion of the civil service, some 10,000 places, the rules have been extended until they now include about 128,000 positions. Each succeeding President has shown a hearty sympathy with the purpose of the law, and its merits are now fully recognized and appreciated by the American people.

Next to the Civil Service Act the most important legislative measure of Arthur's administration was the tariff act of 1883. Not since 1864 had there been a general revision of the tariff, although at different times there had been minor acts making particular changes in existing schedules. As we have already noted, the duties on pig iron, coffee, sugar, tea, and a few other articles not produced in this country had been largely reduced by an act of 1870, while by an act of 1872 most of these articles were placed on the free list. On many articles, however, the high duties levied under the war tariff of 1864 were still retained. An increasing dissatisfaction among the Republicans of the West was growing up against the continuance of high duties, and Congress was forced to consider their demands for a revision of the tariff schedule. But it went about the subject gingerly and with timidity. It first created a tariff commission of eight members, consisting mainly of manufacturers and experts, to investigate the subject and report to Congress at the next session what changes, if any, were desirable. The commission made an elaborate investigation, examining many witnesses and taking volumes of testimony. It recommended an average reduction of not less than 20 per cent., and in some cases a reduction of 50 per cent. The Senate prepared a bill embodying most of the recommendations of the commission, and substituted it for the House bill. It was at the close of the session, and the House under pressure accepted the Senate bill as it stood. The bill as finally passed was distinctly a protectionist measure, being less than 4 per cent. lower than the existing schedules. In the case of woolen cloths, cotton goods, iron ore, and steel the rates were even increased; on cheap grades of cotton, pig iron, steel rails, nickel, and copper the duties were reduced; while on agricultural products they were retained unchanged.[11]

[10] The Commissioners were: Dorman B. Eaton, Leroy D. Thoman, and John M. Gregory.

[11] See Taussig, "Tariff History," p. 234.

The four years of Garfield and Arthur's administration were an era of good feeling and of industrial progress. The census of 1880 showed that the population had increased during the last decade from 38,000,000 to 50,000,000, or 22½ per cent. In 1881 the whole country joined with pride in the centennial celebration of Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown, Virginia. The exercises began on October 18, the anniversary of the surrender of the British general, and lasted throughout the week. A number of war vessels of the United States were present in the James River; an oration was delivered by Hon. Robert C. Winthrop of Boston; speeches were made by President Arthur, the Marquis Rochambeau, Baron Steuben, and others; the corner-stone of a centennial monument was laid with impressive ceremonies; while splendid military and naval reviews added to the brilliancy of the fête.

In the same year the International Cotton Exposition was held at Atlanta, at which was exhibited a large variety of agricultural products, live stock, farm machinery, textile manufactures, etc. Most of the Southern States were represented and the legislatures of several of them visited the exposition in a body. Financially it was a success and did much to call attention to the immense and varied undeveloped resources of the South and to create an interchange of ideas and opinions with the people of the North. In 1883 another was held at Louisville, at which there were nearly a million admissions. For the purpose of housing the exposition a building covering thirteen acres was constructed at a cost of $300,000. In 1884 the Cotton Centennial Exposition was held at New Orleans, in commemoration of the shipping of the first bale of cotton to England in 1784. Unlike those which preceded, it was a general exhibition of the natural resources and arts in the southern part of the United States. It was planned and carried out on a scale more vast than had ever been undertaken in the United States or Europe. Congress gave its support to the enterprise by appropriating $1,000,000 to be used as a loan, and another $1,000,000 was raised by private subscription or through State aid. By authority of Congress the President appointed commissioners for the several States, and in most of them appropriations were made to provide creditable displays of their products. Several foreign countries likewise made exhibits. The exposition was held in the picturesque Audubon Park, with its great moss-covered live oaks, orange and banana groves, and beds of tropical

flowers — sights in themselves to the Northern visitor. It was opened on December 16 in the presence of several Cabinet members and high officials from various States of the Union. The President of the United States, surrounded by a distinguished company at the White House, telegraphed a suitable sentiment and at the proper time pressed a button which set the machinery in motion and formally opened the exposition.[12] The exposition was a great success, and it revealed as nothing had done the marvelous industrial progress of the South since the close of the Civil War. The friendly hospitality which was accorded to the Northern visitors was a subject of general comment, and afforded convincing evidence of the rapid disappearance of the old animosity which had so recently marked the relations of the people of the two sections.

[12] "Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia," 1884, p. 578.

Chapter XL

THE ADMINISTRATION OF GROVER CLEVELAND
1884–1888

I

CONTEST BETWEEN BLAINE AND CLEVELAND, 1884

FOR twenty years — that is to say, since the outbreak of the Civil War — the Republicans had practically controlled the government, and until the period of the Democratic Congress under President Hayes had administered it without restraint or interruption, with the exception of the brief period when the Democrats had a majority of Congress. During this long lease of power it had committed blunders and the taint of the scandals clung to some of the Republican leaders. To many good Republicans the party itself seemed to be declining in virtue and needed the chastening effect of a popular reprimand. In 1874, 1878, and again in 1882 the Democrats had succeeded in electing a majority of the members of the lower House of Congress; now they were to elect the President, and continue also their supremacy in the lower House.

The preliminary work of selecting the candidates of both parties took place at Chicago in June and July, 1884. The Republican convention met on July 2. There was the usual number of candidates, but the overwhelming sentiment of the convention was in favor of Mr. Blaine. President Arthur had a respectable following, second only to Blaine, but it was not customary to nominate Vice Presidents who had succeeded to the Presidency. Besides, he had incurred the displeasure of some of the Republican leaders by reconstructing the Cabinet with Republicans of the Grant faction and by vetoing a river and harbor bill carrying $18,000,000, which had been passed by large majorities. Nevertheless, it was the opinion of the late Senator Hoar that if Arthur had not made an offensive appointment to the collectorship of the Port of Boston the Massachusetts delegation would have supported him and

1884

he would have received the nomination.[1] Strongly opposed to Blaine was an able group of Republicans who favored Senator George F. Edmunds, and who worked hard to bring about his nomination, but to no avail. Blaine was nominated on the fourth ballot, and General John A. Logan, the candidate of Illinois for the Presidency, was nominated for Vice President. Logan was a picturesque man, greatly admired by the old soldiers, and bore the sobriquet of "The Black Eagle." At the outbreak of the war he was a Democrat of southern Illinois, and it is said hesitated for some time as to whether he should join the Confederate service or that of the United States. His decision, however, was on the side of the Union, and he rose to be one of the ablest volunteer commanders on the Federal side. After the war he served in both houses of Congress and was known as a forceful, earnest speaker.

The announcement of Blaine's nomination was followed by one of the most extraordinary demonstrations ever witnessed in a convention hall. At last, it was said, the leader of the Republican party had received the nomination which, it was believed, scheming politicians had denied him in 1876 and again in 1880. A small, though respectable, minority of the party, however, were filled with disgust, and they promptly announced that they would not support the ticket. The leader of this group was George William Curtis, the noted orator, champion of civil service reform and man of letters, who remarked, "I was at the birth of the Republican party and I fear I am to witness its death." There was no question as to Blaine's ability. With only brief interruptions he had been in public life since 1862. He had served in both houses of Congress with distinguished credit, and for six years he had presided over the House of Representatives as Speaker, and it was commonly asserted that he filled the office with greater ability than any of his predecessors since the establishment of the government. His mastery of parliamentary law, his rapid dispatch of business, his thorough understanding of the legislative history of the country, his imposing personal appearance and charming manner, his physical endurance, which was an important qualification when turbulent all-night sessions were frequent, as they were during the reconstruction period and the years that immediately followed, equipped him in a rare degree for the duties of this difficult position.

[1] Hoar, "Autobiography of Seventy Years," vol. i, p. 406.

As a speaker he was magnetic and powerful, and as a leader his preëminence was acknowledged. There was, however, about his skirts a taint of the kind which had involved many of the Republican leaders during the evil days of reconstruction and immediately following. This was the charge that he had accepted stock in certain Western railway and mining companies in return for his influence in securing favorable legislation for the said companies. The charges had been investigated by Congress, and a very dramatic scene had occurred on the floor when Mr. Blaine, standing at the clerk's desk, held high a bundle of private letters which were said to contain the evidence of his guilt, and exclaimed, "I now invite the confidence of forty-four millions of my countrymen while I read those letters." The accusations were disproved to the satisfaction of Mr. Blaine's friends, but there were many who did not feel so thoroughly convinced. To the more punctilious there was at least evidence that Blaine had not acted with that high sense of official propriety which should characterize those in public life, although there was no evidence of evil motive. It was clear, therefore, that he could not make a good reform candidate, and many of his friends predicted from the first that he would be defeated.

The Democratic national convention met at Chicago, July 8. "All Democrats and conservative citizens irrespective of past associations and differences who desired to join in the effort for pure, economical and constitutional government" had been invited to send delegates. This was an appeal to those Republicans who had announced their intention of bolting from Blaine and who had already made overtures to the Democrats to nominate a man in whom they could place their confidence. Public opinion in the Democratic party had already selected that man, and on the second ballot he was nominated. He proved to be Grover Cleveland, Governor of New York. His closest rival, Governor Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana, was nominated for Vice President.

The Democratic nominee for President was not entirely unknown to the country, although this was his first appearance in the arena of national politics. Born in New Jersey in 1837, he was taken in early life by his father, a Presbyterian clergyman, to Fayetteville, New York. Here young Cleveland secured employment in a store at a few dollars a week and at the same time managed to attend the village school. Moving to Clinton, New York,

he finished his course in the academy, and in his seventeenth year became a clerk and assistant teacher in an institution for the blind in New York City. In the following year he left the metropolis and started West to seek more lucrative employment. Attracted by the name, it was his intention to go to Cleveland, Ohio, but he was induced to stop at Buffalo, where he secured a clerkship in a law office at a salary of four dollars per week. Three years later he was admitted to the bar and soon afterward was appointed assistant district attorney of the county. Continuing his law practice without interruption until 1870, he was in the latter year elected sheriff of Erie County. After the expiration of his three years' term he returned to his practice, which he had been glad to lay aside to take the office of sheriff.

In 1881 Cleveland was elected mayor of Buffalo by a large majority and soon won the good opinion of the citizens by his firm stand against all measures involving questionable or extravagant expenditure of the public money. He used his veto power so fearlessly and frequently to check bad legislation as to win the title of "Veto Mayor." In the first half year of his term he is said to have saved the city nearly $1,000,000 by the use of his negative. His economical and honest administration attracted wide attention, and before he had held the office one year he was nominated by the Democratic party and elected governor over the Republican candidate, Judge Folger, by the unprecedented plurality of 193,000 votes. As governor he pursued the same economical, business-like policy which he had followed as mayor of Buffalo. Against the wishes of 99 per cent. of the people he vetoed a bill to compel the New York City Elevated Railway Company to reduce its fare from ten cents to five cents, on the ground that such a law involved the impairment of the obligation of a contract and a breach of faith. Likewise he vetoed a bill granting public money to sectarian schools, thus estranging the great masses of his Catholic supporters. He defied the Tammany leaders in the legislature and thus made still more enemies. Undoubtedly here was a governor who possessed courage. Other important bills he likewise vetoed, and while they cost him some friends they won the admiration of many more. Said General Bragg of Wisconsin, speaking for Cleveland at a later time, "The people love him most for the enemies he has made." It was admitted on all hands that he would be a strong candidate, although in truth he was little more than a

country lawyer with no special knowledge of statecraft or of national policies. Two other candidates were also in the field. They were John P. St. John of Kansas, the nominee of the Prohibitionist party, and General Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts, the Greenback Labor candidate. They cut little figure in the campaign, however, neither receiving a single electoral vote.

Nominally, at least, the chief issue of the campaign was the tariff question, the Republicans advocating duties high enough to protect the American manufacturer and laborer, the Democrats pronouncing for a "reform" of the existing schedule. But the personal issue was really the only question involved. Never was a campaign marked by more bitter personal denunciation of the candidates. Mr. Blaine belonged to the old school of statesmen who had been associated with the measures of reconstruction; the charge of ill-gotten securities hung to him; while many, overlooking his qualities as a statesman, saw in him only a politician and an enemy of reform. Cleveland, on the other hand, was in national affairs unknown and without record, while his aggressive, courageous administration as mayor of Buffalo and governor of his State attracted large numbers of business men and persons interested in civil service reform. Shortly after Cleveland's nomination the Independents, or "Mugwumps," as they now came to be called, issued an address calling upon their followers to support the Democratic candidates. The response was enthusiastic, and this determined Blaine's fate. Among the prominent Republicans who entered actively into the canvass against Blaine were Carl Schurz, George William Curtis and Henry Ward Beecher. The eminent character of these leaders who refused to be deterred by the stigma of "Mugwump," sneeringly applied to them by their old associates, attracted thousands of Republicans to the Cleveland ranks.

Several other incidents of the campaign cost Blaine many votes. One of these was the "Burchard episode," as a result of which he lost a portion of the Irish Catholic vote which he alone of Republicans by reason of his Catholic parentage could obtain. A delegation of Protestant clergymen having called on Mr. Blaine at the Fifth Avenue Hotel congratulated him on his nomination, after which one of their number, Dr. Burchard, addressed Blaine and referred to the Democratic party as the party of "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion." To this insult to the Catholics Blaine, in his reply, made no reference, leaving the impression that it

1884

met his approval. The Democrats turned the omission to good account. Dr. Burchard's phrase was printed on small cards and handed out to members of various Catholic congregations the Sunday before the election, too late to permit the Republicans to circumvent it.[2] But the whole affair was ridiculous, and illustrates the ingenious and also the disgraceful methods of some of our political campaigns. Of all men in public life Blaine was probably the last one who would have made a disrespectful allusion to the Catholic religion. This was the faith in which his mother had lived and died, and he had previously declared that he would not for a thousand Presidencies say a disrespectful word of it. Still another incident, scarcely less ridiculous, but which it is believed by many injured Blaine's chances, was his attendance upon a banquet at Delmonico's at which Jay Gould and other millionaires were present. Democratic newspapers described the affair as "Belshazzar's feast," and it was even rumored that Mr. Gould had at the dinner drawn a large check for the benefit of the Republican campaign fund.

Throughout the canvass Cleveland remained quietly at home and left others to do the campaigning. Not so with Blaine. After making a thorough canvass of his own State in the hope that he might carry it by a large majority at the September election, so as to show the country the magnitude of his popularity at home, he entered upon an extended Western tour of speech-making. Starting from the East in August he traveled through New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and West Virginia for five weeks, making from ten to fifteen speeches a day to large and enthusiastic crowds. It was in every way a remarkable tour, and Blaine's reception was as flattering as any ever received by a political candidate, but it is doubtful if many votes were gained thereby.

The vote of New York, the pivotal State, decided the presidential contest. Cleveland carried the State by the small plurality of 1,147, in a total of nearly 1,000,000 votes, and was elected President. He carried also Connecticut, New Jersey, Indiana, and the solid South. The electoral vote stood: For Cleveland, 219; Blaine, 182. The popular vote was: For Cleveland, 4,874,986; for Blaine, 4,851,981.[3] General Butler received 175,000 votes and Mr. St. John 150,000. Blaine's defeat by so narrow a majority

[2] Crawford, "Life of Blaine," p. 570.
[3] Stanwood, "History of the Presidency," p. 448.

after so long a struggle for the Presidency was pathetic. A change of six hundred votes in New York State would have made him President. Grave charges were made by the Republicans of frauds in Brooklyn (it was asserted that the Butler vote here was counted for Cleveland), and the conviction of John Y. McKane ten years later, they assert, established the Republican contention that Blaine and not Cleveland had carried New York, and was consequently elected President. But as the Republicans in the contest of 1876 had planted themselves squarely on the doctrine that Congress had no power to go behind the returns, they were now estopped from contesting Cleveland's election.

Blaine was sorely disappointed at the outcome. He felt, like Clay, that his party had begrudged him the nomination when victory was certain, and had tardily conceded it when defeat was likely. In other respects his struggle for the Presidency was comparable to that of the great Whig chieftain. Both were the acknowledged leaders of their party, both were idolized by the great body of their parties, both were men of magnetic personalities, and both cherished ardent ambitions for the Presidency. For twenty years both were candidates, but neither was ever honored more than once by his party with the nomination and then each was beaten by defections in the pivotal State. The very fates seemed to work against Blaine in New York. The Prohibitionist ticket drew more heavily from the Republicans than from the Democrats, while the "Mugwump" defection was large and influential in that State. Of the great New York daily papers the *Times,* the *Sun,* the *Post,* the *Herald,* and the *World* all supported Cleveland, leaving only the *Tribune* and the *Mail and Express* to advocate Blaine's election. Finally Blaine's chances in New York were injured by the attitude of Conkling, his old enemy. As we have seen, Conkling had prevented Blaine's nomination in 1876 and again in 1880. Having failed to do so in 1884, he now sulked like the Homeric warrier in his tent and refused to take any part in the campaign. On account of his great influence in New York, some have asserted that had he opened his mouth or raised his finger in the interest of the ticket, he could still have turned the tide in Blaine's favor. But he did not stir.

1884

II

THE DEMOCRATS IN POWER

So it came to pass that at last the Democrats had won the Presidency, while they retained a majority of the seats in the House of Representatives. But the Senate was still Republican and was able to thwart any partisan measures which the Democrats might attempt to carry through. So long had the Republicans controlled the government that many of them had come to look upon it as theirs by prescriptive right. So often had the Democrats been beaten by the Republicans that the latter had come to the conclusion that there was no longer any decent reason for the existence of the Democratic party. Some now prophesied the downfall of the Republic under Democratic rule, others foretold financial panics, or saw the restoration of negro slavery. The negroes had this impression, and many are the stories told of credulous blacks in the South who, upon learning of the Democratic triumph, betook themselves to their old masters and asked to be assigned to their quarters. At the North it was said "the South is again in the saddle," the very thing the reconstructionists had feared, and to prevent which they thought they had provided ample security by the bestowal of the suffrage upon the negro. But if the South was "in the saddle," it was the new South and not the old. It showed little desire to deprive the negro of his civil rights, or to withhold pensions from needy and deserving Union soldiers and sailors, or to reverse in any particular the conditions brought about by the Civil War. All these things were necessarily accepted, and it is needless to say that with their party in practical control nothing was done to reverse and none of the expected calamities then came to pass.

Mr. Cleveland resigned the governorship of New York early in January, and on March 4 was inaugurated President of the United States in the presence of about one hundred thousand spectators. Washington, in fact, had never before seen so great a concourse assembled to witness the inauguration of a President. More than half a million visitors were in the city. They came from every part of the country, and especially from the South, for to the people of this section the inauguration of a Democratic President meant the dawn of a new era. And such it was. It meant

a definite settlement of the old issues growing out of the Civil War, and that the nation had turned its back upon the past and henceforth was to move forward with hope and courage to the future. The inaugural address was received not only with approval, but even with enthusiasm. It urged the people of all parties to lay aside political animosities in order to sustain the government, advocated strict economy in administration, pronounced in favor of the application of business principles to the management of public affairs and declared for the merit system in the matter of appointments. The Cabinet selected by Mr. Cleveland was everywhere pronounced an able one.[4] As a sign of the President's intention to recognize the Southern men as worthy to hold office under the national government, he put two able Southerners in his Cabinet. These were Senators L. Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi, and A. H. Garland, of Arkansas. By the appointment of these popular Southerners to positions in the Cabinet, and by the appointment of many others to stations of less importance, President Cleveland greatly endeared himself to the people of the South, who felt keenly that they had been regarded by his predecessors since the Civil War as unworthy to hold positions of honor or trust under the general government.

But not all were pleased. The President was criticised for not making a "clean sweep" of the thousands of Republicans whom he allowed to retain their positions unmolested. Some of the more impatient impeached his democracy and asserted that he was at heart a Republican. The "Mugwumps" on the other hand, who had supported him on the understanding that he was in sympathy with the principles of Civil Service reform, were dissatisfied that he should make any appointments whatever on the basis of party considerations. But the President quietly pursued the even tenor of his way. He believed sincerely in the merit system, but he recognized at the same time that the government which he was called upon to administer was party government. It did not seem to him, therefore, to be contrary to the principles of Civil Service reform to refuse to reappoint Republican officials at the

[4] The Cabinet was constituted as follows: Secretary of State, Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware; Secretary of the Treasury, Daniel Manning of New York; Secretary of War, William C. Endicott of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Navy, William C. Whitney of New York; Attorney General, A. H. Garland of Arkansas; Secretary of the Interior, L. Q. C. Lamar of Mississippi; Postmaster General, William F. Vilas of Wisconsin.

expiration of their term of four years and to put Democrats in their places; to ask for the resignation of Republican officials whose offices brought them into confidential relations with the administration; and to dismiss those who showed a disposition to make use of their positions for partisan purposes.[5] There was a considerable number of removals under the latter head — for "offensive partisanship," as the phrase coined by the President described it. As the years went by the pressure upon him became so great that he could not resist, and few Republicans not covered by the classified service were left undisturbed. The positions under the Civil Service rules were not interfered with, for Mr. Cleveland enforced the Pendleton Act strictly. But on the other hand he did not extend it as the law permitted. Practically all the presidential postmasterships, the foreign missions, the revenue collectorships, and the marshalships were given to Democrats. Within three years from the beginning of his term not less than 75,000 Republican office holders had been replaced by Democrats. In exercising his power to remove Republicans Mr. Cleveland soon found himself in conflict with the Senate. This body, it will be remembered, was still Republican, and the old Tenure of Office Act passed in 1867 to prevent Andrew Johnson from removing Lincoln's appointees was partly in force, although the most objectionable part of it had been repealed in the early days of Grant's administration. In July, 1885, the President suspended from office a Federal attorney in Alabama. When Congress met, the Senate called upon him to lay before that body his reasons for removing the attorney and to communicate certain papers relating to the case. Mr. Cleveland declined to comply with the request of the Senate, saying that in the matter of removing officers of the United States the President, by the Constitution, was responsible to the people alone. The Senate was angry, threatened to hold up his appointments, but finally acquiesced, and the following year Congress under the lead of Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, repealed the remaining provisions of the Tenure of Office Act, leaving the President absolute freedom in removing all officers appointed by him, whether with the consent of the Senate or not. This had been the rule since the days of Washington down to the outbreak of the feud between Congress and President Johnson. The final repeal of the act in 1887 removed forever from the statute books one of the many

[5] Woodrow Wilson, "History of the American People," vol. v, p. 178.

pieces of legislation enacted during the reconstruction period for the sole purpose of abridging the constitutional powers of the President.

As President, Cleveland attracted wide attention by the extraordinary use of his veto power. A number of bills providing for the erection of public buildings in various parts of the country failed to receive his approval, as did also a bill for the distribution of seed to drought-stricken communities in Texas. Pension bills were vetoed by the hundred. At this time it was the practice to grant pensions indiscriminately and almost without question to all who had served in the Union army or navy during the Civil War. The new President thought that this was going further than the requirements of gratitude and justice demanded it. It seemed to him that the government had done its duty when it gave pensions to the needy veterans who had been actually disabled in the service and when it went further it was misappropriating the public funds. All sorts of stories were told of fraudulent practices which had occurred in the pension bureau and of fraudulent claims that had been allowed. One man was said to have received a pension on account of having fallen from a wagon while drunk; others who shot away their fingers to escape service were placed on the roll. Those whose applications were disallowed by the bureau carried their cases to Congress and special acts were passed for their relief. There was little investigation or consideration. The claims were so numerous that investigation and discussion were obviously impossible. As many as two hundred bills were sometimes passed in one hour. Cleveland's predecessors had always signed such bills without question. President Cleveland set his face against the practice and courageously, if sometimes unwisely, employed his veto. At the first session of Congress after his election he vetoed 115 out of 987 bills, most of them being private pension bills. During the four years of his administration he vetoed 301 bills, or more than twice as many as had all the Presidents together from the beginning of the government. His veto messages seem to have been accepted, as only two bills were passed over his head, but when he became President the second time Congress paid little heed to his vetoes if it was worth while to override them. There was of course a great outcry among the veterans against his pension views, and this increased when the President withheld his signature from the Dependent Pension Bill, which allowed a pension of $12 per

month to all who had served in the Civil War as long as ninety days, and all who were dependents of such persons. Cleveland objected that its terms were too uncertain to insure its just and impartial execution; that the honest veterans would prefer not to be treated as objects of charity; and that the measure would entail an enormous and unnecessary expenditure of money for years to come. The veto was sustained by Congress.

III

PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION LAW; ELECTORAL COUNT LAW; INTERSTATE COMMERCE ACT

President Cleveland's first term was marked by the enactment of three important legislative measures. All still remain on the statute books and are likely to endure as permanently as the Constitution itself. The first was the presidential succession law of January 18, 1886, drafted and reported by Senator Hoar. A general feeling of the necessity for more adequate legislation on this subject had recently been awakened by the death of President Garfield and of Vice President Hendricks, the death of the latter having occurred in the autumn of 1885. By the old law enacted in 1792 the succession in the case of the death of both the President and Vice President would devolve upon the President *pro tempore* of the Senate, and then upon the Speaker of the House of Representatives. There were two serious objections to this law. In the first place there were times when there was neither a President *pro tempore* of the Senate nor a Speaker. This was the situation at the time of Garfield's assassination. The old Congress had expired March 4 before the assassination, and the new Congress was not to meet until December following, consequently there was no Speaker, and the Senate which had met in extraordinary session had failed to choose a President *pro tempore*. Had Arthur died between September 19, when he succeeded to the Presidency, and December 7, when Congress met, the country would have been without a President.

A second objection was of a political character and arose from the fact that the party which is in control of the Presidency may not at the same time be in control of the legislative department. Thus at the time of Hendricks' death the Republicans were in a

majority in the Senate. Consequently had Cleveland died in office any time during the last three years of his first term, the Presidency would have devolved upon a Republican, the President *pro tempore* of the Senate. This would have presented an anomalous situation intolerable under a system of party government. President Arthur in his first message recommended a consideration of the serious question touching the succession to the Presidency, and in 1882 the Senate Judiciary Committee prepared a bill to meet the situation. The bill was debated at intervals at each session for several years, during which time it passed the Senate at least twice, but did not secure the concurrence of the House. It was not until January, 1886, that the bill became law. As finally passed it provides that in the event of both the Presidency and the Vice Presidency becoming vacant, the members of the Cabinet shall succeed in the following order, provided they possess the constitutional qualifications for the office: the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, the Attorney General, the Postmaster General, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of the Interior. Whenever a Cabinet officer succeeds to the Presidency he is required to call Congress in extraordinary session in order that it may provide for a new presidential election. This law insures the enjoyment of the Presidency by the party that carried the election and provides, as far as human wisdom can foresee, against every possibility of danger from an interregnum. The second legislative act, also drafted by Senator Hoar, has reference to the Presidency, its purpose being to provide an effective means of counting the electoral vote in cases of dispute. The lack of such a law, as we have seen, brought two parties to the verge of civil war in 1876. Ever since that time public opinion had demanded the enactment of a law which would provide a fair and peaceable method of canvassing the electoral vote. Congress moved tardily, as it always did in those days, and it was not until February, 1887, that a measure was finally matured and enacted into law after long debate and many conferences.

The statute is a comprehensive one, and undertakes to regulate in every detail the procedure of the count. It fixes the time for the meeting of Congress for the purpose of the count at one o'clock p. m. on the second Wednesday in February following the election, designates the place of the meeting, prescribes the or-

ganization of Congress while acting as a canvassing board, designates those who shall act as tellers and those who shall open the vote, and prescribes the form in which objections shall be raised to the returns from any State. It provides, furthermore, that whenever an objection is raised to any return the two houses shall separate, deliberate upon the objection, reach their conclusions and reassemble, whereupon the presiding officer shall announce the decision. The rules governing the counting of the returns are briefly as follows: If the State from which a disputed return is sent up has provided a judicial tribunal or other authority for the determination of electoral contests, and the said tribunal has reached a decision as to who are the true electors at least six days before the meeting of the electors, then that return shall be received, provided the votes of these electors have been regularly and lawfully given. In case there is but a single return from any State, that return shall not be rejected, provided the appointment of the electors has been properly certified to and their votes have been regularly given. In case of conflicting returns from any State, and conflicting determinations have been made by State tribunals, each claiming to be the lawful authority, then Congress shall determine who are the true electors. But if the two houses acting concurrently cannot agree, the vote of the State shall not be counted.

In case of conflicting returns from a State in which no determination has been made as to who are the lawful electors, but one of the returns has the certificate of the governor attached thereto the votes given by such electors shall be counted unless the two houses acting separately decide otherwise. Lastly, if there are two or more returns from a State in which no determination has been reached as to who are the true electors, and neither return has the certificate of the governor, the two houses acting separately are to determine who are the lawful electors. If they cannot agree, the vote of the State shall not be counted. It will be noticed that the pervading principle of the Act is the placing of the responsibility for determining who are the lawful electors of each State upon the State itself, and whenever a determination has been reached through a tribunal created for the purpose, such decision is binding upon Congress. It is only when the State fails to settle for itself the question as to who are its electors that the action of Congress is necessary. The act has some features that

may lead to trouble; it does not cover all possible cases that may arise, but so far as human wit can foretell it is sufficiently comprehensive to remove the dangers of an interregnum, which once seriously threatened the country.[6]

In the same month in which the law for the regulation of the electoral count was passed the Interstate Commerce Act became law. This important measure was the first of a series of Acts designed to bring the railways of the United States under Federal supervision. The more immediate object was the prevention of unfair discrimination in respect to rates, places, and facilities. For the past ten or fifteen years loud complaints had been made that the railway companies were discriminating against the small manufacturers and producers by giving the large shippers cheaper freight rates. The example often quoted was that of the Standard Oil Compnay, which was allowed a large rebate on its shipments, in consequence of which the small refineries found it impossible to compete with their more favored and more powerful rival. These discriminations fell heavily on the small manufacturers, producers, and farmers, particularly in the West, where railroad facilities were greatly limited. In consequence of this dissatisfaction the Granger movement, as we have seen, was started in the West, and in time came to exert a powerful influence on the local politics of the Western and Southern States. Then there was discrimination against places: lower charges for a "long haul" than for a "short haul." Finally, there was the practice of "pooling," by which rival railway companies, to avoid competition and rate-cutting, put their freight earnings into a common fund to be proportionately divided among themselves.

The agitation for legislation against these practices began in President Grant's administration. He recommended an investigation, Congress appointed a committee for the purpose, and under the chairmanship of Mr. Windom, of Minnesota, it made a report in 1874, recommending the enactment of a law to provide some method of Federal supervision. Again in 1886 an investigation was made by a Senate committee under the chairmanship of Senator Cullom, of Illinois, and again Federal supervision was recommended as the remedy. Already in 1878 the House had passed a bill, fathered by Mr. Reagan, of Texas, but the Senate took no action. In 1885 both houses passed bills, but it took them

[6] Burgess, "Political Science and Constitutional Law," vol. ii. p. 237.

two years to agree, and the act as finally passed in February, 1887, prohibits unreasonable or extortionate charges or discriminations against persons, places or commodities, forbids greater charges for "short hauls" than for "long hauls,"[7] prohibits competing railroads from "pooling" their freight traffic or their earnings, and created an Interstate Commerce Commission of five members to be appointed by the President, not more than three of whom shall belong to the same political party. The commission is given power to make investigations and to compel carriers to produce their books and papers and to give testimony. If, upon investigation, the commission finds that the law is being violated, it may order the violators to desist and may award damages to those who may have suffered from their illegal acts. If the order of the commission is disobeyed it may proceed against the railway by injunction or attachment in the Circuit Court of the United States. The commission is also given the power to prescribe for railway companies a uniform system of keeping accounts, and each railroad carrier subject to the act is required to make an annual report to the commission concerning its capitalization, equipment, business, receipts, expenditures, etc. It should be remembered that the act applied only to railway carriers who were engaged in interstate commerce, since Congress had no power over railroads wholly within the limits of a State. It should also be borne in mind that the commission at first was not clothed with power to fix rates, but only to decide what was an unreasonable and unlawful charge.[8]

IV

FOREIGN AFFAIRS: CHINESE EXCLUSION AND NORTHEASTERN FISHERIES; ANARCHIST RIOTS IN CHICAGO

A legislative measure of Mr. Cleveland's administration was an act passed in 1888 prohibiting the immigration of Chinese laborers to the United States. The beginning of the agitation against the Chinese in the United States has already been described in another chapter. There reference was made to President Hayes's action in 1877 in vetoing a bill to restrict the coming of

[7] The commission is empowered to suspend this provision whenever in its judgment it might work hardship, as might sometimes happen.

[8] E. R. Johnson, "American Railway Transportation," [illegible].

the Chinese, but there now was a President who had been elected on a party platform which contained a declaration in favor of restriction, and he would not use the veto. Meantime, in 1880, a new treaty had been negotiated with China, which conceded the right to the government of the United States to "regulate, limit or suspend but not to prohibit" the coming of Chinese laborers to this country, or their residence therein whenever such coming or residence should affect the interests of the country. In pursuance of this treaty Congress passed a bill in 1882 suspending the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States for a period of twenty years. The President vetoed the bill on the ground that restriction for so long a period was prohibition and in conflict with the spirit of the treaty and unjust to China. Congress thereupon modified the act so as to make the period of suspension ten years, and in this form the bill was approved. But simple suspension for a limited period did not satisfy the California labor unions. They wanted further restrictions and they clamored for an Exclusion Act.

As the presidential campaign of 1888 approached it began to look as if California's electoral vote would go to the candidate whose party was most in favor of exclusion. At this juncture, therefore, an act was hastily passed by Congress absolutely prohibiting the coming of Chinese laborers into the United States, in plain violation of the treaty between the two countries. President Cleveland refused to sign the act, but allowed it to become law without his signature, justifying his action by the failure of China to ratify a treaty which had just been negotiated for placing substantial restrictions upon the right of Chinese laborers lawfully in the United States to depart and return.[9] This was the first time in the history of the United States that the government had, in appearance at least, violated its treaty obligations with a foreign power. However, the United States was not without provocation. Any nation has unquestioned right to exclude from its dominions the immigration of foreigners whom it deems to be detrimental to the interests of its own people. In this case the nation whose subjects were pouring into the United States refused to consent through treaty stipulation to the exclusion of its undesirable population, and so nothing was left but to prohibit their coming by statute.

[9] Foster, "American Diplomacy in the Orient," p. 301.

Two other incidents in the foreign relations of the United States during this period deserve notice. One referred to an inter-oceanic canal concession and the other to the fishery dispute with Great Britain. During the last months of President Arthur's administration a treaty had been concluded with Nicaragua, by the provisions of which a canal was to be constructed by the United States through Nicaraguan territory connecting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The canal was to be owned jointly by the two powers. The United States also stipulated to protect the integrity of the territory of Nicaragua. When Cleveland became President the treaty was still before the Senate unratified. Shortly thereafter he withdrew it from the Senate for further consideration, and never returned it. In his annual message of December 8, 1885, he declared his intention not to re-submit the treaty, saying that he adhered to the tenets of a long line of precedents from Washington's day, which proscribe entangling alliances with foreign states and that he did not favor a policy of acquisition of new and distant territory. Furthermore, he affirmed that any canal constructed across the Isthmus must be for the world's benefit, a trust for mankind, to be removed from the chance of domination by any single power.[10]

The controversy with Great Britain touching the question of the Northeastern fisheries was the most serious foreign difficulty that arose during Cleveland's administration. By the treaty of independence with Great Britain in 1783 the right was conceded to the citizens of the United States to take fish on the banks of Newfoundland, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and other places, as well as the liberty of taking fish on the British American coasts, and of drying and curing fish in certain harbors, bays, creeks, etc. The British Government contended that the treaty granting these concessions was abrogated by the War of 1812, although the government of the United States vigorously denied it, insisting that this treaty was one of those permanent international agreements whose validity is never affected by the subsequent outbreak of hostilities between the contracting parties. Whatever were the facts as to this point, the difference was temporarily settled by a convention concluded in the year 1818. By this convention the United States renounced the right to take fish within British waters of northeastern America, with certain exceptions, and also

[10] "Foreign Relations, 1885," p. 5.

the right to dry and cure the same on British coasts, with certain exceptions. But American fishermen were to be permitted to enter the creeks, bays and harbors of the British dominions for the purpose of shelter and of repairing damages, purchasing supplies, obtaining bait, and the like.

In the course of the years that followed various disputes arose as to the interpretation of those provisions of the treaty relating to concessions and restrictions. Finally they were again temporarily settled by the reciprocity treaty of 1854, according to which, it will be remembered, reciprocal privileges of fishing in the waters of each country were granted the inhabitants of the other, and a considerable number of British products were allowed to be imported into the United States free of duty or at rates lower than those of the general tariff schedule. This treaty was in force twelve years, when it expired by limitation. The controversy was therefore revived, but it was for the third time temporarily set at rest by the Treaty of Washington of 1871. The British Government, in the meantime having raised the claim that the fishery privileges which the United States had enjoyed under the reciprocity treaty exceeded in value those granted the subjects of Great Britain, induced the United States to consent to the insertion of a provision in the treaty of 1871 for the submission to arbitration of the question of Great Britain's claim for compensation for the excessive privileges. This tribunal of arbitration, as has been pointed out in another chapter, in 1877 awarded the British Government the extraordinary sum of $5,500,000, an allowance so excessive as to cause general dissatisfaction in the United States, in consequence of which the government gave notice of its intention to terminate the treaty on July 1, 1885.

Various efforts were then made to reach some agreement with regard to fishery privileges, but without avail. Meanwhile American fishing smacks were being seized by the Canadians, to meet which, Congress, by an Act of March 3, 1887, authorized the President to adopt measures of retaliation. A little later the two governments united in creating a joint commission of six persons of distinguished ability to prepare a treaty for the settlement of the questions at issue.[11] The commission met at Washington in the

[11] The members of the commission were: For the United States, Secretary of State Thomas F. Bayard, President James B. Angell, of the University of Michigan, and Hon. W. L. Putnam, of Maine; for Great Britain, Rt. Hon.

autumn of 1887 and, after laboring three or four months, finally concluded an agreement known as the Bayard Chamberlain Treaty. The treaty was, however, regarded as having yielded too much to the British, and was rejected by the Senate. At the time of the conclusion of the treaty the British commissioners offered a temporary arrangement, or *modus vivendi*, pending ratification. This agreement was accepted by the American commissioners, and after the rejection of the treaty it was renewed and has since continued to constitute the fishery arrangement between the two countries.[12]

The domestic tranquillity of the country throughout the four years of Mr. Cleveland's administration was interrupted only by a few labor disturbances and an anarchist riot in Chicago. The order known as the Knights of Labor, organized a few years before, had now attained a membership of over half a million and was playing an important part in determining the relations between capital and labor. It advocated equal rights for women, common ownership of land, government ownership of public utilities and other socialistic policies. In the year 1886, in consequence of the dismissal of an employee of the Texas Pacific Railroad, the executive authority of the order directed a strike of the employees.

The strike soon spread to other roads and led to serious interference with travel and traffic throughout a great part of the Southwest. In St. Louis the disorders were so great that Federal troops had to be called out to preserve the peace. Several bloody riots occurred, a number of persons were killed, and a large amount of property was destroyed. About the same time a strike of workmen occurred in Chicago in furtherance of a movement to secure the adoption of an eight-hour labor day. The usual disturbances followed, in the course of which several workmen were shot by police or Pinkerton detectives.

On the evening of May 4 following, an indignation meeting of laboring men was held in Haymarket Square to protest against the acts of the police, and a number of incendiary addresses were delivered by anarchists and others. While one of the most violent of the speakers, Samuel Fielden by name, was delivering a harangue on the tyranny of government and law, a squad of policemen forced

Joseph Chamberlain, Sir Charles Tupper, of Canada, and Sir Lionel Sackville West, the British minister at Washington.

[12] Snow, "Topics in American Diplomacy," p. 467.

their way to the speaker's stand and commanded him to desist. At this juncture a dynamite bomb was thrown among the police, killing seven of their number and wounding many others. A storm of indignation burst out and the country was aroused for the first time to the danger of the anarchist element in the large cities, where most of them had congregated. Seven of those concerned in the Haymarket affair were convicted and sentenced to death. The sentences of two of them, Schwab and Fielden, were commuted to life imprisonment; four, Engel, Spies, Parsons and Fischer, were hanged, and one, Lingg, committed suicide in prison while awaiting the gallows. Two of those who were hanged were editors of sheets devoted to anarchistic propaganda. A few years afterward Governor Altgeld brought upon himself widespread criticism by pardoning the anarchists still in prison. He insisted that they had not been given a fair trial, that there was no evidence that they had thrown the bomb, that the jury had been "packed" with prejudiced men and that the judge had not conducted the trial in a judicial manner.[13]

[13] It was during Mr. Cleveland's term that the country was called upon to mourn the death of ex-President Grant. After his retirement from the Presidency he had engaged in business in New York City, but on account of the dishonesty of the firm with which he was connected the business failed and the General was financially ruined. He then set to work writing his "Memoirs," to provide means for the support of his family, whom he expected soon to leave behind. Suffering from an incurable cancerous trouble, he continued his work under great difficulties until a few days before his death, which occurred at Mount McGregor, near Saratoga, on July 23, 1888. The whole nation, South as well as North, united in mourning his loss and in paying tribute to his character. Southern legislatures passed resolutions of praise, Southern newspapers spoke of his great qualities as a man and a soldier, Southern commanders in the late war praised his magnanimity and kindness of heart. On August 8 his remains, accompanied by the most splendid funeral pageant ever witnessed in America, were laid to rest in Riverside Park on the banks of the Hudson in the upper part of the city of New York. There over his tomb the people of the United States have erected the most stately mausoleum that has ever been built to mark the resting place of any American.

Chapter XLI

THE ADMINISTRATION OF BENJAMIN HARRISON
1888–1892

I

DEFEAT OF CLEVELAND

THE ascendency of the Democrats in 1884 was destined to be short-lived. The issue which led to their defeat in the elections of 1888 was the tariff question, which, as has been said, was purposely made the issue by Mr. Cleveland. At this time there was a large surplus in the national treasury, which led the President to conclude that more revenue was being collected from the taxpayers than an economical administration of the government required. The traditions of the Democratic party were all in the direction of a low tariff, and, as a whole, they protested against the continuance indefinitely of the high duties which had been levied to carry on the war. There was, however, a small but influential group of Democrats, of whom Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania, was the leader, who favored protective duties, and until now they had kept the Democratic House from taking a positive stand in favor of a tariff for revenue only. But it seemed to Cleveland that the widespread unrest in the labor world as well as the accumulation of more revenues than the government could legitimately expend, afforded indisputable proof that the tariff schedule needed revision in the direction of lower duties. The necessity for protecting infant industries no longer existed, and the new Republican contention that the continuance of the high tariff was necessary to keep up the wages of the laboring man, he said, was fallacious, because the laboring classes everywhere were loudly complaining that wages were unusually low. It was the manufacturer instead of the laborer, he thought, who was receiving the lion's share of the benefits; it seemed to him, therefore, to be outright favoritism on the part of the government, and favoritism, too, to those who least of all needed it. At the same time it was

imposing irritating burdens upon the farmers of the South and West, upon the laborers in the great industrial centers, and in fact upon consumers generally, by increasing the cost of the necessaries of life.

So thought the President, and he determined, without consultation with his party associates, to throw down the gauntlet to the Republicans and raise an issue on this score. Accordingly he devoted nearly the whole of his annual message of December 6, 1887, to the subject of the tariff, which he discussed with his characteristic directness. The imposition upon the people of greater taxes than was necessary for the "careful and economical maintenance of the government," he characterized as "indefensible extortion and a culpable betrayal of American fairness and justice." He denounced the existing tariff law as "vicious, inequitable and illegal"; and declared that whatever artificial advantage was gained by the laborer from a protective tariff was more than offset by the enhanced cost of living. The stubbornness with which the favored beneficiaries of the tariff had resisted all efforts looking toward a revision of the existing schedule had naturally, he said, led to the widespread suspicion that there existed an organized combination all along the line to maintain their advantage. "The simple and plain duty which we owe to the people is to reduce taxation to the necessary expenses of an economical operation of the government, and restore to the business of the country the money which we hold in the Treasury through the perversion of governmental powers." The question of free trade, he contended, was not involved, and no good could result from a discussion of the theories of protection and free trade. "It is," he said, "a condition which confronts us — not a theory." [1]

Thus did the President of his own initiative make an issue for his party. Undecided, halting, half confused, partly divided among themselves, they fell into line and prepared to force the Republicans to consent to revision or take a positive stand in favor of the continuance of a protective tariff. A measure embodying the views of the President was brought in by Roger Q. Mills, of Texas, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, and in July, 1888, it passed the House of Representatives against the strenuous and united opposition of the Republicans and also against the votes of four Democrats. The Mills Bill attempted a systematic re-

[1] Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," vol. viii. p. 590.

vision of the existing law in the direction of lower rates on raw materials and necessaries of life and higher duties on luxuries. It was not a radical measure, but the Republicans loudly denounced it as the very embodiment of free trade fallacies, and when it came up in the Senate it was not only rejected, but a substitute proposing even higher duties than those of the existing law was brought in and favorably reported. Thus did the Republicans take up the gauntlet thrown down by the Democrats, and with this clear-cut issue both parties went to the country for the verdict of the people, in November, 1888.

President Cleveland had been renominated by his party without opposition, and with him Allen G. Thurman, a sturdy old-fashioned Democrat, of Ohio, had been nominated for Vice President. Judge Thurman was a picturesque figure in politics, popularly called the "old Roman," and possessed wide popularity in the West. With less unanimity the Republicans had nominated Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, and Levi P. Morton, of New York. Blaine was still the favorite, but while absent in Italy he had declined to allow his name to be presented, saying that he would not go through another contest like that of 1884 even with the certainty of the Presidency at the end of it.[2] He was in Scotland at the time of the meeting of the national convention, and repeatedly did his friends beseech him by cable to allow the use of his name, but he positively declined and even asserted that he would refuse the nomination if it were accorded him. His health was bad and he was already suffering from the malady which four years later ended his earthly career. Other prominent candidates who received strong support in the convention were John Sherman, of Ohio, Walter Q. Gresham, of Indiana, Chauncey M. Depew, of New York, and Russell A. Alger, of Michigan. After seven ineffectual ballots, General Harrison was nominated. Sherman afterward charged that he was beaten by intrigue, and that Harrison had secured the support of the New York delegation by pledges made through his friends.[3]

Benjamin Harrison was a grandson of President William Henry Harrison and great-grandson of that Benjamin Harrison who signed the Declaration of Independence and was a member of the first Continental Congress. He had served through the Civil

[2] Crawford, "Life of Blaine," p. 503.
[3] John Sherman, "Recollections," vol. ii. p. 1029.

War with credit, attaining the rank of brevet brigadier general for gallantry in Sherman's north Georgia campaign. He had never played a prominent part in national politics, although he had served one term as a member of the United States Senate. One of the foremost lawyers of the country, possessing an acute, penetrating and analytical mind, a forcible speaker, with an unimpeachable record, enjoying great popularity in Indiana, a pivotal State, and with the prestige of a historic name, he proved to be a strong candidate. The minor parties, Prohibitionists, Labor, Farmers' Alliance, and others, had candidates in the field, but their strength was too inconsiderable to affect the result.

The paramount issue was, as has been said, the tariff question. The Democratic platform endorsed Cleveland's tariff message and approved the Mills Bill. The Republicans condemned both as injurious to the business and labor interests of the country and pronounced unequivocally in favor of the "American system of protection." In answer to the Democratic demand for a reduction of the revenues they proposed a reduction of internal revenue taxes, but insisted that the protective system should remain untouched. The campaign which now ensued was not marked by any extraordinary or unusual features, but it was conducted on a much higher plane than that of 1884. There was no such scathing personal denunciation of the candidates, and with a single exception no undignified, unclean methods. It was rather a campaign of education, each side endeavoring to prove by arguments the consistency of its own views with the teachings of sound political economy and practical expediency. Both candidates remained quietly at home and refused to make campaign tours through the country. General Harrison received delegation after delegation at his residence in Indianapolis, to each of which he delivered an address of welcome. Altogether he made ninety-four speeches, which for felicitousness, tactfulness, dignity and force were probably never surpassed by the offhand deliverances of any political candidate in the history of the country. Not one of them contained anything that embarrassed his candidacy or called for an apology or needed explanation, and, altogether, they made a very favorable impression, particularly in the East, where General Harrison was not well known.

An incident of the campaign, which is believed to have cost Mr. Cleveland many votes, was a piece of Republican trickery

1888

which resulted in the summary dismissal of Lord Sackville, the British minister to the United States, for expressing an opinion on the probable attitude of the presidential candidates toward the mother country. One "Murchison," of California, whose real name was Osgoodby, wrote to Lord Sackville, representing himself to be a naturalized American citizen of English origin, and solicited his advice as to how he should vote in the approaching election. To his request for enlightenment the minister replied, saying: "You are probably aware that any political party which openly favored the mother country at the present moment (Anglo-American relations were somewhat strained on account of the fishery dispute) would lose popularity, and that the party in power is fully aware of the fact. The party, however, is, I believe, still desirous of maintaining friendly relations with Great Britain," etc. The Republicans held back this correspondence until a few days before the election, when it appeared in all the principal newspapers of the country and in millions of handbills. The publication of the letter created a great commotion in political circles, and Cleveland was at once called the "British candidate." Convinced that something must be done to check the tide against him, he decided to get rid of the ambassador on the ground that he had interfered in the political affairs of the country to which he was accredited. The British Government was therefore informed that Lord Sackville was *persona non grata* and his recall requested. This request Lord Salisbury denied, and thereupon the President sent the ambassador his passports and suspended further intercourse with him. The British Government showed its resentment by leaving Lord Sackville's post vacant during the remaining months of the existing administration. The President's action was criticised as demagogic and headstrong, while it was defended by others on the ground that Lord Sackville was guilty of gross impropriety in thus interfering in the election campaign. It is, of course, impossible to say what influence the affair had upon the results of the election, but there is probably little doubt that it was unfavorable to Mr. Cleveland.

Whatever the facts may have been, Harrison was elected, receiving 233 electoral votes as against 168 for Cleveland, although the latter received about 250,000 more of the popular vote than did his opponent. The only Northern States carried by Cleveland were Connecticut and New Jersey. Both Indiana and New York,

which he had carried in 1884, were lost by the Democrats. The failure to carry New York was due mainly to the defection of Tammany Hall from Mr. Cleveland, David B. Hill, the Tammany nominee for governor, being easily elected over his Republican opponent. Besides the Presidency, the Republicans controlled both houses of Congress by small majorities. Great was the exultation of the Republicans over their victory, and all over the land campaign revellers could be heard singing:

"Down in the cornfield
Hear that mournful sound;
All the Democrats are weeping —
Grover's in the cold, cold ground."

II

THE M'KINLEY TARIFF LAW; THE SHERMAN ANTI-TRUST AND SILVER ACTS; THE DEMOCRATIC "LANDSLIDE" OF 1890

The Republicans quickly interpreted their victory at the polls as *carte blanche* from the people to proceed with the fulfillment of their declarations and pledges with regard to the tariff. The Ways and Means Committee, of which William McKinley of Ohio, was chairman, prepared a new tariff bill with highly protective features, and it passed the House in May, 1890, after only two weeks of debate. The Senate held it up for consideration for three or four months, and finally altered it to such extent as to require the intervention of a conference committee before an agreement could be reached. As finally passed it was the highest protective measure ever known in American history — much higher in fact than many Republicans considered to be necessary or wise. It placed sugar on the free list, and as a protection to the domestic sugar growers allowed them a bounty of two cents a pound on both beet and cane sugar of a certain standard. An important provision of the law was that which enacted that certain articles, such as sugar, molasses, coffee, hides and tea, should be admitted free of duty, provided the country from which they were imported admitted free of duty products from the United States. The President was authorized to impose a duty on these articles whenever the countries from which they were imported refused reciprocal free rates

to our products.[4] The McKinley Tariff Law aroused tremendous opposition among the Democrats in the South and West, and even some prominent Republicans, like Blaine, attacked it.[5] Its enactment was promptly followed by an increase of prices of many of the necessaries of life and a curtailment of American trade with foreign countries.

While the McKinley Bill was going through Congress, extraordinary scenes were taking place in the House of Representatives. The House as elected was Republican by a majority of only three members, and it had chosen for Speaker, Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, a man of unusual force of character and brilliancy of intellect and a skilled parliamentarian of resource and firmness. Up to this time the right of the minority to obstruct the procedure of the House in at least two ways had always been recognized. These were by refusing to vote for the purpose of breaking a quorum and by interposing dilatory motions, such as motions to adjourn, to fix a day to which the House should adjourn, and the like. This obstructive procedure was regarded as a fair and just privilege of the minority, notwithstanding it sometimes led to a complete hold-up of legislative business. Thus, in 1880, when Carlisle, of Kentucky, was Speaker, one member kept the House engaged in roll calls for eight days in an effort to secure consideration of a bill to organize the Territory of Oklahoma. During the debate on the Force Bill, in 1875, the Democrats sat in their seats and refused to vote, and thus broke the quorum. Some of the Republicans protested that members who were present and refused to vote ought to be counted, but the Speaker, James G. Blaine, ruled that the Chair could not declare a quorum, unless it was shown by a yea and nay vote, and he contended that any departure from the old rule would lead to dangers unforeseen. As a result the House had sunk into a condition of inanity, and representative government was coming to an end. Mr. Reed, fully alive to this evil situation, had no such scruples nor any regard for the old and ruinous precedents. It seemed to him ridiculous that the minority should have more power by neglecting its duty than by performing it, and that members should be considered as present for one thing and absent for another. He therefore determined to inaugurate a new rule.

[4] Taussig, "Tariff History," pp. 251–283.
[5] Dodge, "Life of Blaine," p. 185.

The battle began on January 21, 1890, when he refused Bland's demand for tellers on a motion to adjourn, for the plain reason that it was a dilatory motion. The Democrats raised a storm of opposition and denounced the Speaker for ruthlessly trampling upon the rights of the minority. On the same day the majority wished to take up a contested election case. The Democrats objected, and when a motion was made to take up the case 165 Democrats sat in their seats and refused to answer the roll call. According to the old rules they were absent, and as only 163 Republicans were present there was no quorum as required by the Constitution for the transaction of business. But no rules had as yet been adopted, and acting under the principles of general parliamentary law, Reed directed the clerk to record as present those who refused to vote. Immediately pandemonium broke out. Cries of "revolutionary," "tyrant," etc., filled the chamber. The scene was unparalleled in the history of Congress. The Speaker was denounced as a despot and was given the title of "Czar Reed." But he was unmoved by all denunciation and calmly announced his intention of disregarding all motions and appeals which were obviously intended for delay and to count as present all who were in their seats.[6] The minority continued to complain for a brief period, but they soon came to appreciate the obvious necessity of such a change, and when they became the majority, as they did in the next Congress, they adopted Reed's sensible rule. It has now become a permanent feature of the rules of procedure of the House of Representatives and has saved the House as a legislative body.

Another feature of the Republican policy was the enactment of a "Force Bill," as the Democrats called it, for the supervision of Federal elections. The purpose of the proposed law was to secure to the negroes of the South the full enjoyment of the suffrage in congressional and presidential elections, of which they were alleged to have been largely deprived by intimidation and violence. The bill proposed to do this in the last resort by the use of armed force. The introduction of such a measure into the House aroused the whole South, and from every quarter came the bitterest denunciation. The Southerners resented the charge that they interfered with the right of the negroes to vote as they pleased, and asserted that the proposed law was an attempt of the Repub-

[6] Follett, "The Speaker of the House of Representatives," p. 192.

licans to concoct a scheme by which the Southern States might be carried for them in the face of Democratic majorities. In the House the Democrats fought the bill to the last, but in consequence of the Reed rules they were unable to prevent its passage. In the Senate, however, where the rules and practices are more favorable to filibustering, the bill was finally defeated after a protracted and obstinate contest, chiefly through the efforts of Senator Gorman, of Maryland, aided by a few Silver Republicans.

Still another part of the administration programme was the enactment of a dependent pension law. A measure was accordingly brought in similar to that vetoed by President Cleveland, allowing a pension to all Union soldiers and sailors above a certain age who had served in the Civil War as long as three months, if they were disabled by any cause from earning a livelihood, and the benefits of this provision were extended to all dependents of such persons. The measure was severely criticised as a gigantic raid on the Treasury, but it passed both houses, and received the approval of the President. In three years after the enactment of the law the expenditure for pensions had risen from $107,620,232 to about $161,774,372. Never in the history of the world has a nation been so lavishly generous toward its old soldiers and sailors as has been the United States. It spends more in one year for pensions than most of the European nations spend in a generation.

An important statute which bids fair to become a permanent feature of Federal jurisprudence was the Sherman Anti Trust Act, so called, enacted in July, 1890. Recent years had witnessed a tremendous growth in the United States of large industrial combinations or "trusts," as they were popularly called, for the purpose of suppressing competition and keeping up prices. In almost every line of industrial activity manufacturers formed combinations and raised the prices of their products to such a point as the traffic would bear. Manufacturers who refused to join the "trusts" were crushed to death by their more powerful rivals. A good example was the sugar "trust," which brought into its grasp every refinery in the United States except two small ones in Boston, and which was powerful enough to fix the price of every pound of sugar produced in the country. Of a similar character were the Standard Oil "trust," the whisky "trust," the barbed wire "trust," the wire nail "trust," the tobacco "trust," the beef

"trust," and almost a hundred others. The States began to pass laws directed against "combinations in restraint of trade," and appeals were made to Congress to help in the good work. After a discussion lasting through many weeks and months the Sherman Act of July 2, 1890, was passed. As the power of Congress over trade and commerce is limited by the Constitution to such only as is of an interstate character, the scope of the Sherman Act is, of course, greatly restricted.

The law provides that every contract, combination in the form of a trust or otherwise, or conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce, among the several States, or with foreign nations, shall be deemed illegal, and every person who shall make any such combination or engage in any such conspiracy shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction, shall be punished by a fine, not exceeding $5,000, or by imprisonment, not exceeding one year, or both. Every person who shall monopolize or attempt to monopolize, or combine or conspire with any other person to monopolize or attempt to monopolize, any part of the trade or commerce among the States or with foreign nations shall be punished with a like penalty. The law has not fully met the expectations of its framers. As the courts interpret it the sugar "trust," the whisky "trust" and many others do not come within its purview. Interest in the law, however, has lately been revived by the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Northern Securities case, by which the "merger" of two great western railroads, the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific, was dissolved. The recent appropriation by Congress of $500,000 to pay the expenses of prosecuting "trusts" under the Sherman Act, the creation of a bureau of corporations in the Department of Labor and Commerce with inquisitorial powers, and the enactment of a law to expedite "trust" prosecutions shows that Congress, at least, believes that the law can be effectively enforced.

Two other important legislative acts affecting interstate commerce were enacted the same year. One of these was the "original package" law, passed in deference to the Prohibition sentiment of the country and in consequence of a decision of the Supreme Court, denying the right of the States to exclude the importation of intoxicating liquors from other States or from abroad.[7] This decision practically nullified the Prohibition laws of

[7] Leisy vs. Hardin, 135 U. S. Reports, p. 100.

those States like Iowa, which had undertaken to suppress the liquor traffic within their jurisdiction. Congress yielded to the appeals of those who represented the Prohibition sentiment and passed an act providing that intoxicating liquor brought into a State should be subject to the police power of the said State immediately upon its arrival within the State, whether imported in the "original package" or otherwise. The act was believed by many to be unconstitutional, as a surrender by Congress of its power to regulate interstate commerce, but the Supreme Court affirmed its validity.[8]

The other act was likewise passed in deference to the moral sentiment of the country. It prohibited the transportation of lottery tickets and circulars through the mails of the United States. The express companies, however, were left free to carry them as they pleased. Five years later this law was supplemented by another which prohibited the carrying of lottery tickets from one State to another, in any manner whether by express or otherwise. This act was attacked in the Courts as unconstitutional, on the ground that the right of Congress to regulate commerce did not include the right to prohibit it, but the Supreme Court sustained its validity.[9] These acts grew out of the anti-lottery sentiment aroused by the prolonged and bitter contest in Louisiana, where a lottery incorporated by the State had existed and flourished since 1868. By 1890 its power had become so great that it was able to control to a large extent the politics of the State in its own interest. Its revenues were enormous; one-third of all the mail matter received at New Orleans was addressed to the lottery, while the money orders which it cashed exceeded $30,000 a day. But the moral sentiment of the State revolted against the continuance of such a gigantic gambling concern, and when the company prepared to ask for a renewal of its charter, which was to expire in 1893, a most determined campaign against renewal was inaugurated by the good people of the commonwealth. The company offered in return for a twenty-five-year lease of power over a million dollars a year, which, in view of the somewhat impoverished condition of the State, was a tempting inducement. By a liberal use of money a proposal to amend the constitution so as to allow the company a new charter was passed by the legislature by

[8] See Rahrer, 140 U. S. Reports, p. 545.
[9] Champion vs. U. S., decided February 23, 1903.

a two-thirds majority, but was promptly vetoed by the governor, Murphy James Foster. But the company did not give up the fight, and finally secured the submission of an amendment. The people of the State now divided into two parties, "pros" and "antis," and each put out a candidate for governor and went before the voters on the one issue of "lottery" or "no lottery." One of the most exciting campaigns in the history of any State ensued, and Foster, the anti-lottery candidate swept the commonwealth. This sealed the fate of the lottery, and after the expiration of its charter it betook itself to Honduras, where it had been granted a concession by the government of that impecunious republic.

Of equal importance with the anti-trust and anti-lottery legislation was the new currency Act of 1890, popularly known as the "Sherman Silver Law," designed to meet, and as a compromise to fend off, an absolute free coinage law. It repealed the Bland-Allison Act and directed the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase four and a half million ounces of silver bullion per month, and to pay for the same with treasury notes expressly issued for the purpose, which were to be a legal tender for the payment of all debts, unless otherwise stipulated, and also receivable for the payment of customs duties and taxes. The notes were to be redeemed in gold or silver coin, and the Secretary was required to coin each month 2,000,000 ounces of the silver purchased until July 1, 1891, after which only so much as might be necessary to redeem the treasury notes issued for the purpose. While the Bland-Allison Law was repealed by the Sherman Act, the latter, nevertheless, declared it to be the policy of the government to maintain the two metals upon a parity at the existing ratio or at some other fixed by Congress. This law was the result of the widespread popular demand for an increase in the volume of money in circulation and for more friendly legislation in the interest of silver. Strangely enough, the Senate, which, in 1878, rejected the proposition of the House to throw open the mints to the free and unlimited coinage of silver, now favored free coinage, while the House did not. This circumstance was due partly to the reënforcement of the silver contingent in the Senate by the admission of several new Western States to the Union. The Sherman Act, like the others preceding it, was ineffective, so far as keeping up the price of silver was concerned, and three years later was repealed by a Democratic Congress.

From this brief review of the record of the Fifty-first Congress it will be seen that much more than the usual amount of important legislation had been enacted. With this record the Republicans went to the country in the congressional elections of 1890 and asked for an endorsement of their work. They had enacted some useful laws which met the general approval of the country, but the Dependent Pension Bill, the proposed Force Bill and the McKinley Tariff Law proved heavy weights to carry in the campaign. The enactment of the new tariff had been followed by an increase of prices. Worse still had been the extravagant appropriations footing up altogther to over nine hundred million dollars — a record of expenditures by one Congress unprecedented in the history of the country. In consequence the Fifty-first Congress was dubbed by its opponents the "billion dollar Congress," the Republicans aptly responding with "this is a billion dollar country." The problem of the surplus to which Cleveland had adverted in one of his messages had been largely disposed of by government drafts to meet the enlarged expenses. All this made excellent campaign material for the Democrats, and when the votes were counted it was found that they had swept the country by a majority the largest in the history of that party. The election was what in political parlance is described as a "landslide." The small Democratic minority in the House was transformed into a majority of about one hundred and fifty. The able and popular McKinley was among the many prominent Republicans who were defeated. Never since the beginning of its career was the sorrowing in the Republican ranks so great, but it was destined to be only short-lived. One of the surprising features of this election was the strength shown by the People's Party, or the "Populists," as they were variously called.

III

FOREIGN AFFAIRS; LYNCHING OF ITALIANS; THE SAMOAN DISPUTE; RELATIONS WITH CHILI; SETTLEMENT OF BEHRING SEA DISPUTE

The foreign relations of the United States during Harrison's administration were on the whole peaceful, although there were several irritating incidents which deserve brief mention. One of these arose out of the lynching of eleven Italians by a mob in

New Orleans in March, 1891. The city had been thrown into great excitement by the murder of the Chief of Police, D. C. Hennessy, by members of an Italian secret society known as the "Mafia," whose crimes Hennessy had been active in ferreting out. Eleven suspects were put on trial, and the evidence showed that they were guilty, but to the amazement of the court and the citizens not one was convicted. At this verdict the popular indignation knew no bounds. A mass meeting was called to meet at the Clay statue on Canal Street, and after listening to the harangue of an excited speaker the crowd made its way to the prison, battered down the heavy iron doors and put the Italians to death. Three of the victims were subjects of the King of Italy; the rest were naturalized Americans. Our treaty with Italy guaranteed to Italian subjects residing in the United States full protection in their persons and property. The Italian Government immediately lodged a protest with the Government of the United States, demanding an indemnity and the speedy punishment of those concerned in the lynching. This proved to be an embarrassing request. In vain did Mr. Blaine attempt to explain to the Italian ambassador, Baron Fava, that under our system of government the punishment of criminals with a few exceptions is a function of the State governments. But the ambassador, as well as the Italian public, could not understand why, if the United States had promised to protect Italian subjects, it should attempt to evade that duty by throwing the responsibility upon one of the local governments. It seemed to them like equivocation and evasion. After a long and somewhat acrimonious diplomatic controversy, in the course of which Mr. Blaine told the Italian ambassador that he did not recognize the right of any government to tell the United States what it should do, and that it was a matter of indifference to him what the people of Italy thought of our institutions, the matter was finally settled by the agreement of the Italian Government to accept an indemnity of $25,000 to be distributed among the families of the murdered Italian subjects. Thus the difficulty was amicably settled; but it gave prominence for the first time in recent years to a defect in our Federal system, namely, the impotency of the national government in carrying out its treaty obligations respecting the subjects of other nations resident in the United States.

Another diplomatic complication of the time arose from our

relations with the far away South Pacific Island of Samoa. The first time the attention of the United States was directed to this group of islands, of which Samoa is the chief, was in 1873, when an enthusiastic American naval commander in the South Pacific concluded a treaty with the Samoan chief, by which the excellent harbor of Pago Pago was ceded to the United States as a naval station. But apparently the harbor was not wanted, and the Senate took no action on the treaty. In 1878, however, the United States after having declined an invitation from the Samoan chief to assume a protectorate over the islands, concluded with him a commercial treaty, by which the use of Pago Pago was secured as a naval station. Shortly afterward Great Britain and Germany concluded similar treaties, by which the independence of Samoa was recognized by the three governments. The ensuing years were marked by incessant wrangling and discord among the consuls of the three Powers and of civil disorder amounting at times to open war between the rival chiefs, Malietoa on the one hand, and Tamasese and Mataafa on the other. This state of affairs continued until 1885, when the German authorities assumed control on the ground that their large commercial interests were not sufficiently protected. This somewhat high-handed action irritated the British and American authorities and called forth protests from their respective governments. Upon the suggestion of Secretary of State Bayard, a conference of the three powers was held at Washington in 1887 to devise some scheme for insuring stable government in the islands and preserving the peace, but no agreement was reached.

Shortly after the adjournment of the conference another outbreak between the followers of the rival chiefs occurred, in the course of which the Germans dethroned and deported Malietoa and installed Tamasese as king with a German resident as adviser. This act upon the part of the German authorities caused great indignation in the United States. Congress appropriated half a million dollars for the protection of American interests in the islands, and a squadron was sent to Samoan waters. Early in 1889 the squadron was practically destroyed by a terrific hurricane which swept over the islands, and this served to direct further attention to the archipelago. Soon after the accession of President Harrison a commission of three Americans of high character was sent to Berlin to join similar commissioners representing the two other

powers concerned, and a scheme was finally agreed upon, June 14, 1889, by which a sort of joint protectorate of the three powers was established over the islands, large judicial and administrative powers being given to a foreign justice selected by joint agreement. The tripartite protectorate, however, did not work satisfactorily, the disorders broke out afresh, and ten years later a new treaty was concluded, by which the Samoan group was divided between the three powers, the United States taking Tutuila and Germany the rest. Great Britain was contented to receive assurances from Germany of territorial compensation in other directions.[10] In thus insisting upon the right to determine the status of a group of remote and semi-barbarous islands, and in finally absorbing the largest of them, the United States gave evidence of the new spirit of territorial expansion which was now apparently becoming a well established feature of our national policy.

A diplomatic dispute with the little South American republic of Chili attracted public attention in 1891. One of those civil wars which have come to be almost every-day occurrences in the Latin American republics was going on between the followers of President Balmaceda and the "Congressional party," in the course of which the American minister, Mr. Egan, took sides with the former. The congressional party were offended at the avowed sympathy of the minister, and conceived a feeling of hostility toward all Americans in Chili. The unfriendliness of the insurgents toward the Americans was further increased by the action of the United States authorities in seizing the *Itata*, a Chilian cruiser in the service of that party, on the ground that it was believed to be violating the neutrality laws of the United States in carrying arms and ammunition from California to be used by the revolutionists. The popular indignation reached a climax on October 17, 1891, when a detachment of American sailors from the *Baltimore* were attacked on the streets of Valparaiso, two of whom were killed and fifteen or twenty wounded. The affair created general indignation in the United States and this was heightened when the Chilian Minister of Foreign Affairs imputed to the government of the United States motives of insincerity. In January, 1892, Mr. Blaine presented to the Chilian Government an ultimatum for suitable reparation, and it was promptly complied with, but only under

[10] Foster, "American Diplomacy in the Orient," ch. xii.; Snow, "Topics in American Diplomacy," pp. 398–422.

a threat of war. The Chilian Government apologized for the language of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, expressed regret for the attack upon the American sailors and offered $75,000 as an indemnity for the outrage.

A legislative measure affecting the diplomatic service and indicating a tendency toward a more active and dignified foreign policy was an Act of 1892 raising the rank of certain ministers to that of ambassadors whenever the countries to which they were accredited should send an ambassador to the United States. The measure grew out of the inconvenience and embarrassments to which our ministers had been subjected in matters of precedence at foreign courts. Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, appointed ambassador to England in 1893, was the first American representative abroad to enjoy the new rank.

The most important long standing international complication which occupied the attention of the Harrison administration was that relating to the seal fisheries in Behring Sea. The sealing industry in these waters is the most valuable in the world and was one of the considerations which induced the United States to purchase Alaska from Russia in 1867. From 1870 to 1890 it yielded an average of 100,000 skins a year, and the company to which the fishery had been leased paid an annual rental to the United States of $50,000 in addition to $2.62½ per skin. The seals have a fixed habitation off the Alaskan shore, but during the breeding season they regularly cross the open sea to the Pribylov Islands, which belong to the United States. About 1886 Canadian fishermen began the practice of shooting the seals while making the passage through the open sea beyond the three-mile limit, often killing both male and female. It soon became evident that as a result of indiscriminate slaughter the seal fisheries were in danger of being destroyed.

The government of the United States therefore proposed to the British Government that a convention be entered into between the two powers for the purpose of restricting the season during which seals could be taken and forbidding their molestation during the breeding season. The expediency of the convention was at once recognized by Great Britain, and her concurrence promised. Upon request the United States proceeded to draw up the necessary regulations, when an unexpected obstacle occurred in the opposition of the Canadian Government, whose subjects

were profiting by the depredation. The Canadian objections could not be overcome, and the scheme had to be abandoned.

The government of the United States now resolved to act on its own authority and put a stop to the depredations. In August, 1886, three British vessels were seized in Behring Sea by a United States cruiser for taking seals in a part of the sea from 45 to 115 miles from land. The British Government protested and the captures were restored. But a prolonged diplomatic controversy with Great Britain ensued, in the course of which the United States took the ground that the waters in which the seizures were made did not constitute a part of the open sea, but were within the jurisdiction of the United States. An attempt was made to show that Russia had treated this part of the Behring Sea as *mare clausum* and that whatever rights she possessed in this respect passed to the United States by the cession of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands in 1867. In 1889 Mr. Blaine became Secretary of State and entered upon a long diplomatic controversy with the British ambassador, Sir Julian Pauncefote, in regard to the dispute. Other grounds than *mare clausum* were now put forth in defense of the position of the United States. The stand was taken that the Canadian practice was *contra bonos mores*, a practice which involved a serious and permanent injury to the rights of the government and the people of the United States. It was further asserted that the United States had a right of property in the seals by reason of its ownership of the coast on which they live and of the islands to which they regularly resort for the purpose of producing and rearing their young; and this property was claimed and exercised by Russia until ceded to the United States. Great Britain, it was said, had impliedly recognized it by abstaining from all interference therein until about the year 1886. In view of the pending negotiations for the settlement of the dispute by arbitration, a *modus vivendi* was agreed to on June 15, 1891, and the depredations were ordered to be discontinued for the period of one year.

Finally an arbitration treaty was concluded February 29, 1892, providing for a reference of the questions in dispute to a commission of seven arbitrators, two to be appointed by the President of the United States, two by the Queen of England, one by the King of Sweden, one by the President of the French Republic, and one by the King of Italy. The arbitrators were duly appointed and met in Paris in the spring of 1893. The United States was

represented by able counsel, but when the evidence was all before the tribunal it was plain that the government had a very weak case with regard to the claim of exclusive jurisdiction in the Behring Sea, and it was not strongly pressed. The real question, therefore, and the one upon which the chief argument was directed, was the claim of the United States to a property right in the seals and the right of protecting them beyond the three-mile limit. The tribunal decided that Russia never asserted or exercised any exclusive jurisdiction over the Behring Sea beyond the three-mile limit; that Great Britain had never recognized any such claim; and that the United States had no right to the protection of, or to property in, the seals frequenting the islands of the United States in the Behring Sea when found outside the three-mile limit. The tribunal, however, prescribed a series of regulations for preserving the seal herds, and these were to be binding upon and enforced by both nations. They limit pelagic sealing as to time, place and manner by fixing a zone of sixty miles around the Pribylov Islands within which the seals are not to be molested at any time, and from May 1 to July 31 each year they are not to be pursued anywhere in Behring Sea. Only licensed sailing vessels are permitted to engage in fur-sealing, and the use of firearms or explosives is interdicted. The regulations are to remain in force until abolished by mutual agreement, but are to be examined every five years with a view to modification. Of course the restrictions imposed have no application to citizens or subjects of other nations and have proved practically worthless.[11]

IV

THE MORMONS; ADMISSION OF NEW STATES; INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

At home the attention of the people during the Harrison administration was directed in a large measure to events in the West — the Mormon question, the opening of Oklahoma, the erection of new States and preparations for the great World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago. For years the polygamous practices of the Mormons had been attracting the attention of the country, and

[11] J. B. Moore, "International Arbitrations," vol. i. ch. xvii. See, also, an article by Hon. E. J. Phelps, one of the counsel for the United States before the Arbitration Tribunal, *Harper's Magazine* for April, 1891.

the question had become one of national politics. Most people are doubtless familiar with the story of the finding by Joseph Smith, Jr., of certain strangely inscribed plates in western New York, of how he was divinely provided with a key by means of which the mysterious hieroglyphics were translated into English, thus creating the Book of Mormon, of how he organized a religious sect with this book as a guide, and of how when the Book of Mormon became insufficient as a code of law for the expanding sect Smith claimed to receive revelations from God — numbering altogether one hundred and twenty-five or more, and covering a great variety of subjects from the most trival to the most important — which were gathered together in a volume called the Book of Doctrine and Covenants. About the time the slavery controversy was beginning to agitate the country, in the early thirties, large numbers of Smith's adherents migrated from New York to western Missouri, then the outskirts of American civilization, where they soon came into conflict with the Gentile population, were driven from place to place by lawless mobs, and finally recrossed the Mississippi River into central Illinois about the year 1841. Here they founded a flourishing town called Nauvoo, which they governed for several years substantially according to their own ideas, free from the interference of the State.

It was at this stage that Smith is alleged to have received the revelation enjoining the practice of polygamy, although the reorganized Church, at the head of which is a son of Joseph Smith, Jr., denies that the Prophet ever claimed to have received such a revelation or that he ever himself took plural wives. Whatever the fact may be as to this point, the Mormons began to practice polygamy on a small scale during their sojourn in Illinois. As a result they soon came into conflict with the civil authorities, and in the course of the controversy Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum were taken from the custody of the local officers and murdered by a mob. After this occurrence the Mormons abandoned Nauvoo and began their migration to the region west of the Rocky Mountains, reaching the shores of Salt Lake in July, 1847, where they laid the foundation of the Mormon empire.

Without the jurisdiction of any State they attempted to set up an independent commonwealth, and under the leadership of Brigham Young, who had succeeded Smith as the head of the Church, virtually rose in rebellion and undertook to resist the ex-

tension of national authority over them. In the course of the controversy Young declared martial law, called upon the inhabitants to hold themselves in readiness to repel the "invasion" of the United States forces and ordered the commander to retire forthwith from the Territory by the same route which he had entered it.

In the meantime the plural marriage revelation had been promulgated as a doctrine of the Church and polygamy was being taught and practiced by Brigham Young and a large number of his followers. By 1862 the practice was beginning to attract the attention of the country, and in that year Congress took action for the first time by passing an act imposing a fine of not more than $500 and imprisonment not exceeding five years for the offense of bigamy in any Territory of the United States.[12] To correct several defects of this law Congress in 1882 passed the Edmunds Act, which created the offense of unlawful cohabitation; that is, introduced the distinction between polygamy and unlawful cohabitation, and made the latter as well as the former punishable by fine and imprisonment.[13] Prosecutions under the new law began actively about 1884, but it, too, was soon found to be defective in several particulars, and in 1887 Congress passed the Edmunds-Tucker Act, correcting as far as possible the defects of the old law, facilitating the method of procedure, dissolving the Church as a corporation and confiscating its property and placing it in the hands of receivers.[14] The Act of 1862 was attacked in the Federal courts, and in 1878 the Supreme Court, in the case of Reynolds vs. the United States, definitely disposed of the question by holding that the religious liberty guaranteed by the Constitution did not cover immoral practices conducted under the guise of religious worship.[15] Likewise the Edmunds Act of 1882 was sustained,[16] and so was the Edmunds-Tucker Act providing for the escheat of the property of the Church and its application to charitable purposes.[17]

Thus every act of Congress directed against the suppression of polygamy was upheld by the Supreme Court as a legitimate

[12] 12 U. S. Stats. at Large, p. 501.
[13] 22 *Ibid.*, p. 30.
[14] 24 *Ibid.*, p. 635.
[15] 98 U. S. Reports, p. 163.
[16] Murphy v. Ramsay, 114 U. S. Reports, p. 45.
[17] Mormon Church Case, 136 U. S. Reports, p. 1.

measure, leaving the executive authorities a free hand. Under the earlier Acts plural marriages continued, but with the passage of the more stringent measures, the increased activity of the prosecuting officers and the rapid crystallization of anti-polygamy sentiment the number decreased until 1890, when the decision in the Mormon Church case was rendered.

At this juncture, the existence of the Church being threatened by the evident determination of the United States Government to put an end to polygamous practices, Wilford Woodruff, president of the Church, sought divine advice as to the proper course for the Church to pursue with regard to polygamy, and in due course he received, as he claims, a revelation condemning plural marriage. He thereupon, September, 1890, issued a manifesto publicly advising all Mormons to refrain from contracting marriages forbidden by the law of the land.

From the promulgation of the manifesto in 1890 to the admission of Utah as a State in 1896 there were few polygamous marriages contracted and still fewer prosecutions by the United States, although it appears from the evidence that during this time there were not less than one thousand men in the Territory who were cohabiting with plural wives. Apparently there was little disposition on the part of the Federal officials to interfere with existing marriages, in view of the official abandonment by the Church of the doctrine of polygamy and the solemn assurance of the leaders that no further plural marriages would be allowed. In 1891 a petition presented to the President of the United States, signed by the president of the Church and the twelve apostles, who styled themselves the "shepherds of a patient and suffering people," recited their "former beliefs" in polygamy, declared that their people were scattered, their homes desolate, their leaders imprisoned, banished or in hiding, themselves in sack cloth and ashes, and asked that amnesty be granted all who were subject to punishment under the law. The petition further stated that the signers no longer sanctioned or taught polygamy, that they intended to obey the laws and that they were willing to pledge their faith and honor for the future conduct of those for whom amnesty was asked.

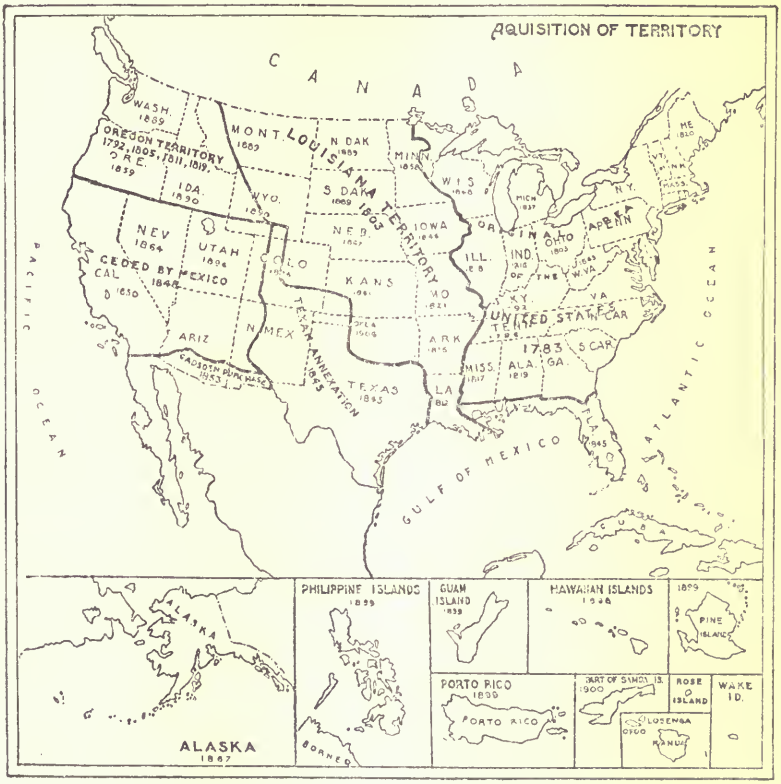
A little more than a year later, January, 1893, President Harrison, upon the representations thus made, issued a proclamation granting a full pardon and amnesty to all persons who were

liable to penalties by reason of unlawful cohabitation under the cover of polygamous marriage, provided such persons had abstained from such unlawful cohabitation since the issue of the Woodruff manifesto, and with the express condition that they should in the future faithfully obey the laws of the United States relating to polygamy. In October of the same year Congress adopted a joint resolution based on the solemn assurance of the Church authorities that polygamy had entirely ceased, and restoring to the Mormon Church most of the property confiscated by the Edmunds-Tucker Act.

The four years of Harrison's term constituted an era of territorial progress and of State-building in the West. In 1889 Oklahoma, that part of the Indian Territory which the government had acquired from the Seminoles in 1866, was thrown open to white settlers, and in a day the foundation of a new State was laid. The conditions upon which the territory had been acquired did not permit the residence of white men, but it was found to be practically impossible as well as inexpedient to shut them out. Yielding to the pressure from the white settlers, Congress appropriated several million dollars with which to extinguish the conditions under which the Territory had been acquired, and a proclamation was issued announcing that the lands would be thrown open to all at noon on April 22, 1889. At the given signal tens of thousands, who had camped on the ground and waited in line for days, rushed wildly forward to stake off choice lots. Before the day was over Guthrie was a city of ten thousand inhabitants, Oklahoma City soon had as many, and before the end of the year the Territory as a whole boasted of a population of sixty thousand, an amount sufficient to entitle it to admission as a State under the Ordinance of 1787.

Since the building of the transcontinental railroad and the extraordinary influx of immigrants from Europe there had been an increasing movement of population to the far West. This region was now more accessible, the hardships of migration thereto had been greatly lessened and its wonderful possibilities had come to be better appreciated. Thousands from the old States as well as a large proportion of the newly arrived emigrants from Europe made their way up the mountains and down the slopes to swell its population and aid in the erection of new States. In 1889 four Territories in this region, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana

and Washington, applied to Congress for the commonwealth status and were admitted to the Union. In the following year two others — Idaho and Wyoming — were admitted. Just one hundred years had passed since the adoption of the Constitution, and during this time the Union, which many believed would not endure perma-



nently, had grown from thirteen States to forty-four, and the population had increased from less than four million to over sixty million. While thus the Republic had grown in territorial extent and population, it had grown equally in riches and power. The total estimated wealth was sixty billion dollars and the undeveloped resources practically inexhaustible. From the position of a fourth-rate nation in rank it had risen to that of one of the great world powers, although it required another decade to convince Europe of the fact.

1888-1892

One of the first of President Harrison's non-political duties was to participate in a unique and impressing celebration by the people of the city of New York of the centennial anniversary of the inauguration of the government under the Constitution. During the three days of the celebration the thoughts of the people were turned to the humble beginnings of our national life one hundred years before. The contemplation of its growth from such beginnings to the mightiest of republics did not fail to arouse feelings of admiration and pride.

Chapter XLII

CLEVELAND'S SECOND TERM, 1893–1897

I

THE DEFEAT OF HARRISON

THE presidential contest of 1892 was fought out on substantially the same issues and between the same candidates as in 1888. President Harrison had proved to be an able and conscientious executive, but not a popular leader. His personality was such that he failed to attract men to his support, as did Blaine and some of the other Republican leaders. He lacked personal magnetism, was rather cold and reserved in manner, his demeanor unsympathetic. He refused to unbosom himself to the leaders of his party and take them into his confidence; he was, in fact, wanting in the charms and graces that go to make up the resources of a successful politician. To all except a small coterie of intimate friends he appeared ungracious and indifferent, talked to them as if conversation were a burden, and where he did not positively offend he at least made an unfavorable impression. Unlike Blaine, he could never grant a request without seeming to feel that he was doing a favor. It was stated by one who knew him well that if Harrison were to address an audience of 10,000 men he would capture them all; but if each of them were presented to him in private, he would make each his enemy.[1]

Nevertheless it would have seemed a confession of weakness to drop Mr. Harrison at the end of his first term, and so he was renominated, but not without opposition in his own party. There were still many Republicans who preferred Blaine. But in February, 1892, he had written a letter to the chairman of the National Republican Committee announcing that he would not under any circumstances be a candidate. There can be little doubt of his sincerity, for he was growing old, was crushed by domestic bereave-

[1] Hoar, "Autobiography of Seventy Years," vol. i. p. 414.

ment and in failing health; in fact he was within but a few months of his grave. For many years he had been the acknowledged leader of his party, he had struggled and toiled for the great prize which he felt was justly his, and yet it had all been in vain. He was thoroughly sick and tired of presidential campaigns, and not even the Presidency seemed worth while at this stage of his life. But his enemies charged that his declination was not made in good faith, and even insinuated that he was intriguing against the President to secure the nomination himself. Stories were circulated that official intercourse between him and the President had broken off. Irritated and worried at these charges, he suddenly resigned from the Cabinet three days before the meeting of the national Republican convention. His retirement from the Cabinet at this juncture was widely interpreted as equivalent to an announcement of his candidacy, and when the convention met at Minneapolis (June 7) Mr. Blaine's name was presented, though without his authority, as he afterwards alleged. It was too late, however, to bring about his nomination, and Harrison won on the first ballot, although Blaine received 182 votes. Whitelaw Reid, editor of the *New York Tribune*, was nominated for Vice President.

The Democratic convention met at Chicago, June 21, and nominated ex-President Cleveland for President and Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, for Vice President. After his defeat, in 1888, Mr. Cleveland had moved to New York City, where he resumed the practice of the law, and to the professional politicians his public career seemed to have ended. But evidences were never wanting that he was not forgotten by the masses. Considerable opposition to Cleveland's nomination was manifested in the South and West, where his hostility to the free coinage of silver had alienated many Democratic voters. His personal friends, too, begged him to refrain from committing himself in advance of the convention; but all such suggestions he put aside and boldly announced his unalterable opposition to free silver. In a letter addressed to the chairman of a great meeting at Cooper Union, New York, called to protest against the free silver bill which was then pending in Congress, he described "the dangerous and reckless experiment of free, unlimited and independent silver coinage" as a scheme which would "invite the gravest peril."[2] As a result of his stand the bill failed, although it succeeded in passing the Senate.

[2] Parker, "Writings and Speeches of Grover Cleveland," p. 374.

New York, under the leadership of David B. Hill, attempted to defeat the nomination of Cleveland. Under his direction the New York State convention was called to meet in February to choose delegates — four months before the meeting of the national convention. A storm of protests against Hill's "midwinter" convention was raised by Cleveland's friends, who denounced the action as an attempt to thwart the wishes of the people and secure for himself the endorsement of the New York delegation. Cleveland, in spite of all opposition, however, was, as stated above, nominated on the first ballot, receiving more than two-thirds of the votes of the convention, none of which came from his own State.[3]

The Democratic platform attacked the proposed Force Bill as the "most infamous measure that ever crossed the threshold of the Senate," and asserted that if enacted it would injure the colored citizen more than the white; denounced "protection" as a "fraud and a robbery of the American people," and stigmatized the McKinley tariff law as "the culminating atrocity of class legislation," "a policy which fosters no industry so much as that of the sheriff," and the Sherman Silver Act of 1890 it described as a "cowardly makeshift." "After thirty years of high protection," said the platform, "the homes and farms of the country have become burdened with a real estate mortgage debt of over $2,500,000,000." With regard to the money question, which threatened to be the paramount issue, the platform pronounced in favor of the "use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country and the coinage of each without discrimination against either." There were other meaningless declarations relating to the currency question and the usual platitudes about liberty, equality and human rights.

The Republican plaform affirmed the "American doctrine of protection," and declared that the prosperous condition of the country was largely due to the McKinley Tariff Act; condemned the efforts of the Democrats to destroy the tariff by "piecemeal"; denounced the "inhuman outrages perpetrated upon American citizens for political reasons in certain Southern States," and demanded that every citizen of the United States should be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot in all public elections, and that such ballot should be counted." Finally, on the money question, the platform declared that the party favored the use of both gold

[3] Stanwood, "History of the Presidency," p. 505.

and silver "with such restrictions and under such provisions to be determined by law as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver or of gold, shall be at all times equal." Both platforms contained declarations favoring the construction of the proposed Nicaragua Canal and national aid for the World's Columbian Exposition soon to be held at Chicago.

The People's Party, which had been able to elect several members of Congress in 1890, and which had spread rapidly over the South and West, now held its first national convention at Omaha, July 2, and nominated General James B. Weaver, of Iowa, for President, and James G. Field, of Virginia, for Vice President. Their platform discoursed at length upon the "demoralization" of the country; denounced the money power; demanded a national currency, safe, sound and flexible, as well as the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the ratio of 16 to 1; demanded that the amount of the circulating medium be increased to not less than $50 per capita; that a tax be levied on incomes, and that the telegraph, telephone and transportation systems be owned and operated by the national government.[4] The Socialist Labor Party nominated Simon Wing, of Massachusetts, for its presidential candidate, while the Prohibitionists nominated John Bidwell to lead their forlorn hope.

The election campaign of 1892 was not characterized by any extraordinary incidents. It was, however, one of unusual interest and activity. There was a vigorous general discussion of the questions involved. The chief issue turned out to be the tariff instead of the money question. The Southern and Western Democrats, who insisted on throwing the mints open to the free coinage of silver, preferred to make the latter question the paramount issue, but Mr. Cleveland, in his speech of acceptance, insisted on giving the tariff the chief place. He vigorously denied the assertion in the Republican platform that the McKinley law had brought general prosperity to the country, and referred to the general reduction in wages, the low prices of farm products and the epidemic of labor strikes as indisputable proof that no such prosperity existed. He criticised the attempt of the Republicans to control the suffrage of the Southern States through "Federal agencies," ad-

[4] Stanwood, "History of the Presidency," p. 511.

vocated "sound and honest money," urged an "honest adherence to the letter and spirit of civil service reform," and insisted that the pension roster should be a roll of honor. Then, he said, there were the high prices of commodities which bore heavily upon the laboring class. His arguments all proved effective in the hands of the Democrats, who made good use of them. The most serious labor difficulty which occurred to plague the Republicans during the campaign was the strike of the employees of the Carnegie Steel Company at Homestead, Pennsylvania, on account of a reduction of wages. A lockout was ordered, but after a brief interval an effort was made to resume operations with non-union laborers. Anticipating trouble, the company hired a force of Pinkerton men to protect the employees who wished to work, but while approaching the plant in river barges the detectives were fired upon by the strikers and a battle ensued in which about twenty men were killed and a good many wounded. Try as hard as they could the Republicans could not disconnect, to the complete satisfaction of the popular mind, the ultimate causes of this outbreak between capital and labor from the effects of the McKinley tariff.

Whatever may have been the effect of the Homestead strike on the campaign, Cleveland was elected by a large majority. He carried the solid South and also the Northern and Western States of California, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, New Jersey, New York and Wisconsin, besides receiving five electoral votes in Michigan,[5] one in North Dakota and one in Ohio, a State which had never given an electoral vote to a Democrat since the founding of the Republican party. The State as a whole, in fact, was carried by the Republicans by only about 1,000 votes, New Hampshire by about 3,000 and Rhode Island by about 2,000. Cleveland's total number of electoral votes was 277, as against 145 for Harrison, his minority of 110 in the election of 1888 having been turned into a majority over Harrison of 132. Both houses of Congress now had Democratic majorities and for the first time in thirty-two years the Democrats had full control of both the executive and legislative departments of the government. The result

[5] The Democrats were able to secure five votes in Michigan in consequence of a law passed by the Democratic legislature in 1891, providing for the choice of the presidential electors by districts, rather than by general ticket. The Republicans shortly afterward regained their supremacy and repealed the law before the next presidential election.

1893

of the election revealed the suprising growth of the Populist party in the South and West. In a number of the Western States the new party had well-nigh absorbed the Democrats, and in Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, South Dakota and Wyoming the Democratic party nominated no electors, but voted for the Popuplist candidate.[6] In a number of the Western States there was a "fusion" of Democrats and Populists, while in several Southern commonwealths the union was between Republicans and Populists. For the first time in the history of the country a third party had obtained an electoral vote, General Weaver receiving twenty-two such votes and over a million of the popular vote.

II

FINANCIAL AND TARIFF LEGISLATION

Grover Cleveland was inaugurated on March 4, 1893, it being the first instance in the history of the country of the accession of a President for a second time after an intervening period of four years.[7] In his inaugural address he referred to the unfavorable financial situation, saying that he purposed to do all in his power to maintain the national credit and avert financial disaster. With regard to the tariff he spoke as follows: "The verdict of our voters which condemned the injustice of maintaining protection for protection's sake enjoins upon the people's servants the duty of exposing and destroying the brood of kindred evils which are the unwholesome progeny of paternalism." He interpreted the results of the election not only as a commission, but as a mandate, to the Democratic party to abolish the protective system.

But before the tariff question could be disposed of Congress was called upon to deal with the grave financial situation. For some

[6] Stanwood, "History of the Presidency," p. 515.

[7] The Cabinet was constituted as follows: Walter Q. Gresham, of Indiana, Secretary of State; John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky, Secretary of the Treasury; Daniel S. Lamont, of New York, Secretary of War; Richard Olney, of Massachusetts, Attorney General; Wilson S. Bissell, of New York, Postmaster General; Hilary A. Herbert, of Alabama, Secretary of the Navy; Hoke Smith, of Georgia, Secretary of the Interior, and J. Sterling Morton, of Nebraska, Secretary of Agriculture. Judge Gresham died May 28, 1895, and was succeeded by Mr. Olney, whose place was taken by Judson Harmon, of Ohio. A little later Postmaster General Bissell resigned and was succeeded by William L. Wilson, of West Virginia. In August, 1896, Secretary Smith resigned and David R. Francis, of Missouri, was appointed in his place.

months signs of business depression had been existent and by the spring of 1893 the country was on the verge of panic. The Republicans claimed this was precipitated by Mr. Carlisle's statement that the Treasury would redeem its notes in silver dollars, but the Democrats attributed it to the McKinley tariff and the financial policy of the Harrison administration. Whatever may have been the causes, mines were shut down, banks failed, values fell and general financial and industrial depression prevailed everywhere. The action of the government of India in June, 1893, in suspending the free coinage of silver seemed to add to the difficulties, and the price of silver fell to a point lower than it had ever before reached.

President Cleveland, however, believed that the financial troubles were due, primarily, to the operation of the Sherman Silver Law of 1890. By this Act, it will be remembered, the Secretary of the Treasury was required to purchase four and one-half million ounces of silver bullion each month and to pay for it in treasury notes which had to be redeemed in gold whenever presented to the Treasury, if gold was demanded by the holder. If the Secretary of the Treasury refused to redeem the notes in gold, the "parity," which it was the avowed purpose of the Sherman Act to maintain, would be destroyed. Instead of canceling the notes as they were redeemed, they were again put into circulation, only to come back to the Treasury again and again. Its operation led to a heavy drain on the government's gold reserve, and eventually the amount in hand became so low as to cause uneasiness in financial circles. The government had no way of replenishing its reserve except by borrowing, and that seemed absurd in a time of peace when the revenues were adequate to meet expenses. On June 30, 1893, the President issued a proclamation reciting the general distrust and apprehension, which he said was "largely the result of a financial policy which the executive branch of the government finds embodied in unwise laws," and calling Congress to assemble on August 7.

When Congress met he sent in a message recommending the repeal of those provisions of the Sherman Act authorizing the purchase of silver bullion. But the President found that he had to force his party into line as he had done before on the tariff question. The House was willing to see the purchasing clause repealed, but not so the Senate. The recent admission of new Western States had reënforced the silver contingent in the Senate,

1893

so that a majority of its members were opposed to any legislation which would lessen the demand for the white metal. As has been said, they had passed a bill the preceding year to open the mints to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. Consequently they were not ready to vote for the repeal of the Sherman Act, unless a free coinage act was substituted. Through the tactful management of Speaker Crisp, himself a free silver advocate, the House passed a repealing bill by a large majority; but in the Senate it was held up for more than two months, and it required all the pressure that the President could bring to bear upon the recalcitrants, in the form of patronage and otherwise, to secure the passage of the bill. Meanwhile the distress increased, business failures multiplied, industry was paralyzed, money was scarce and credit had collapsed. Finally the Senate, in sheer exhaustion, gave way, and on November 1 passed the bill. Henceforth the government's enormous purchases of silver ceased. Congress, however, had done only a part of the work for which the President had called it together. He had recommended also the enactment of legislation to protect the gold reserve and "to put beyond all doubt the intention and ability of the government to fulfill its pecuniary obligations in money universally recognized by all civilized nations." But Congress took no action on this recommendation.

The objectionable provisions of the Sherman Silver Law being disposed of, Congress proceeded to attack the McKinley tariff. In December, 1893, William L. Wilson, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, brought in a bill for the reduction of duties on many articles and placing sugar, wool, coal, lumber, iron ore and other raw materials on the free list. A distinctive feature was the substitution of *ad valorem* for specific duties, with a view to regulating the burden of the consumer according to the value of the commodity consumed. To make up for the possible deficit caused by the reduction of duties, a tax of two per cent. on incomes exceeding $4,000 was proposed. In this form the bill passed the House by the full Democratic majority. But the Senate, where the Democratic majority was very small, refused to accept the bill and proceeded to change the schedules until the bill was no longer recognizable by its framers. A heavy duty was restored on sugar, while coal and iron ore were taken from the free list, thus impairing the principle of free raw materials. Finally, the specific method of levying duties was substituted for the *ad valorem*. The average

rate under the McKinley Act had been about fifty per cent. The House bill proposed to reduce that to about thirty-five per cent., while the Senate increased it to about thirty-seven. The House refused to accept the bill thus emasculated and the measure went to a conference committee. Here a long and bitter controversy ensued. The President took a hand in the matter, but the Senate could not be induced to recede from the amendments. The House, in sheer despair of getting anything better, finally yielded and accepted, without change, the modifications proposed by the Senate. When the measure was sent to the President for his approval he found himself in a dilemma. He hesitated to sign a bill which violated the principle of free raw materials for which he had firmly stood and which he had opposed in the strongest of terms. On the other hand, to veto it would mean the continuance of the McKinley law, which to him was more objectionable. In this situation he concluded to do neither, and so he allowed the bill to become law without his signature, sending in a message in which he described the measure as one of "perfidy and dishonor," a curious decision, his opponents argued, for a man whose courage was proclaimed to the country in season and out of season.

The Wilson Tariff Law was compared by the Republicans to the tariff of abominations of 1828. It pleased no one, not even the Democrats themselves, and in fact violated the traditional Democratic principles that raw materials should be admitted free and that duties should be levied in the main according to the value of the commodities taxed rather than at a specific rate. The income tax provision was particularly obnoxious on account of its inquisitorial feature, its kinship to class legislation and its general Populistic character. This provision was at once attacked in the courts on the ground, among others, that being a direct tax in the sense of the Federal Constitution, it should have been apportioned among the States according to population, but that as this had not been done it was therefore contrary to the Constitution. With more than the usual celerity a case was made up and carried to the United States Supreme Court, which decided that the tax in question, so far it related to incomes from real estate and personal property, was direct, and, not having been apportioned according to population as required by the Constitution, was null and void. The court proceeded on the theory that the distinction between a tax on property and a tax on the income from property is too fine to

receive legal recognition, and subsequently if a tax on one is direct a tax on the other must be. As for the tax on income from municipal bonds, that conflicted with the well-established doctrine that the national government cannot lay taxes on the instrumentalities of the State governments. These provisions of the income tax schedule being void, the whole scheme fell through.[8] This was in May, 1895, less than a year after the act went into effect. The taxes collected were, of course, returned to those from whom they had been taken. This decision threw the Democrats, or rather the more Populistic element of the Democracy, into great consternation, and the Supreme Court was subjected to a vast amount of abuse by the smaller politicians, who accused the justices of being in sympathy with the money power and against the masses of the people. Some of them felt as the Republicans did after the Dred Scott decision in 1857. There were also ugly rumors, less violent, about certain influences which led one of the justices to change his opinion at the last hour, and these rumors, although utterly false and unfounded, were injurious and dangerous. There was a good deal of criticism to the effect that the line of reasoning by which the court had reached its decision was specious and unsound. It should be said, moreover, that the Supreme Court in its conclusion reversed a long line of decisions which sustained the validity of an income tax, and for thus upsetting the precedents its action was justly made a subject of criticism.

III

HAWAII AND VENEZUELA

In the domain of foreign relations the attention of Cleveland and his Cabinet was early occupied with the Hawaiian complication, a legacy inherited from the previous administration. In January, 1893, Liliuokalani, the Queen of Hawaii, who had since her accession two years before resisted the little monarchy's new constitution, undertook to substitute a more autocratic one. The American population of the island, a small but influential portion, rose in revolution, proclaimed a republic, established a provisional government with Sanford B. Dole as president, and sent a com

[8] See Pollock vs. Farmers' Loan & Trust Co., 158 U. S. Reports, p. 601, decided upon rehearing May 20, 1895.

mission to Washington to negotiate a treaty of annexation with the United States. Immediately before the outbreak of the revolution a body of American marines was landed and placed about the legation and consulate to protect American interests. The United States minister, John L. Stevens, did not conceal his sympathy with the revolutionists, promptly recognized the *de facto* government, hoisted the Stars and Stripes over the Hawaiian administration building in the presence of United States marines, and in February assumed a protectorate over the provisional government. This latter act, however, was disavowed by President Harrison. The queen abdicated her throne under protest, saying that she yielded to the superior force of the United States, whose minister had landed troops and given aid to the revolutionists, and announced that she would appeal to the President of the United States for reinstatement. On July 18 she addressed a letter to President Harrison, reciting that some of her subjects, aided and abetted by the minister of the United States, had revolted against their constitutional government, and forced her abdication, and praying that no action be taken until she could send an envoy to the United States to lay before the government her side of the case.

The President, however, did not wait for the arrival of the queen's envoy, but on February 14 concluded a treaty of annexation with the commissioners representing the provisional government. Besides the provision for annexation, the treaty contained stipulations by which the United States was to assume the Hawaiian public debt of $2,250,000 and to provide an annual allowance for the deposed queen. On the following day President Harrison sent the treaty to the Senate, accompanied by a message defending the conduct of Minister Stevens against the charge of aiding in the overthrow of the monarchy and urging the ratification of the treaty, saying that the islands should never be allowed to fall into other hands. Before any action, however, had been taken Harrison's term came to an end and President Cleveland had succeeded him. One of the new President's first acts was to withdraw the treaty from the Senate and to appoint Hon. J. H. Blount, formerly a member of Congress from Georgia and chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Relations, as Special Commissioner to visit Hawaii and make an investigation of all the facts connected with the deposition of the queen, the causes of the revolution, and the sentiment of the people.

On the day after Mr. Blount's arrival at Honolulu, April 1, 1893, he directed the naval commander to haul down the United States flag from the government building and to withdraw the troops from the shore to their ships. After a long investigation he reported to the President that the revolution had been brought about chiefly by the intervention of the American minister, which interference took the form of assurances of aid, and in recognizing the provisional government before the queen had yielded and before her troops had surrendered the station-house. Upon the return of Mr. Blount to the United States the President appointed Albert L. Willis as minister plenipotentiary to the provisional government of Hawaii, and instructed him to inform the ex-queen that the President was willing to restore her to her throne upon condition that she would grant full amnesty to all persons concerned in the revolutionary events by which she had been deposed. But to this proposition the queen demurred and insisted that the leaders of the revolt should be beheaded or banished and their property confiscated as the law required. The minister communicated her reply to the President, who thereupon instructed him to cease all communication with her until she should agree to grant amnesty. Finally, on December 18, 1893, after a third interview, she gave the required consent. President Dole was then instructed to relinquish the government to the queen, but he refused, and protested that the President of the United States had no authority to interfere in the domestic affairs of Hawaii. Mr. Cleveland, doubting his authority to employ force against the provisional government, referred the whole matter to Congress for such action as it might take, but nothing was done further than an investigation by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.[9] The provisional government interpreted this as equivalent to a declaration that it would not be interfered with and proceeded to effect a permanent organization. A constitution was framed and a republic organized, July 4, 1894. The President promptly recognized it, and the deposed queen, whom he had promised to restore, abandoned the struggle for her lost throne.[10] At each session of Congress she has petitioned for an indemnity on account of her loss, for which the United States was largely responsible, but as yet no appropriation has been made.

[9] Snow, "Topics in American Diplomacy," p. 394.
[10] Foster, "American Diplomacy in the Orient," p. 381.

Soon after the termination of the Hawaiian incident Secretary Gresham died and was succeeded in the State Department by the Attorney General, Richard Olney. Henceforth a spirit of vigor, if not of actual aggressiveness, characterized the conduct of the foreign affairs of the United States. An incident of Mr. Olney's diplomacy which attracted wide attention was that growing out of the Venezuelan affair. A long-standing dispute had existed between Great Britain and Venezuela concerning the western boundary of British Guiana. Venezuela had repeatedly offered to submit the dispute to arbitration, and the United States had again and again tendered its good offices to bring about a fair and peaceful settlement of the controversy, but without avail. The insistence of the British Government upon a westward extension of the Guiana boundary seemed to the Venezuelans a wanton aggression upon their sovereignty and a violation of the Monroe Doctrine, which had been uniformly interpreted as denying the right of any European power to acquire by force new territorial possessions on this hemisphere or to extend their dominions. They therefore called upon the government of the United States to support Venezuela in its attitude, and at the same time uphold one of its own cherished traditions. In the summer of 1895 Mr. Olney inquired of the British Government whether it was willing to submit the controversy to arbitration, saying that Great Britain's action was in effect an aggression upon Venezuelan territory. The Premier, Lord Salisbury, in reply, declared that the dispute could not be submitted to arbitration and asserted that the Monroe Doctrine was not a part of the "code of international law," nor did it have any applicability to the present question; was, in fact, inapplicable "to the state of things in which we live at the present day."[11]

When Lord Salibury's answer was received, President Cleveland sent in a message (December 17, 1895) which startled the whole country and brought the two great English-speaking peoples of the world to the verge of war. The message created consternation in financial circles, it being estimated that stocks and other securities in the United States fell from $500,000,000 to $300,000,000. In this message Mr. Cleveland asserted that the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine, as he understood it, was "important to our safety as a nation," "essential to the integrity of our free in-

[11] For the correspondence between Secretary Olney and Lord Salisbury see "Foreign Relations of the United States" for 1895, vol. i. pp. 542–576.

stitutions and was intended to apply to every stage of our national life and could not become obsolete while our Republic endures." He insisted that the action of Great Britain, in extending its boundaries so as to include the territory of one of our neighboring republics, "was an attempt to extend its system of government to this hemisphere, thus constituting a danger to our peace and safety." Having labored for many years," he said, "to induce Great Britain to submit this dispute to impartial arbitration, and having been now finally apprised of her refusal," we should deal with the situation accordingly. He recommended the creation of a commission to make a thorough investigation of the facts relating to the boundary dispute and to report its findings to the government at the earliest possible date. If the report should be adverse to the British claim, he declared that in his opinion it would be the duty of the United States "to resist by every means in its power, as a willful aggression upon its rights and interests, the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands or the exercise of governmental jurisdiction over any territory which after investigation we have determined belongs of right to Venezuela."[12] This vigorous statement was applauded by the people generally, but the money interests of New York especially were alarmed because they felt that Mr. Cleveland had "unsettled values," something in their eyes more important than any national policy, no matter how vital. Congress, forgetful of party differences, with singular unanimity passed an act embodying the President's recommendations with regard to the creation of a commission. At this remarkable exhibition of American sentiment Lord Salisbury gave way and consented to submit the question to arbitration. Ultimately award was made sustaining in part the British claim, under the principle of prescription that fifty years' actual occupation gives title to the claimant, but securing to Venezuela the mouths of the Orinoco, which was the main point in importance. Thus, although Great Britain had won much so far as the question of territory between her and Venezuela was concerned, the United States had carried its point completely and a new and more potent meaning had been given to the Monroe Doctrine.[13]

[12] Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," vol. ix, p. 658.

[13] Grover Cleveland, "Presidential Problems," p. 280. For a criticism of President Cleveland's position, see J. W. Burgess on "Pseudo-Monroeism," in *The Political Science Quarterly*, vol. xi.

Henceforth no one could question the dominant position of the United States on this hemisphere. One effect of the Venezuelan affair was to turn the eyes of the people of Great Britain and the United States toward arbitration as a means of settling disputes. Before the occurrence of the Venezuela episode Secretary Gresham had proposed to the British Government the conclusion of a treaty providing for the arbitration of nearly all important disputes likely to arise between the two nations. In January, 1897, a treaty for this purpose was signed by Secretary Olney and Lord Salisbury, but it failed of ratification in the Senate by a vote of 43 to 26, it being thought by some of the senators that certain disputes likely to arise could not, consistently with the sovereignty and interests of the United States, be settled by arbitration. There was much regret throughout the country that this most desirable treaty should have been rejected by the government which proposed it.[14]

IV

INDUSTRIAL AND FINANCIAL DEPRESSION

At home the domestic tranquillity was disturbed by serious strike riots in and about Chicago in June, 1894. The troubles had their inception in a strike of the employees of the Pullman Palace Car Company at Pullman, near Chicago, in consequence of a reduction of wages. The company refused to restore the old wage or refer the question to arbitration. Thereupon the American Railway Union, embracing a membership of over 100,000 railroad employees, declared a sympathetic strike and refused to handle Pullman cars. Most, if not all, of the railway companies that hauled Pullman cars had contracts with the government to carry the mails and were at the same time engaged in interstate commerce. Consequently, when the strikers undertook to interfere with the movement of trains carrying Pullman cars, which they soon did, they found themselves obstructing the movement of the United States mails and throwing obstacles in the way of interstate commerce. Soon after the strike was declared disorders began. Trains were derailed, freight and passenger cars were burned, switches were destroyed or rendered useless, and even telegraph wires were cut,

[14] Woolsey, "America's Foreign Policy," pp. 263–273.

The movement of trains in and out of Chicago was almost completely obstructed. Mobs gathered at various places and committed acts of violence and destruction. It was clearly the duty of the State officials to preserve the peace and protect property, but they could not, or at all events did not.

The Constitution of the United States authorizes the President to interfere in such cases only upon application of the legislature, if it be in session; if not in session, then upon application of the governor. But the governor of Illinois, Mr. Altgeld, neither made application to the President nor took adequate measures to suppress the disorders himself. The United States marshal and the United States district judge united in a letter to the President informing him that the mob had possession of the railroads, that they were destroying property, committing acts of violence, obstructing the movement of the mails, and that they jeered and hooted at the officers who attempted to serve writs on them and defied the injunctions of the courts.[15]

President Cleveland decided to wait no longer for an application from the governor, believing that the disturbances had reached such a point as to justify him in interfering. On July 3, therefore, he ordered a body of Federal troops from the nearby post of Fort Sheridan to Chicago, and in a few hours they were encamped on the lake front. On July 8 the President issued a proclamation in which he recited the existence of the disturbances, admonished all good citizens to abstain from aiding or encouraging the disorderly strikers, and warned the rioters to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes, otherwise they should be treated as public enemies of the United States. E. V. Debs, president and organizer of the American Railway Union, and several of his associates, were arrested for defying an injunction which forbade them to do certain acts tending to incite domestic violence and the obstruction of the mails. They refused to give bail and went to prison to pose as martyrs in the hope that their comrades would be encouraged by their example to protract the strike. But this incident was not sufficient to revive their waning hopes, and in a few days the strike collapsed.

President Cleveland's action in ordering out Federal troops called forth an indignant protest from the governor of Illinois. He sent the national executive a dispatch saying that the State of

[15] Grover Cleveland, "Presidential Problems," p. 87.

Illinois was not only able to take care of itself, but stood ready to furnish the Federal government any assistance it might need elsewhere. He accused the President of discourtesy, asserted that his action was unnecessary and unjustifiable and asked for an immediate withdrawal of the Federal troops from the State. Mr. Cleveland made a spirited reply, saying that Federal troops were sent to Chicago in strict accordance with the Constitution and the laws, upon the demand of the Post Office Department that the obstruction of the mails should be removed and upon the representation of the judicial officers of the United States that the processes of the Federal Courts could not be executed through the ordinary means, and upon abundant proof that conspiracies existed against interstate commerce. The correspondence between the President and the irate governor continued, until finally the President, somewhat out of patience, told him that he thought discussion ought to give way to active efforts on the part of those in authority to restore obedience to law and to protect life and property. Public sentiment was clearly with President Cleveland, the Supreme Court subsequently sustained the constitutionality of his course,[16] and posterity will no doubt give him the full meed of praise for his wise and vigorous action.

The year 1894 will long be remembered by the American people for the unfavorable industrial and financial conditions which prevailed. Besides the "Chicago strike," which in reality extended to half a dozen western States, there were other labor troubles. During the summer there was a protracted strike of 200,000 bituminous coal miners which paralyzed many industries of the country and caused widespread distress. Business was unusually dull, there was industrial depression everywhere, the prices of farm products fell so low that farmers were in despair; and added to this was the general failure of crops. Restlessness and discontent were widespread in the West. Armies of the unemployed under various names and banners were formed for the purpose of marching to Washington to demand relief of the government. Of these the one which attracted the most attention was the "Army of the Commonweal" formed by one "General Coxey at Massillon, Ohio. Numbering about 1,000 men, they set out in March for Washington to demand of the government the issue of a wagon-load of fiat

[16] See the case of *in re* Debs, 158 U. S. Reports, p. 564; for President Cleveland's defense of his action, see his "Presidential Problems," pp. 79–121.

1893-1897

money to be paid to the unemployed for labor on the public highways. Supported largely by those who lived along the route, laughed at by idle crowds, recruited by tramps and loafers, they marched over the mountains and on April 28 they were in Washington three or four hundred strong, only to discover that they were a set of fools. Attempting to make a demonstration on the Capitol steps and grounds they were dispersed by the local police and their leaders arrested. This virtually ended the farce, and the remnant of the army returned to their homes sadder, and, it is to be hoped, wiser men. Similar but more serious movements took place in the far West. In some cases riots occurred in which both citizens and "commonwealers" were killed; in other cases freight trains were seized and pressed into service. Such were some of the evidences of popular discontent — a sad commentary, said the Republicans, upon the prosperity promised during the campaign in the event of Democratic success at the polls.

The government also had its share of troubles owing to the financial depression. The repeal of the Sherman Law had not brought relief. The price of silver went down to an unprecedented point, while the gold reserve disappeared to an extent which alarmed the President and frightened business men. At the time of the resumption of specie payments in 1879 the gold reserve exceeded $300,000,000. By July, 1893, it had fallen to $97,000,000, and on November 24, 1894, it stood at $57,000,000. Great distrust and apprehension prevailed in business and financial circles. Mr. Cleveland believed that the trouble was due to the practice of reissuing the United States notes ($346,681,000) after redeeming them in gold instead of canceling them and thus stopping the drain on the Treasury. In vain did he appeal to Congress to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to retire them as fast as they were redeemed, but no argument or pressure could bring Congress to adopt the President's recommendation. Besides the drain caused by the practice of reissuing the "greenbacks," the President charged that the falling off of exports in consequence of the McKinley Act, thus requiring the payment to some extent of our balances in gold, the "unnatural infusion" of silver into our currency, the hording of gold at home and the high rate of foreign exchange were some of the causes which contributed to the financial stringency and the shrinkage in the gold reserve.[17]

[17] Richardson, "Messages and Papers," vol. IX. p. 643.

Failing to secure the coöperation of Congress in protecting the gold reserve, the President set about doing all that the existing law could possibly be interpreted to permit. Early in 1894, under cover of the authority of a provision of the Resumption Act, he sold fifty million dollars of bonds for $58,633,295 in gold. But this replenishment proved to be insufficient, and on November 24 the gold reserve had fallen below $57,000,000. Another issue of $50,000,000 in bonds followed, but still the gold fund declined until it stood at the unprecedentedly low amount of $41,340,000. At this juncture the President sent a long message to Congress describing the situation and requesting that authority be conferred upon the Secretary of the Treasury to issue bonds for the purpose of maintaining a "sufficient gold reserve" and for redeeming and canceling outstanding "greenbacks" and Sherman Treasury notes. But Congress took no action on the recommendation. In this emergency the President made an agreement with certain New York bankers and financiers by which the government borrowed $62,000,000 in gold, at least half of which was to be furnished from abroad, and those supplying the gold were to do all in their power to aid the government in protecting the gold reserve. However necessary the act, the President's conduct was open to criticism for selling the bonds at what was perhaps less than their real value to a small group of Wall Street bankers instead of offering them to the public.[18] This arrangement, however, like the rest, did not check the withdrawals, and on December 2, 1895, the President was obliged to say that after a bonded indebtedness of $162,000,000 had been incurred we were "nearly where we started."[19] The government, he said, had redeemed nine-tenths of the greenbacks with gold, and still owed them all. Later a popular loan of $100,000,000 was made, but it was not until after the presidential election that confidence was restored and the financial stringency disappeared.

[18] In defense of the charge of "issuing bonds in time of peace" Mr. Cleveland says: "Without shame and without repentance, I confess my share of the guilt; and I refuse to shield my accomplices in this crime, who, with me, held high places in that administration. And though Mr. Morgan, Mr. Belmont, and scores of other bankers and financiers, who were accessories in these transactions, may be steeped in destructive propensities, and may be constantly busy in sinful schemes, I shall always recall with satisfaction and self-congratulation my association with them at a time when our country sorely needed their aid."—Grover Cleveland, "Presidential Problems," p. 170.

[19] Richardson, "Messages and Papers," vol. ix. p. 694.

As the fateful year 1894 drew to a close the people went to the polls to choose members for the Fifty-third Congress. In view of the well-established practice of the voters to hold the party in power responsible for all their ills, economic, social, political, and otherwise, only one verdict was to be expected, especially when there were so many real grounds of dissatisfaction. The "landslide" of 1890 was reversed. The Democratic majority of 165 in the House of Representatives was transformed into a Republican majority of 140. Scarcely more than a dozen Democratic members were elected from the Northern States. The election of Republican legislatures in the North also insured a Republican plurality in the Senate. For the last two years of Mr. Cleveland's term, therefore, he was checked by a hostile Congress, making it impossible for him to carry out any party measures. Opposed also by many of his own party, his administration drifted along until the end came, on March 4, 1897, and there is little doubt that he turned the government over to his successor with a profound sense of relief, in which the feeling of gratitude that the candidate of his own party had been defeated was not inconspicuous.

V

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM; THE NEW NAVY; THE WORLD'S FAIR

For his course in the matter of Civil Service reform President Cleveland won the applause of many citizens of both parties who longed to see the merit system established as the basis of appointments to the government service. It will be remembered that the Civil Service law permitted the President to extend the rules to cover many classes of appointees not covered in the original act. Few or no extensions had been made during the preceding administration, and when Cleveland became President only about 40,000, or about one-half of the positions contemplated by the Pendleton Act, were in the classified service. By successive orders large extensions, which might have looked better if the positions had not previously been filled by the appointment of Democrats, were made by Mr. Cleveland, so that when he retired from the Presidency 85,000 places, or practically all positions under the government (excepting fourth-class postmasterships) contemplated by the Civil Service Law had been classified and brought under the

rules.[20] Various orders were also issued looking to the improvement of the service by a better system of transfers, promotions and examinations.

The action of Cleveland in placing under the rules the employees of the President's office but a few weeks before his term expired called forth strong criticism from the Republicans, and it certainly was contrary to the Jeffersonian idea that the retiring President should make no appointments after the election of his successor.

The development of the navy during Cleveland's term deserves a word of notice. It was in 1883, during Arthur's administration, that Congress first authorized the construction of new ships, and, what was even more important, prohibited the repair of the old wooden vessels. This policy was continued during Cleveland's first term and under General Harrison's. At the beginning of Mr. Cleveland's second term about twenty vessels, battleships, cruisers, rams, gunboats, and monitors were in process of construction, and before he retired four first-class and two second-class battleships, two armored cruisers, one harbor defense, and five double-turreted monitors, including the *Terror* and the *Puritan*, were completed and placed in commission.[21] The time was near at hand when these vessels were to render good service to the Republic, and to aid in teaching the Old World to respect the naval power of the New.

Except the tariff bill, already described, there were no important legislative measures passed during Cleveland's second administration. In his relations with Congress he showed the same firmness in the exercise of his veto power as during the first term, although the example of his previous term deferred Congress from sending him many objectionable bills. A considerable number of bills, however, were disapproved, among them, unfortunately, an immigration bill which sought to exclude all immigrants over sixteen years of age who could not read or write the English or some other language. The President said in his veto message that he could not believe that we would be protected against the evils of immigration by excluding those who could not read or write. It was infinitely safer, he said, to admit 100,000 illiterates who were

[20] Fish, "The Civil Service and the Patronage," p. 225. See also Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," vol. ix. pp. 513–523, for President Cleveland's orders relating to changes in the Civil Service rules.

[21] Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," vol. ix. p. 457.

seeking homes and opportunities among us, than to admit one unruly agitator who could not only read and write, but could by speech influence the passions of the discontented and incite them to violence and disorder.

A memorable event of a non-political character during Cleveland's second term was the World's Columbian Exposition held at Chicago in the summer and autumn of 1893. As the four hundredth anniversity of the discovery of America by Columbus approached, the idea was conceived of commemorating the event by a gigantic exposition, under national auspices, which should exhibit the industrial progress and resources of the United States on a scale which had never before been attempted. Congress approved the plan, and after a spirited contest selected Chicago as the city in which the exposition should be held. As a national aid to the exposition Congress also appropriated two million dollars in the form of souvenir coins, and expended as much more for the erection of a government building and for the preparation and installation of exhibits. The city government of Chicago made the exposition a loan of $5,000,000, while many millions more were raised by private subscription among the citizens of that enterprising municipality. Ten or twelve millions were also appropriated by the individual States and by foreign nations. Jackson Park, an unimproved region of marsh and morass on the lower lake front, was selected as the cite of the Fair, and through the skill of the landscape gardener it was quickly transformed into a garden of unsurpassed beauty, interspersed with lagoons, canals, bridges, beds of flowers, and shrubbery. On the site thus selected was erected a vast group of buildings for the most part of a cheap but durable material which resembled white marble. On account of the dazzling effect which it presented the entire group was given the name of the "White City." The largest structure was the Manufactures building, which covered forty-four acres. Besides this mammoth structure were the Administration, Agricultural, Horticultural, Transportation, Mining, Fisheries, Electricity, Art, Machinery, and Woman's buildings. Then there were the United States Government building, the various State buildings, and the foreign buildings. It being found impossible to complete the preparations in time to open the Fair in the anniversary year, 1892, the opening was postponed until May 1, 1893. The ceremonies of the opening day were elaborate and were participated in by many distinguished per-

sons, among others, President Cleveland and the Duke of Veragua, the latter a lineal descendant of Christopher Columbus. President Cleveland delivered an address, and, after he had concluded, touched an electric button which set the machinery moving, the fountains playing, the flags flying, and the chimes ringing. The great exposition was then officially declared open to the public. Never before had so many rare and varied exhibits been collected in one place. The criticism of the Philadelphia Centennial, that the art exhibit was its poorest feature, could not be applied to the Chicago Fair. The latter, in fact, had a spacious building devoted wholly to works of art, and the collection there exhibited was by far the largest and best ever seen in this country. From the first day of May until the last day of October the exposition was open to visitors, and from the first to last over 10,000,000 persons are estimated to have entered its gates. The paid-up admissions were over 21,000,000, while the total attendance was over 27,000,000. On "Chicago Day," October 9, the anniversary of the great fire, over 716,000 persons passed through the gates.[22] The total receipts exceeded $15,000,000. Fortunately few of the buildings were designed to be permanent, for shortly after the close of the exposition a fire broke out and, as a result of the highly combustible character of the material of which the buildings were constructed, it proved impossible to stay the flames. One after another of the great structures quickly succumbed, and in less than an hour the White City, which had been the Mecca of millions from all corners of the earth, was only a memory.

Two years later, in 1895, a successful exposition surpassed among its predecessors in the United States only by those at Chicago and Philadelphia, was held at Atlanta, Georgia. Its buildings and grounds were beautiful and in good taste, and the exhibits interesting and creditable. They revealed, as no former exposition had done, the industrial progress of the South since the War. A notable feature was the Negro building, filled with varied exhibits showing the progress of the negro as a farmer, artisan, and educator. An incident of the opening ceremonies, on September 18, not without significance, was an address by Booker T. Washington, the colored educator, containing an eloquent and sensible plea for kindly relations between the white and black races of the South. The address attracted wide attention throughout the country, and revealed Professor Washington as the coming leader of his race.

[22] "Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia," 1893, p. 762.

Chapter XLIII

WILLIAM McKINLEY—THE WAR WITH SPAIN
1897–1901

I

ELECTION OF 1896

IN the presidential campaign of 1896 the question of the free coinage of silver was the paramount issue, although the discontent and hard times, which the Republicans attributed to the Wilson Bill, gave great force to the Republican demand for a true protective tariff. For years the project of throwing the mints of the United States open to the free and unlimited coinage of silver had been steadily growing in favor with the masses, especially in those sections of the country which lay remote from the great money and industrial centers of the country. The owners of silver mines in the West naturally favored it, because of the demand which such a policy would create for the product of their mines. The farmers wanted it because they believed it would increase the volume of money in circulation and thus restore prosperity in place of the hard times then existing. Finally, there were a large number of intelligent men of all occupations and professions who believed that the "discrimination" of the government against silver in favor of gold operated in the interests of the money power to the detriment of the masses of the people. They believed that a return to the policy of the "fathers," by which the two metals were treated alike at the mints, would mean a return to sound financial conditions. Nor were the advocates of free coinage wholly confined to the ranks of any particular political party. An important minority of the Republicans, most of the Democrats, and all the Populists had been carried away by the idea. It was only President Cleveland's determined stand in 1892, backed, as he was, by the Eastern Democrats, which kept his party from then making the question of free coinage, instead of the tariff, the dominant issue. Now, he was no longer able to control, or even in-

fluence, his party and the Democrats made silver the issue, and thereby absorbed the Populists.

The first of the great national conventions to assemble for the purpose of nominating candidates and formulating issues was that of the Republicans, which met at St. Louis on June 16. Public sentiment in the party had already agreed upon William McKinley, of Ohio, as the nominee for President, although Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, had a strong and influential following. Mr. McKinley was nominated on the first ballot, receiving more than two-thirds of the votes of the convention, while Garrett A. Hobart, of New Jersey, was chosen for Vice President. The Republican platform characterized Cleveland's administration as one of "unparalleled incapacity, dishonor, and disaster." It eulogized protection and reciprocity as "twin measures of Republican policy," and declared in favor of sugar bounties, legislative encouragement for the merchant marine, American "control" of Hawaii, the purchase of the Danish West India Islands, and the construction by the United States of the Nicaragua Canal; reaffirmed the Monroe Doctrine in "its full extent"; and demanded that the government of the United States should use its influence and good offices to restore peace in, and give independence to, Cuba. On the all important question of the currency the platform pronounced as follows: "We are opposed to the free coinage of silver, except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and, until such agreement can be obtained, the existing gold standard must be preserved." This emphatic pronouncement in favor of the gold standard was opposed by the free silver delegates, and a determined effort was made by Senator Teller of Colorado, the leader of this element, to secure the adoption of a free silver plank as a substitute. Being defeated by an overwhelming vote of the convention, Senator Teller, followed by some thirty free silver delegates, formally withdrew from the convention and refused to support the ticket and platform thus put forward.

The Democratic national convention met at Chicago July 7. Its position on the money question had already been determined by the action of the various State conventions, no less than thirty of which had pronounced emphatically in favor of free and unlimited coinage. It was plain from the moment the convention assembled that the free silver delegates were in the majority. The na-

tional committee, however, was made up of a majority of gold standard delegates, and it recommended David B. Hill, of New York for temporary chairman; but he was not acceptable to the convention, and a staunch friend of silver, Senator Daniel of Virginia, was chosen instead. The increased representation of the Territories in the convention and the unseating of the "gold" delegation from Nebraska gave the silver men the two-thirds majority necessary to nominate the candidates. The platform adopted was unusually long and full of severe denunciation of the opposite party. It criticised the McKinley tariff as a "prolific breeder of trusts and monopolies," and denounced railroad "mergers," the "profligate waste and lavish appropriations of recent Congresses," government by injunction, and "arbitrary interference by the Federal authorities in local affairs as a violation of the Constitution and a crime against free institutions." It demanded an enlargement of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission, a "return to simplicity and economy" in the administration of the government, and contained a declaration of sympathy for the Cuban insurgents. Over one-half the platform was devoted to the money question, which was declared to be "paramount to all others." "Until this question is settled," the declaration affirmed, "we are opposed to any agitation for further changes in our tariff laws, except such as may be necessary to meet the deficit in revenue caused by the adverse decision of the Supreme Court in the income tax case."

Silver was eulogized as the money of the Constitution equally with gold; its demonetization in 1873 was denounced as a "crime," responsible alike for the prostration of industry, the impoverishment of the people and the enrichment of the capitalistic classes at home and abroad. Gold monometalism was stigmatized as a British policy, not only un-American, but anti-American, and "totally destructive of the liberty and spirit of '76." Finally, the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation, was imperatively demanded. President Cleveland's whole financial policy, his issuing bonds in time of peace, his "trafficking with banking syndicates," all his efforts to maintain the gold reserve, were bitterly denounced as though they were the crimes and blunders of the opposing party. Mr. Cleveland's friends exerted themselves to secure the adoption of the customary resolution endorsing the

administration, but it was voted down almost without respectful consideration. It was indeed a strange spectacle. A great political party openly repudiating and denouncing its former leader — the only one, too, with whom it had won a victory in forty years. The Supreme Court hitherto had escaped the denunciations of political conventions, but in 1896 it, too, fell under the ban of the Democratic party, and was severely denounced for having reversed its former decisions concerning the constitutionality of the income tax. At the same time a fling was made at the justices who concurred in the majority opinion, through the suggestion that the present decision might be reversed when the personnel of the court should be changed.

Having adopted a genuine Populistic platform, the convention proceeded to nominate its candidates. Public sentiment in the party had not fixed upon any one man, and hence there was a spirited contest for the nomination. Richard P. Bland of Missouri, the leader of the "Silverites" in the House; Governor Pattison of Pennsylvania, who enjoyed the unprecedented honor of having twice carried the Keystone State for the Democrats, and Governor Boies of Iowa were recognized as the leading candidates at the time of the assembling of the convention. But in the course of the debate on the free silver plank a new leader was discovered. This man was William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska, who championed the cause of silver on the floor of the convention in an impassioned speech in which he referred to the gold standard men as wishing to "press down upon the brow of labor a crown of thorns," and "to crucify mankind upon a cross of gold." This brilliant outburst of high-flown eloquence swept the convention off its feet, or rather the free silver portion of it, and insured the nomination of the young Nebraskan. When the balloting began next day Mr. Bland was in the lead, but he was soon outdistanced by Mr. Bryan, who was nominated on the fifth ballot. Arthur Sewall, a wealthy shipbuilder of Maine, was nominated for Vice President as a concession to the Eastern money power.

The delegates opposed to free silver took no part in the work of nominating the candidates. They had exerted themselves to secure the adoption of a less radical plank on the money question, and also an endorsement of the Cleveland administration, and being overridden, they announced their intention to take no further part in the proceedings, although they did not formally with-

1897

draw from the convention. Thousands of Democrats throughout the country, and especially in the East, felt that they could not endorse this platform. It seemed to them that the control of the party had fallen into the hands of men who were not in reality Democrats, but Populists, and that the principles enunciated in the Chicago platform were such as no good Democrat could support. At the same time they were unwilling to support the Republican candidates, and so it was resolved to nominate a ticket for which they could vote without self-stultification. After repeated conferences among the leaders, a convention representing forty-one States was held at Indianapolis on September 2, and it adopted a platform denouncing the "fiscal heresy" of the Chicago platform, passed a resolution in favor of the gold standard, and endorsed the administration of President Cleveland. The convention then nominated Generals John M. Palmer of Illinois for President and Simon B. Buckner of Kentucky for Vice President.

The Populist party held its convention in St. Louis, adopted a platform similar to that of 1892, and nominated Mr. Bryan for President and Thomas E. Watson of Georgia for Vice President. Mr. Bryan received still a third nomination from the National Silver Party, which met in St. Louis at the same time. The Prohibitionist Party, the National Party, and the Socialist Labor Party all put tickets in the field, but their strength was too insignificant to affect the result.

The campaign which ensued was remarkable for the very general discussion of financial and economic questions and for the unusual popular interest aroused. Mr. Bryan traveled up and down the country for several months delivering speeches to vast throngs of people who turned out to hear him. Everywhere excited crowds pressed about this young tribune of the people and hundreds of thousands were moved by his eloquence. No one could mistake the earnestness of his appeals or his deep conviction that the triumph of his financial ideas alone could redress the wrongs of the people. Frequently he addressed as many as a dozen audiences in a single day. His physical endurance and the eagerness of the people to hear him were among the most remarkable features of the canvass and a constant source of amazement. Mr. McKinley, on the other hand, followed Mr. Harrison's example, remained quietly at his home in Canton, Ohio, and from his doorsteps welcomed over 700,000 visitors and delivered more than 300 speeches to vis-

iting delegations. His addresses were either the felicitous expressions of a welcoming host to the pilgrims who flocked to his threshold, or a calm, dignified discussion of the political issues involved, all of which made a favorable impression upon the country.

On account of the defections from the various parties it was difficult to forecast the result. Everywhere there was disintegration and confusion and many who had never once faltered in their party allegiance scarcely knew where to turn. Many Eastern Democrats, rather than throw away their votes on the Palmer-Buckner candidate decided to vote the Republican ticket and thus contribute more directly to the triumph of the sound-money policy. This defection from the Democratic party was, however, probably more than offset by the thousands of Republicans in the West who gave their support to Bryan. Even the Prohibitionists were divided among themselves on the all important question of silver, and some voted for Bryan, others for McKinley. In the ranks of the Populists there was hopeless dissension. The "middle-of-the-road" faction strongly objected to the alliance with the Democrats, and it was this element which prevented the nomination by the Populists of Mr. Bryan's associate, Sewall, because he was a rich Eastern manufacturer. Instead, they nominated a Southern Populist, Watson of Georgia, the result of which would have been to throw the election of the Vice President into the Senate had Mr. Bryan been elected President.

The issues of the campaign were purely political and the canvass wholly free from the personalities of previous elections. The personal characters of Mr. Bryan and Mr. McKinley were absolutely unimpeachable. In their habits and domestic life both were model American citizens. Both had grown up on the farm, both had studied in a small college, and both had become successful lawyers. Mr. McKinley was the older, being at the time of his nomination in his fifty-third year and a veteran of the Civil War. Mr. Bryan had just turned his thirty-sixth year, being the youngest presidential nominee in the history of the country. For fifteen years Mr. McKinley had been a member of Congress and by sheer force of ability had raised himself to the position of its leader. Defeated by his opponent in the Democratic "landslide" of 1890, the people of Ohio made him their governor the following year. His public record had been open and clean. All that his

opponents could say against him was that he was the author of the tariff bill which bore his name and that he had once been an advocate of free silver, which he was now condemning. Mr. Bryan's public career had been short and uneventful. He had served two term in Congress, but aside from a speech on the tariff question had done little to attract public attention. The speeches following his nomination for the Presidency, however, made him immensely popular with the masses of his party and brought out his remarkable qualities of leadership.

The currency question was almost the only issue discussed by the campaign orators. The Democratic speakers talked glibly of the "dollar of our fathers," of the "crime of '73," and denounced the Eastern "gold bugs" and "plutocrats" as enemies of their country, who would willingly see the United States pay tribute to the money power of Great Britain. They maintained that the adoption of the gold standard would result chiefly in the benefit of the capitalistic classes, that it would curtail the volume of the people's money, and that it would be followed by an unprecedented fall in the price of silver and of all other commodities to the great detriment of the laboring and industrial classes. Republican orators, on the other hand, spoke of their opponents as "popocrats," as disgruntled agitators, and imputed to them a desire to pay off existing debts in cheap money. They contended that the opening of our mints to free coinage of silver without limitation would result in the flooding of the country with a depreciated silver currency; that gold would instantly disappear, leaving the country on a silver basis such as prevailed in China and Mexico; and lastly that the substitution of a "cheap" dollar in place of the gold dollar would involve a repudiation of a part of the national debt, would impair the rights of private creditors, and reduce by half the purchasing power of the wage earners. The Democratic contention that the action of a powerful nation like the United States in opening its mints to silver would create a sufficient demand for the white metal to maintain a "parity" between gold and silver the Republicans denounced as fallacious, and asserted that the coöperation of other nations was impracticable.

In the course of the campaign Mr. Bryan committed the error of not confining his argument to the merits of the silver question, but fell to abusing the rich, thus arraying class against class. Everywhere business men, men of wealth and substance, fell away

from him, while scarcely a large corporation was left to contribute funds to the Democratic campaign committee for the prosecution of the canvass.

As election day drew near the popular interest and excitement reached an unprecedented pitch. Not since the Civil War had the country been so stirred by a presidential election. Business was to a large degree suspended in expectation of the result. The September elections in Maine and Vermont resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Republicans, thus furnishing an indication of the drift of sentiment at the North and East. When, therefore, on November 3 the fourteen million voters went to the polls it was pretty clear what the result would be. The Republicans carried by unprecedented majorities every State north of the Potomac and Ohio Rivers and east of the Mississippi. For the first time since the days of reconstruction the "Solid" South was broken, for the Republicans carried Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, and even Kentucky. McKinley's electoral vote was 271, while Bryan received 176. The popular vote, however, was much closer, McKinley's plurality over Bryan being only about 280,000.[1] The "gold" Democrats contributed much to McKinley's election, for which they received the unsparing denunciation of the Bryan Democrats. The election of McKinley insured the continuance, for a time at least, of the gold standard; business soon revived, and it is needless to say that the calamities which the Bryanites predicted never came to pass.

II

THE DINGLEY TARIFF; FINANCIAL LEGISLATION; RELATIONS WITH GREAT BRITAIN

William McKinley was inaugurated twenty-fourth President of the United States, March 4, 1897, in the presence of a vast concourse of spectators and attended by a splendid military and civic display.[2] Two days after the inauguration he issued a procla-

[1] The popular vote was as follows: Republican, 7,111,607; Democratic, 6,509,052; Populist, 222,583; "Gold" Democratic, 134,645; Prohibitionist, 131,312; the National Party, 13,968; and the Socialist Labor Party, 36,373.— Stanwood, "History of the Presidency," p. 567.

[2] President McKinley's Cabinet was constituted as follows: Secretary of State, John Sherman of Ohio; Secretary of the Treasury, Lyman J. Gage of Illinois; Secretary of War, Russell A. Alger of Michigan; Secretary of the

mation summoning Congress to meet in special session on March 15 for the purpose of revising the tariff, an act made necessary on account of the inadequacy of the revenues under the Wilson Bill. Shortly after the meeting of Congress in extraordinary session Nelson Dingley of Maine, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, brought in a tariff bill which was rushed through the House in the face of the Democratic demand for more time in which to examine and discuss the measure. In the Senate, however, the bill made slower progress and was amended in some eight hundred particulars. Most of the Senate amendments were accepted by the conference committee, appointed to harmonize the two houses, and before the end of July the bill had become law. As finally passed the Dingley Bill restored the high rates of the McKinley Bill, and on many articles of necessary consumption even much higher duties were imposed. A prominent feature of the Dingley Act was the reciprocity provision which authorized the negotiation of treaties allowing a reduction of duties on certain commodities when imported from countries which were willing to grant to the United States reciprocal and equivalent concessions. In pursuance of this provision eleven reciprocity treaties were negotiated, but all failed of ratification by the Senate, mainly because the diversity of interests in the country aroused the opposition of some State to each measure. The Republicans, therefore, hardly lived up to the declaration in their national platform of 1896, that protection and reciprocity were "twin measures" of Republican policy, for while one of the "twins" was nourished and allowed to grow strong and lusty, the other was neglected and allowed to languish and die.

In the following year some important financial legislation was enacted in obedience to the recommendation of the President in his annual message of December, 1898. Interpreting the results of the election as a mandate from the people, Congress passed an act for the maintenance of the gold standard. By this act the gold dollar was made the unit of value and provision was made for a gold reserve of $150,000,000, while the means for protecting it were also provided. The refunding of the national debt in two

Navy, John D. Long of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Interior, Cornelius N. Bliss of New York; Attorney General, Joseph McKenna of California, who was succeeded in 1898 by John W. Griggs of New Jersey; Postmaster General, James A. Gary of Indiana; Secretary of Agriculture, James Wilson of Iowa.

per cent. thirty year bonds was authorized and the national banking law was amended so as to permit the organization of national banks with a capital of $25,000, and empowering them to issue notes to the par value of their United States bonds deposited with the Secretary of the Treasury, instead of ninety per cent., as provided in the old law. As a concession to bimetallic sentiment a commission was sent abroad to urge international coöperation upon the part of the European governments for restoring silver to a position of equality with gold, but, like previous efforts, it failed, and gold became the irrevocable standard.

Still another important legislative measure was a Federal Bankruptcy Act, which became law July 1, 1898, and which is believed to be a distinct improvement on previous measures of the kind. The present law provides for both voluntary and involuntary bankruptcy, and with certain exceptions is applicable to both traders and non-traders.

The foreign relations of the United States in the early days of the McKinley administration were marked by friction with Great Britain on account of the revival of the fur seal controversy. The lapse of the *modus vivendi* in 1897 was followed by a renewal, upon the part of the Canadians, of pelagic sealing, involving as it did the indiscriminate slaughter of the young seals and of the females. A conference of representatives of several powers, including the United States, Great Britain, and Canada, was held to discuss the question of prohibiting pelagic sealing. The conference reached an agreement only as to certain facts, namely, that the herd had decreased, since 1884, to one-third or one-fifth its former size, and that hunting on the open sea was destructive to the industry. The United States Government then proposed to Great Britain that pelagic sealing be suspended, but the British Government pointedly refused to reopen the question. Secretary Sherman then caused a sensation by sending a dispatch to Mr. Hay, the American ambassador in London, intimating that the British Government was guilty of bad faith in thus peremptorily refusing to discuss the question. The British press resented Mr. Sherman's insinuation, but other circumstances soon occurred to bring about an unusual feeling of cordiality between the two countries. As a result of this pronounced friendliness an agreement was reached in May, 1898, for the creation of a Joint High Commission to deal with this and other matters in dispute between the two countries.

The commission met at Quebec in August, and later adjourned to meet in Washington on November 10. No definite settlement of the question was reached, although in October, of the following year, a temporary and provisional understanding was agreed upon.

Aside from the seal fisheries and the Alaskan boundary dispute, public interest in the Northwest was still further increased by the discoveries of gold in the Klondike region, far up the Yukon. Instantly there was a great rush of gold seekers from the States to this distant and inhospitable country, and their sufferings were scarcely less than those of the California Argonauts of 1849. A new appreciation, however, was given to the natural resources of the far Northwest, and incidentally a new turn to the Alaskan boundary dispute between the United States and Great Britain, since the control of White and Chilkoot Passes, gateways to the gold region, was involved. But all efforts at this time to reach an agreement upon the disputed points ended in failure.

III

THE WAR WITH SPAIN

The event of President McKinley's administration which overshadowed all others, however, was the war with Spain, brought on by Spanish misrule and cruelty in the nearby island of Cuba. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Spain was the dominant power in the Western Hemisphere, her dominion covering practically all of South and Central America, except Brazil, a large part of North America, and the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico. One by one these possessions were lost, until to-day the former powerful empire of Charles V. remains only a third-rate power among the nations of Europe, and no longer controls a foot of territory on the Western Hemisphere.

Goaded to desperation by the despotic rule of the mother country, with their resources exploited to satisfy the greed and avarice of the Spanish monarchs, and their revenues appropriated for the enrichment of Spain, while they themselves were neglected, the Central and South American colonies rose in revolt, achieved their independence and became nominally republics, after the North American model. Thus, by the time the nineteenth century was well on its way the Spanish possessions on the Western continent

had been reduced to the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, in the West Indies. Instead of profiting by the admonitions of the past, the Spanish Government continued its short-sighted policy of tyranny and corruption in dealing with its two remaining possessions. At various times during the century the Cubans, encouraged by filibusters from the United States, revolted against the despotism of Spanish rule, but always without permanent success.

In 1868 an insurrection broke out in the island which lasted ten years. The people of the United States naturally felt a deep interest in the conflict and it was only by the strictest vigilance in the enforcement of the neutrality laws that our citizens were prevented from going to the aid of the struggling Cubans. The government resisted all popular pressure and pursued throughout the struggle a policy of neutrality, although, as has been stated, President Grant was deterred from recognizing the belligerency of the Cubans only through the interposition of Secretary Fish. In 1878 the insurrection collapsed, but early in 1895 it broke out again on a larger scale. General Martinez Campos with a large army was sent over to put down the rebellion, but his methods were not severe enough to satisfy the Spanish Government, and he was recalled and the less humane Weyler appointed to succeed him in January, 1896. Weyler proceeded ruthlessly to destroy houses and growing crops, and to prohibit, as far as possible, all productive industry. The chief feature of his policy was the "concentration" of the non-combatants into the towns, to prevent their giving aid to the insurgents. Penned up in filthy camps, and poorly fed, their condition became truly pitiable. Thousands died of starvation or disease, and it began to look as if Weyler intended to desolate and depopulate the entire island.

The people of the United States could not remain indifferent to this wholesale murder within sight of their shores, and strong indignation was expressed at General Weyler's atrocious methods. In his annual message of December 7, 1896, President Cleveland adverted to the progress of the insurrection and declared that it could not reasonably be assumed that the hitherto expectant attitude of the United States would be maintained indefinitely. The spectacle of the utter ruin of an adjoining country, by nature one of the most fertile and charming on the globe, was one, he said, which could not but engage the attention of the United States, both by reason of its geographical proximity and the enormous financial

interests of the American people in the island. It was estimated that between thirty and fifty million dollars of American capital were invested in plantations, railroads, mining, and other business enterprises on the island, while our trade with Cuba, which had formerly amounted to over one hundred million dollars annually, was being destroyed.[3]

The government of the United States now tendered its good offices to bring about a termination of the conflict, but without effect. After two years of vigorous methods, Spain had failed to suppress the insurrection and it now seemed as if an indefinite prolongation of the conflict and the utter ruin of the island would follow. Apropos of this situation President Cleveland declared that when Spain's inability to deal successfully with the insurrection should become manifest, and when a hopeless struggle for re-establishment of her sovereignty should have degenerated into a useless sacrifice of human life, a situation would be presented in which our obligations to Spain would be superseded by higher obligations.

When Mr. McKinley became President he demanded the release of American prisoners in the island and requested the Spanish Government to put an end to the horrible conditions existing therein. The assassination of the Spanish prime minister, Señor Cánovas, by an anarchist in August, 1897, brought the Liberal Sagasta to the head of the government, and in response to the pressure from the United States he recalled Weyler, promised the establishment of an autonomous government in the island, released the American prisoners and promised to ameliorate the condition of the wretched *reconcentrados*. But this did not pacify the insurgents, and they rejected the offer of autonomy with practical unanimity. In view of the modification of the Spanish policy in the island, President McKinley expressed the opinion in his annual message of December 6, 1897, that the time for intervention on the part of the United States had not yet come. Spain, he said, should be given a reasonable chance to "prove the asserted efficacy of the new order of things." Although the policy of the government was one of non intervention, the people of the country were not inactive spectators and responded generously to the cries of the starving Cubans for aid. The Spanish Government admitted free of duty all articles contributed for the relief of the sufferers

[3] Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," vol. ix, p. 718.

and large quantities of supplies and contributions in money were sent for their use.

Early in February, 1898, occurred the first of a series of incidents which precipitated the conflict. This was the publication by the Cuban junta at New York of a private letter written by the Spanish minister at Washington, Señor Dupuy de Lome, to a Spanish editor, in which the writer referred to President McKinley as a "pot-house politician and caterer to the rabble," who sought to stand well with both the Spanish minister and the "jingoes" of his party. De Lome was forced to acknowledge the authenticity of the letter, and to relieve his government from possible embarrassment promptly cabled his resignation to Madrid. It was immediately accepted by the Spanish Government, De Lome left the country and the incident was declared closed.

On the evening of the following day, February 15, while public sentiment was still in a state of exasperation on account of the De Lome incident, the United States battleship *Maine,* while anchored in the harbor of Havana, whither it had gone on a friendly visit, was blown up by a tremendous explosion, and 266 of the vessel's crew lost their lives. When the news reached the United States excitement was at fever heat, but the advice of Captain Sigsbee, commander of the ill-fated battleship, that the American people should suspend judgment until an investigation could be made, was generally heeded. The Spanish authorities exerted themselves to rescue and relieve the survivors, and rendered impressive funeral honors to the dead. A naval board of inquiry was appointed, and after a careful investigation it reported that the *Maine* was destroyed by the explosion of a submarine mine, but that no evidence had been obtained fixing the responsibility for the destruction of the vessel. The Spanish authorities likewise appointed a commission of inquiry, and it reported that the destruction of the vessel was due to some interior cause; but the people of the United States had no doubt in their own minds that the *Maine* was destroyed as the result of Spanish treachery.

On March 17 Senator Proctor of Vermont, having returned from a tour of inspection in the island, made a speech in the Senate describing the wretched conditions which had come under his personal observation. His description of the desolation in the island, the sufferings of the *reconcentrados*, the hopelessness of the

Spanish struggle, created a profound impression throughout the United States and stirred public feeling to a high pitch.

In the meantime President McKinley, who wished to avoid war, if possible, and who realized the advantages of a delay long enough to prepare for the struggle, had proposed to the Spanish Government an armistice until October 1, and the restoration of the *reconcentrados* to their homes. The reply of the Spanish Government was not satisfactory to the President, and on April 11 he sent a long message to Congress reviewing the situation in Cuba since the outbreak of the insurrection, and recommending the intervention of the United States on the general grounds of humanity, the protection of our citizens in Cuba, the preservation of our trade and industry, and because the existing condition of affairs in the island was a constant menace to our peace and a source of enormous expense to our government. "In the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American interests," said the President, "the war in Cuba must stop." He asked Congress to empower him to employ the army and navy to terminate the war and secure the establishment of a stable government. Concluding, the President said: "Prepared to execute every obligation imposed upon me by the Constitution and the laws, I await your action."[4] There could be no doubt as to what the action of Congress would be. Already in March both houses had voted unanimously $50,000,000 to put the country on a war footing. The reply of Congress to the President's message was a joint resolution declaring that the people of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent, demanding of Spain the immediate relinquishment of its authority and government in Cuba, and directing and empowering the President to employ the army and navy and to call out the militia to enforce the national demand. At the same time a declaration was adopted disclaiming any intention upon the part of the United States of exercising sovereignty or control over the island, except such as might be necessary for its pacification. The President thereupon sent an ultimatum to Spain demanding compliance with the resolution within three days. When this became known the Spanish minister at Washington demanded his passports and left for Canada, and on the following day, General Woodford, the American minister at Madrid, being informed that diplomatic relations with the United States were at

[4] Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," vol. x. p. 150.

an end, withdrew from Spain. On April 22 the first shot of the war was fired by the gunboat *Nashville,* and three days later Congress passed, without dissent, a formal declaration, reciting that war existed between the United States and Spain, and had existed since the 21st.

In the meantime active preparations for hostilities had been rapidly pushed. The $50,000,000 which Congress had placed at the President's disposal early in March was utilized for the purchase of war vessels and the manufacture of arms and ammunition; while yachts, tugs, and merchant vessels were acquired and rapidly converted into an auxiliary fleet. The country realized that war was inevitable and awaited the formal declaration with impatience. The appropriation by Congress was considered as a definite war measure, and in the interval before the formal outbreak of hostilities the country was put on a war footing. Not only the national government, but States as well, took part in this preparation for war. The various National Guards were prepared for mobilization at a moment's notice. Scores of provisional regiments were raised and offered to the governors of the various States, so they could be called out as soon as the expected call for volunteers occurred. On April 25 the proclamation so eagerly awaited appeared. The President called for 125,000 two-year volunteers, and the regular army was reorganized and its strength increased from 27,000 to 61,000 men; provision was also made for the construction of 3 new battleships and some 30 odd monitors, torpedo boats and torpedo-boat destroyers. To provide the increased revenue necessary, the taxes on beer and tobacco were largely increased and stamp duties on various articles were imposed. These preparatory measures were all passed with substantial unanimity, thus showing that no difference existed between Democrats and Republicans on the question of upholding the honor of the United States in the approaching conflict.

Concerning the methods of prosecuting hostilities, the government of the United States announced its intention to abstain from privateering and to observe the other rules of the Declaration of Paris, notwithstanding the fact that the United States was not one of the signatory powers to the declaration. Spain, also a non-signatory power of the Paris Declaration, announced that its course would be in substantial conformity thereto. Both governments, however, reserved the right to employ auxiliary cruisers under

naval control. By a proclamation of April 22 the President declared the north coast of Cuba and also the port of Cienfuegos on the south coast in a state of blockade, announced that a sufficient force would be posted so as to prevent the entrance and exit of vessels from the blockaded ports, and gave notice that neutral vessels lying in any of the said ports at the time of the establishment of the blockade would be allowed thirty days to depart therefrom. Four days later the President issued a proclamation allow-

ing Spanish merchant vessels in the ports and harbors of the United States twenty-five days to unload their cargoes and depart therefrom. Spanish merchant vessels which had sailed for an American port prior to April 21 were to be permitted to enter such port and to discharge their cargoes and to depart without molestation. This liberal rule, which was subsequently extended by judicial interpretation,[5] contrasted very favorably with the privileges accorded American vessels bound for Spanish ports. Concerning the right of search, President McKinley directed that all searches should be conducted with "strict regard" for the rights of neutrals, and that mail steamers should not be interferred with "except upon

[5] The case of the *Buena Ventura*, U. S. Reports, vol. clxxv, p. 384.

the clearest ground of suspicion of a violation of law in respect of contraband or blockade.[6]

The response to the President's call for volunteers was prompt and generous. As quickly as possible the volunteer forces were assembled at convenient points and the recruiting of the regular army proceeded apace. Eleven major generals were appointed, among them Fitzhugh Lee and Joseph Wheeler, formerly gallant leaders in the Confederate army. The naval forces of the United States were divided into three parts: The North Atlantic Squadron under command of Captain W. T. Sampson, at Key West; the Flying Squadron under command of Commodore Schley, at Hampton Roads, and the Asiatic Squadron, under command of Commodore George Dewey, at Hong Kong.

The first real engagement of the war was the bombardment, on April 27, by three American warships, of Spanish forts in process of construction at Mantanzas. After a rapid fire of twenty minutes the forts were completely demolished. Four days later, May 1, occurred the most notable victory of the war, namely, the destruction of the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay. Receiving orders a week before to proceed to the Philippines and destroy or capture the Spanish fleet, Dewey with nine vessels sailed from Hong Kong, and on the night of April 30, to the surprise and amazement of the Spaniards, ran past the Spanish batteries which defended the entrance to the harbor and proceeded leisurely down the bay toward Manila, twenty miles distant. It was a perilous undertaking, for his path was said to be strewn with mines and not a man of the crew had ever been in the bay before. In the early morning hours of May 1 Dewey was attacked by the Spanish fleet of ten vessels, commanded by Admiral Montojo. Montojo's fleet was inferior in quality to that of Dewey's, but it had the advantage of fighting in its own waters and of having the support of the batteries on shore. A short but severe naval battle ensued, in which every ship in both fleets took part.

The superior marksmanship of the American gunners easily triumphed over the wild and ineffective firing of the Spaniards — for only once did their shots injure a man or gun on the American fleet. By noon the Spanish fleet was totally destroyed and 380 Spaniards killed or wounded. Several Americans were wounded, but not one was killed, nor was a single American vessel disabled.

[6] Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," vol. x. pp. 204–205.

It was one of the most brilliant and successful naval victories in the annals of warfare; by it Spanish naval power in the East was completely obliterated and the United States raised to the position of first rank among naval powers of the world. After destroying the Spanish fleet Dewey took possession of Cavite and, with the American army, supported by the Filipino forces under their leader Aguinaldo, captured the city of Manila with 13,000 men on August 13.

In the West Indies events had followed with almost equal rapidity. In the latter part of May the Spanish fleet commanded by Admiral Cervera, which had sailed from Cape Verde Islands some weeks before, took refuge in the harbor of Santiago de Cuba. The combined squadrons of Sampson and Schley went in search of the Spanish fleet after hearing of its arrival in West Indian waters, and having discovered it in the harbor of Santiago, instituted a blockade to prevent its escape. Incidents of the operations against Santiago were the timely arrival of the *Oregon*, after a remarkable voyage of 14,000 miles from the Pacific Coast, by way of Cape Horn, and the daring exploit of young Lieutenant Hobson, who with three companions entered the harbor in the darkness of night and sunk the *Merrimac*, with a view to blockading the channel and preventing the possible escape of the Spanish fleet.

While the combined fleets of Schley and Sampson were keeping guard at the entrance to Santiago harbor, a military expedition of over 16,000 men, under Major General William R. Shafter, had landed on the southern coast of Cuba and was marching upon Santiago from the rear. Pushing on through a hilly and densely-wooded country in the face of an obstinate resistance, they drove the enemy back at Las Quasimas on June 24, and on July 1 carried the heights of San Juan and El Caney, a fortified town near Santiago, after a desperate assault. Of the 16,500 Americans engaged, about 240 were killed and 1,400 wounded. Conspicuous among those who won distinction in these engagements were Generals Wheeler, Young, Lawton and Chaffee and Colonels Roosevelt and Wood. Santiago was now closely invested on three sides, but the position of the American forces was not comfortable. As is so often the case in war, the commissariat was at fault. Food was bad and insufficient. The heat was almost unendurable and hundreds of the soldiers fell sick. There was talk of retreating, but General Wheeler, Colonel Roosevelt and others resolutely op-

posed this plan and a demand was made upon the enemy to surrender the city. Cervera, meantime, seeing that the fate of Santiago was sealed, resolved to make an attempt to escape with his fleet, and early in the morning of July 3, with the *Maria Theresa* leading, his vessels slipped out of the harbor which Hobson had endeavored to block, and made a fatal dash for liberty. Admiral Sampson had started for Guantanamo to confer with General Shafter, and although still within signal distance was out of the fight at the beginning. But his standing orders, posted in every conning tower, were at once acted on by the captains and by Commodore Schley in the *Brooklyn*. Descrying the escaping enemy, they at once gave chase, and under their terrific and well-directed fire the seven Spanish vessels, one by one, were destroyed, the *Oregon* delivering the finishing stroke. About 600 Spaniards were killed or drowned, and some 1,700, among them Admiral Cervera, were taken prisoners. The American loss was one man killed and one wounded.

The beseiging army having been reënforced to 21,000 men, the women and children were removed and the beleaguered city was bombarded from land and sea. On July 17 it was surrendered to General Shafter, not only with its own garrison, but that of the entire province, amounting to 24,000 men. According to the terms of capitulation the United States agreed to transport the surrendered troops to Spain free of cost to the Spanish Government, and early in August the stipulation was carried into effect. Spanish sovereignty in Cuba, as in the Philippines, was now practically at an end and the American losses had been inconsiderable. But the victorious army was in a badly weakened condition. At least three-fourths of the men were, or had been, ill with yellow fever, dysentery, malarial fever or other diseases peculiar to tropical climates. Early in August, therefore, large numbers of them were removed to Montauk, on Long Island, where a camp had been constructed for their rest and recuperation.

In the meantime an army of about 16,000 volunteers, under the command of General Nelson A. Miles, had landed in Porto Rico, the only remaining insular possession of Spain which had not passed under American control. Disembarking at Ponce, the army captured the city and then began its march toward San Juan, the capital of the island. The southern and western portions were soon in possession of the American forces, but at this juncture fur-

DEFEAT OF CERVERA AT SANTIAGO

THE "BROOKLYN" CHASING THE "ALMIRANTE OQUENDO"

ther hostilities were suspended by receipt of the news that a peace protocol had been signed at Washington on August 12.

As early as July 26 the Spanish Government, convinced of the further uselessness of prolonging the contest, had made overtures for peace through the French ambassador at Washington, M. Cambon. After two weeks of negotiation a protocol was agreed upon, by the terms of which an immediate suspension of hostilities was to be declared, Spain was to relinquish her sovereignty over Cuba and cede to the United States Porto Rico and the other Spanish possessions in the West Indies, and also an island in the Ladrones group. Commissioners were to be appointed to meet at Havana and San Juan to arrange the details of evacuation, and other commissioners were to meet at Paris not later than October 1 and negotiate a definitive treaty of peace. The disposition and government of the Philippines was to be determined in the treaty of peace, pending the conclusion of which the United States was to hold the city of Manila. As members of the American peace commission President McKinley appointed the Secretary of State, William R. Day, Senators Cushman K. Davis of Minnesota, William P. Frye of Maine, and George Gray of Delaware and Whitelaw Reid, editor of the *New York Tribune*. The commissioners met in Paris early in September and entered upon the task of negotiating a treaty with the Spanish commissioners.

From the first the two most difficult questions to settle related to the so-called Cuban debt and the disposition of the Philippine Islands. The Cuban debt amounted to more than $100,000,000, and had been incurred by the Spanish Government largely in putting down insurrections in the island since 1868. The Spanish commissioners insisted that the debt should follow the sovereignty of the island, and its payment be directly assumed by the United States or guaranteed by the American Government. The American commissioners, on the other hand, insisted that as the debt had not been contracted for local purposes, but mainly for the subjugation of the island against the wishes and consent of the inhabitants, it was not properly chargeable to Cuba. Moreover, since the United States did not expect to become the sovereign of the island it should not in any way be held responsible for the payment of the debt. The Spanish commissioners bent all their energies to saddle the debt on the United States, but were forced to yield to the American demands and leave the burden of payment upon Spain.

The settlement of the Philippine question was equally perplexing, and the protocol of August 12 had purposely left the question open to afford time for further consideration. At the time of the signing of the protocol Manila had not been taken by the United States forces, but on account of the failure of the American commanders to receive the news of the suspension of hostilities they continued to prosecute the war, and on the day after the signing of the protocol Manila fell into the hands of the Americans. This event gave a stimulus to the gradually increasing sentiment in favor of retaining the islands under American control. It was now urged that considerations of justice and humanity demanded that the half-civilized Filipinos should not, after being released from the despotism of Spain, be abandoned by the great nation that had brought about their enfranchisement, to become the prey of other powers, or to their own self-destruction.

President McKinley hesitated, for it was a very serious question whether the United States wished to assume the responsibility for the government of these far-away Oriental islands. After long and careful consideration the benevolent spirit prevailed, and the President cabled the American commissioners at Paris that he could see "but one plain path of duty — the acceptance of the archipelago." A proposition was thereupon presented to the Spanish commissioners for the cession of the islands in consideration of the payment by the United States to Spain of the sum of $20,000,000, an amount roughly estimated to be the equivalent of the Philippine debt. The Spanish commissioners protested, declared that such a proposition was not warranted by the terms of the peace protocol, which referred only to the "control, disposition and government of the islands," not to their cession, and insisted that the capture of Manila after the signing of the peace protocol was unlawful. After a long discussion the American commissioners presented a virtual ultimatum to the Spanish commissioners, threatening to break off negotiations, if their propositions were not accepted.[7] The Spanish commissioners were thus forced to yield, and on November 10, 1898, the treaty was signed.

By its terms Spain relinquished Cuba, the United States assuming, for the period of its occupancy, international responsibility for the protection of life and property in the island; Porto Rico, Guam in the Ladrones, and the Philippine Archipelago were ceded

[7] Moore, "Cambridge Modern History," vol. vii. p. 686.

to the United States; for the cession of the Philippines the United States agreed to pay Spain $20,000,000 and to admit, for ten years Spanish vessels and merchandise to Philippine ports on the same terms as American vessels. Natives of Spain wishing to remain in the islands were to be protected in their civil rights, and if they elected to do so, were to be allowed to preserve their Spanish nationality, but their political status was to be determined by the Congress of the United States. When the treaty was laid before the Senate for ratification strong opposition was manifested against the provision for the annexation of the Philippines. Great pressure was brought to bear upon the Senate by those who urged that the Filipinos should be given their independence instead of a mere change of masters, and that the annexation of remote half-civilized peoples was unconstitutional, inexpedient and dangerous to the welfare and peace of the United States. For a time it looked as if the necessary two-thirds for the ratification of the treaty could not be secured; but through the influence of Mr. Bryan, who went to Washington and urged the Democratic senators to vote for the treaty, it was finally ratified on February 6, 1899, by a vote of 57 to 27 — but one more than the requisite two-thirds. Thirteen Democrats and Populists voted for ratification and but two Republicans against it.

The war with Spain brought a great change in the position and responsibilities of the United States. The conflict had been short and decisive, lasting scarcely three months and a half. In every engagement the Americans had been successful, while their losses were insignificant.[8] The valor of the American soldier and the skill of the American gunner had won general praise, and the United States was now revealed to the world as one of the great powers of the earth. At the outbreak of the war there had not been the slightest thought of territorial expansion, but the drift of events had forced upon the country a group of remote insular lands inhabited by wild, dark-skinned races. Thus were ancient traditions cast aside and the Republic emerged from the contest the owner and administrator of distant colonial dependencies.

Old men stood aghast at the change and lamented that the better days of the Republic were past. But there was at least the

[8] Up to October 1, 1898, the total deaths had amounted to 2,910, of whom 2,604 died from disease. The war expenditures up to the same time had reached about $340,000,000.

comforting thought that it was all unpremeditated and intended solely for the welfare of the weak and untutored races whom we had freed from the tyranny of Spain. There was no spirit of aggression or of self-aggrandizement about it. Already, while the siege of Santiago was in progress, the Hawaiian Islands had been annexed to the United States by a joint resolution of Congress, according to the Texas precedent, and the year following the acquisitions from Spain, Tutuila and the Manua Islands of the Samoan group, in the far South Pacific, were added to the American possessions. Apparently old-time scruples with regard to expansion beyond the seas had disappeared. The intense absorption of the people in domestic affairs which resulted from the Civil War and the struggle over reconstruction had ceased. The old issues were no longer interesting; the national energy and sense of power sought employment in other fields, and hence the country turned, not unwillingly, to foreign expansion and colonial enterprise.[9]

The war with Spain, so creditable to American arms, was not, however, without its disagreeable incidents. The suffering of the American soldiers from the diseases peculiar to tropical climates was severe, and in addition there was the usual mismanagement of the commissariat, the quartermaster and surgeon general's departments. Light clothing, medicines, ambulances, tents and means of transportation were not promptly furnished, and a great wave of indignation swept over the country when it became known that the soldiers were being fed on "embalmed beef," that is, beef treated with chemicals to preserve it from decay. The Secretary of War, General Alger, was unsparingly criticised, largely without justification, no doubt, and the commissary general, angered by the strictures of General Miles, was led to use language which resulted in his downfall. A commission was appointed by the President to investigate the alleged mismanagement of the War Department. After taking a vast amount of testimony, it reported that a lack of good judgment, foresight and executive ability had been shown in a good many instances; that the majority of the evils were due to inadequate appropriations and defective organization; that no evidence of dishonesty had been discovered; and that, considering the general unpreparedness, the management of the war had been highly creditable. A military court of inquiry

[9] Moore, "Cambridge Modern History," vol. vii. p. 663.

1899

was also appointed to investigate the charges made by General Miles with regard to the "embalmed beef," and it reported that they were substantially true as regarded corned beef, 7,000,000 pounds of which was a "colossal error," but not as to refrigerated beef.

Finally there were the inevitable controversies and recriminations among the higher officers of the army and navy, the most unfortunate being that between Admirals Sampson and Schley for the credit of destroying Cervera's fleet. To settle the latter controversy a court of inquiry was appointed, and after a lengthy investigation a verdict was pronounced giving the palm to Sampson. The decision of the court, however, did not affect the opinion of the country that Schley's conduct had been gallant and meritorious, and that he was entitled to the honors of a hero, but President Roosevelt's subsequent memorandum ended the controversy and convinced thinking people of the injustice done to Sampson.

With neutral powers our relations during the war were on the whole friendly, for neutral rights were scrupulously respected by the American military and naval authorities. Hardly any of the European nations, however, attempted to conceal their disapproval of American intervention in the affairs of Spain, and German feeling in particular was distinctly unfriendly.

An irritating incident in our relations with Germany grew out of the action of the German Government in concentrating a fleet in Manila Bay and of Admiral von Diedrich's impertinence in attempting to send a warship into the harbor of Manila against American instructions — a circumstance which led Dewey to inform him rather bluntly that if he wished a fight he could have it. As precautions against German interference two coast defense vessels were sent to Manila from San Francisco and two battle-ships from the Atlantic. Of all the European nations Great Britain alone exhibited a real cordiality of feeling toward us and gave unmistakable evidence of her sympathy.

IV

THE INSULAR POSSESSIONS

Of the territorial possessions acquired as a result of the war, Porto Rico is the nearest to us geographically. It has an area of less than 4,000 square miles and a population scarcely aggregat-

ing 1,000,000 inhabitants, made up of negroes, native Spaniards and mixed races. The inhabitants were at the time of the war largely ignorant, without educational facilities and badly debt-ridden. The island, however, possesses great natural resources and a small element of intelligent, enterprising people. Released from the despotic rule of Spain, it has already, under the guiding hand of the United States, made marvelous progress along educational, industrial and political lines.

The government of the island of Porto Rico for more than a year after the establishment of American sovereignty was entrusted to the military authorities; first under the command of General John R. Brooke, later under General Guy V. Henry, and finally under George W. Davis. Vexatious tax burdens and special privileges created under the Spanish régime were abolished, new trade regulations established, lotteries abated, church and state separated, needless expenditures cut off, the administration reorganized and reformed and a public school system established. The customs and traditions of the people, however, were respected; Porto Ricans were given the preference in appointments to office, and, with a few exceptions, the central and local governments were entrusted to the natives acting under American control. The effect was almost instantaneous and clearly demonstrated the wisdom and disinterestedness of American rule.

The Philippine Archipelago comprises over fifteen hundred islands, less than a dozen of which, however, are of sufficient size to be of any importance. The two largest islands are Mindanao and Luzon, both being about the size of an average American State. The population of the archipelago consists of about 8,000,000 inhabitants, embracing many different races, mostly of Malay stock. Altogether there are 80 odd tribes, some of them wholly savage, others half civilized. The most highly civilized are the Tagalogs of Luzon, numbering 1,500,000, and the Vizayans of the more southern islands, numbering about 2,000,000; the least civilized are the Negritos, a diminutive aboriginal race which maintains a tribal existence in the mountains and subsists largely on roots and herbs. The most warlike are the Moros of Mindanao, who, ever since the beginning of American occupation, have resisted the authority of the United States and have been a constant source of trouble to the government. Added to these are a sprinkling of Europeans and a good many Chinese. The natural resources of

the islands are many, the principal products being manila hemp, tobacco, sugar, coffee, rice, and indigo.

The Philippines, like Porto Rico, were first governed by the military authorities, under the direction of General Otis. Shortly after the inauguration of American rule the President announced that the mission of the United States in the islands was to be one of "benevolent assimilation"; that, so far as practicable, the civil and criminal laws were to be retained and administered by the local tribunals; that under the same limitation the local governments were to be left undisturbed and placed in the hands of native officials, and that those who accepted the supremacy of the United States were to be protected in their private rights, but those who resisted were to be brought to submission by the strong "arm of authority." This latter threat was intended for those Filipinos who had refused to acknowledge the authority of the United States and had risen in insurrection.

Shortly after Dewey's victory in Manila Bay and before the fall of the city, the Filipinos under the lead of Aguinaldo, had revolted against American authority, declaring that they wished independence and not a mere change of masters. On July 1 Aguinaldo proclaimed a Philippine republic, and an insurgent government was organized with himself at the head. He soon had an army of 30,000 Filipinos under his command, and early in 1899 a general attack was made on the American lines about Manila, and the outbreak presently extended throughout a large portion of Luzon. During the entire year the Americans carried on a vigorous campaign against the insurgents, the losses of the Americans being comparatively slight, while those of the insurgents were heavy. Among the killed on the American side, however, was the gallant General Lawton, who was shot by a Tagal sharpshooter on December 18. Town after town of the insurgents was captured by the American forces and American authority was gradually extended to all parts of the province. When the Filipinos found that they were beaten by the American forces they retired to the mountains and kept up a guerrilla warfare throughout the year 1900, their hopes being in a large measure excited by the possible results of the presidential election which occurred at this time.

McKinley and Bryan had both been renominated as the candidates of their respective parties, practically without opposition. Governor Theodore Roosevelt of New York against his earnest

protest, was nominated by the Republicans for Vice President, and Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois, who had been Vice President during Cleveland's second term, was nominated by the Democrats for the same office. Mr. Bryan's candidacy was endorsed by the Silver Republicans and by the Anti-Imperialist League, which numbered among its members a good many prominent Republicans who felt disgusted at the imperialistic policy of the government. All the Populists supported Bryan except the Middle-of-the Road faction, which nominated Wharton Barker of Pennsylvania. The only essential difference between the Democratic and Republican national platforms of 1900 and those of 1896 related to the questions growing out of the war with Spain. The Democratic platform denounced the "militarism" and "imperialism" of the Republicans, and declared these questions to be the paramount issues in the campaign.

The acquisition of remote islands inhabited by semi-barbarous races, among whom slavery was an established institution, had transformed our government, the Democratic platform declared, into an imperial republic and violated the principles alike of the Declaration of Independence and of the Federal Constitution. With regard to the civil status of the inhabitants in our new possessions, the platform affirmed that the "Constitution follows the flag." It demanded that the pledge of independence to Cuba be speedily fulfilled and that American rule be withdrawn from the Philippines, where it had been extended by a war of "criminal aggression." American sovereignty, it declared, could never extend to countries whose inhabitants could not become citizens. It denounced the formation of a large standing army, which was calculated to endanger our own liberties and institutions. Next to "imperialism" and "militarism," the free coinage of silver was the leading issue, as in 1896. The great majority of the party were in favor of renominating Mr. Bryan, but they doubted the wisdom of making silver an issue. But Mr. Bryan demanded the reaffirmation of the platform of 1896 on this point, and intimated that unless it were done he would refuse the nomination. The convention yielded to his request, not without a certain reluctance, however, and adopted a declaration in favor of the sixteen-to-one doctrine. There were no secessions from the convention, but thousands of Democrats quietly voted for McKinley in preference to supporting the free-silver "heresy." As in 1896, Mr. Bryan traveled about

the country and by his persuasive eloquence stirred the masses on the subject of imperialism — its dangers to the Republic, as he believed, the injustice of governing distant peoples without their consent, and its utter inconsistency with the advice of the fathers and the traditions of the past.

The Republicans, on the other hand, declared that our policy had always been one of territorial expansion from the time of

Jefferson to Cleveland, and that the Philippines had practically been forced upon the country as the result of a war waged in the interest of humanity and liberty, and their inhabitants, being incapable of self-government, could not be abandoned as prey to other foreign nations. They must, declared the Republicans, be held and protected by the United States until, having obtained a condition in which they are capable of governing themselves, they can be given a degree of local self-government and finally made independent.

As the campaign progressed imperialism and militarism came to be regarded rather as "bogies" than real dangers, and Mr. Bryan himself gave more attention to the tariff and the trusts, arguing that the Republicans were not only indifferent to the growth of powerful monopolies, but actually protected them by high tariff duties. President McKinley made no speeches during the campaign, but Mr. Roosevelt, the candidate for Vice President, more than compensated for his silence. The campaign tour of Mr. Roosevelt through the Northern and Western States rivaled similar efforts made by Mr. Bryan, and the speeches he made and the enthusiasm he aroused by his democratic manners and his clean cut, aggressive discussion of public questions contributed no small part toward the final result.

As was foreseen early in the summer, the elections resulted in a sweeping Republican victory, McKinley receiving 292 electoral votes to 155 for Bryan. The Republicans carried Maryland and all the Northern States except Idaho, Montana, Nevada and Colorado. The States of Nebraska, Kansas, Wyoming, Utah, South Dakota and Washington, which Mr. Bryan had carried by substantial majorities in 1896, now deserted the free-silver ranks and voted for McKinley and imperialism. The Republican supremacy was also continued in both houses of Congress.

In the meantime the reorganization of the insular governments and their adaptation to American methods was proceeding apace. A commission was appointed by the President to investigate conditions in Porto Rico and draft a code of laws for the island. It recommended the separation of church and state, a revision of the fiscal system, the erection of public schools and the encouragement of industrial development by the grant of liberal charters. It urged, however, that the right of local self-government be withheld until the people were better educated and gave more evidence of political capacity. By August, 1899, General Davis had reorganized the various departments of the insular government and had rearranged the judicial system, with a supreme court at San Juan. In April, 1900, Congress passed the Foraker Act, to provide a civil government for the island. It declared that the inhabitants should be considered as "citizens of Porto Rico, and as such entitled to the protection of the United States"; provided for a resident commissioner to represent the island at Washington, but without a seat or vote in Congress; levied a tariff of fifteen per cent. of

the Dingley rates on commerce between the United States and Porto Rico; and extended the laws of the United States so far as they were applicable to the island. The scheme of government embodied in the act provided for a governor and an executive council appointed by the President, one-half of the membership to consist of Porto Ricans; and a House of Delegates to be elected by a restricted suffrage and constituting with the council the insular legislature. The first civil governor of the island was Charles H. Allen, appointed by the President in April, 1900, and he was succeeded in 1901 by William H. Hunt, of Montana.

The Foraker Act as first introduced "extended" both the Constitution and the laws of the United States to Porto Rico, declared the inhabitants to be citizens of the United States, and provided for absolute free trade between the island and the United States. But the majority of Congress were unwilling to make this small free trade concession to the Porto Ricans or to accord them the rights of American citizenship or the protection of the Federal Constitution. The Democrats, supported by a small minority of Republicans, maintained that the Constitution extended *ex proprio vigore* to all the territory of the United States, whether near or remote, and did not need to be "extended" by an act of Congress. As for the imposition of a customs duty on trade between Porto Rico and the United States, they insisted that it contravened the Constitution, which requires uniformity of duties throughout the United States, and which prohibits the levying of an export duty. Finally they contended that, aside from constitutional questions involved, considerations of expediency, good faith and justice required liberal treatment of the Porto Ricans in their commercial relations with the mother country. Soon after the Foraker Act went into effect its constitutionality was brought to a test in the Supreme Court of the United States, and decisions were rendered in the so-called insular cases defining the status of the new dependencies and the power of Congress in dealing with them. The court held, by a bare majority of 5 to 4, that Porto Rico was a part of the domestic territory of the United States, but that it could be treated as a foreign territory for certain purposes, particularly as respects the customs laws. For the latter purpose the island would remain foreign territory until Congress should, by formal act, make it an integral part of the United States. That is, the court upheld the Republican contention that the Constitution

does not extend *ex proprio vigore* to the insular dependencies, but must be extended thereto by an act of Congress. As this had not been done Porto Rico was foreign territory within the meaning of the revenue clauses of the Constitution, and hence the provision of the Foraker Act imposing duties on articles imported from the island into the United States was a constitutional measure. It held, in other words, that Congress may apply a different rule in legislating for different parts of our imperial republic. This rather unsatisfactory conclusion was made more so by the fact that the line of reasoning of the learned justice who gave the opinion was not concurred in by a single one of the other eight members of the court. More recently the Supreme Court in a negative way has passed upon the question of the civil status of the Porto Ricans, holding that they are not aliens to the United States, but expressing no opinion on the question as to whether they are citizens of the United States.

The steps leading up to the establishment of civil government in the Philippines began with the appointment by President McKinley in December, 1898, of a commission consisting of President Schurman of Cornell University, Admiral Dewey, General Otis, Charles Denby, former minister to China, and Professor D. C. Worcester of Michigan, to investigate conditions in the islands and report to the President the result of their findings. In November, 1899, the commission made a preliminary report expressing the opinion that on account of racial diversity as well as general ignorance and lack of political experience among the inhabitants, self-government could not be granted for the present; and that the welfare of the Filipinos, as well as the national honor of the United States, demanded the retention of American control. On February 1, 1900, the commission made its final report, recommending a frame of government for the Philippine Archipelago which was to consist of a governor general, a cabinet, a senate and a chamber of deputies, the senate to be half-elective and the latter wholly so. It was further recommended that Congress give the Filipinos assurance of full enjoyment of civil rights, a measure of local self-government, including a delegate in Congress, a civil service system by which appointments were to be based on merit, with preference for the natives, and the establishment of a public school system. In partial fulfillment of these recommendations military government was abolished and the control of the island

was provisionally entrusted to a commission of five Americans, with Judge William H. Taft of Ohio at the head.[10]

The commission set diligently to work reorganizing the local government throughout the archipelago, extending American rule, conciliating the natives and pacifying the disaffected provinces. Provisional codes of law in harmony with American ideas were adopted, new tax and fiscal systems were introduced, public schools were established and thousands of American teachers sent over to teach them, the currency reformed and the central administration reorganized and made more efficient.

Governor Taft proved to be extremely popular with the natives, his wisdom and justice came to be more and more appreciated, and gradually organized opposition to American rule disappeared everywhere except among the Moros in the province of Mindanao. Occasional uprisings continued to occur in the Island of Samar and the province of Bantangas in Luzon, but in each instance they have been suppressed, in some cases by rather severe and vigorous methods. Charges of barbarous cruelty toward the natives were made against American soldiers from time to time, and courts-martial were frequent occurrences. General indignation was felt throughout the country in the spring of 1902 when it became known that General Jacob H. Smith had issued an order to the troops under his command to kill all the natives of Samar over ten years of age and make the island a howling wilderness. He was promptly tried by court-martial, found guilty and sentenced to be dismissed from the army. In view of General Smith's long and distinguished service in the army and the particularly provoking circumstances under which he had been led to issue his harsh order, the President commuted the sentence to retirement from the service. The capture of Aguinaldo by strategy and the promulgation by him of a manifesto urging his followers to submit to the authority of the United States was followed by a practical collapse of the insurrection.

In view of this, Congress, in June, 1902, passed an act for the government of the Philippines and provided that, after the expiration of two years therefrom, if a condition of peace prevailed in the islands, a general election should be held for the choosing

[10] The other members were General Luke E. Wright of Tennessee, Professor D. C. Worcester of Michigan, Henry C. Ide of Vermont, and Professor Bernard Moses of California.

of delegates to a popular assembly, of which the Philippine Commission was to constitute the upper chamber. Ability to read and write, together with ownership of $250 worth of property, was fixed as the qualification for voting. Two commissioners are to be chosen to represent the islands in the Congress of the United States. The act was also accompanied by an extended bill of rights which secures to the Filipinos certain guarantees relative to protection of life, liberty and property, and declares the inhabitants to be citizens of the Philippines entitled to the protection of the United States. On July 4, immediately after the enactment of this law, the President issued a proclamation officially declaring the insurrection in the Philippines at an end everywhere, except among the Moros, and extending a full pardon and amnesty to all persons in the archipelago, with a few exceptions, who had in any way resisted the authority and sovereignty of the United States. At the same time the Secretary of War issued a statement to the effect that the total cost of the Philippine insurrection amounted to $170,326,586.[11]

Finally the vexatious problem of the friars has been disposed of by their voluntary withdrawal from the Philippines and the conclusion of an agreement with the Papal authorities in December, 1903, after negotiations lasting nearly two years, by which the friars' lands (about 400,000 acres) were sold to the government of the Philippines for the sum of $7,239,000. The lands thus acquired are to be sold in small holdings and the proceeds applied to the establishment of churches, schools, charitable institutions, etc. The last annual report of the Philippine Commission, made public February 1, 1906, contains the gratifying information that the islands are in a pacific condition, that ladronism has almost ceased, that educational facilities have been largely multiplied and that the construction of new railroads is all that is now needed to insure rapid industrial progress. But the promised legislation has not yet been established and the islands are still

[11] Since this official announcement of the suppression of the insurrectoin the disturbances in Samar and Mindanao have been renewed. In March, 1904, General Wood defeated two bands of Moro insurgents, killing about 400 of their number. It having been discovered that the Sultan of Sulu was implicated in the Moro outbreak and otherwise largely responsible for the disturbances, the government formally notified him that the Bates Treaty of August, 1899, which granted a limited autonomy to the Moros and provided official salaries for himself and several of the dattos, should henceforth be considered abrogated.

unrepresented in the American Congress. Seventy-five per cent. of the regular tariff duties, as provided by the Dingley Act, are still collected on their imports from the mother country, and by a recent act of Congress all such commodities must be carried in American vessels.[12] The Filipinos protested bitterly against this legislation, but the interests of the maritime classes prevailed. Finally, by a decision of the Supreme Court, rendered as these lines are written, it is held that our colonial subjects beyond the seas, as well as American citizens resident in the dependencies, have no constitutional right to trial by jury, since the provisions of the Constitution for protection by jury trial have not been "extended" to those parts of our national domain.

Finally, a few words should be said as to the disposition of Cuba. The United States' original disclaimer of any intention of sovereignty or control over the island, except such as might be necessary for its pacification, has been strictly adhered to. After the withdrawal of Spanish authority the government was entrusted to the military authorities of the United States, first under General Brooke as governor general, and later under General Wood. Thus the United States, in the language of President McKinley, became "surety for the future of the island."

Under General Wood the island was regenerated, the sanitary condition of the large cities so improved that yellow fever has well-nigh disappeared, its legal and judicial systems revised by American commissions, municipal autonomy gradually accorded, and the public school system extended. The Cubans under American tutelage were thus made ready for self-government, and late in the year 1900 a constitutional convention was assembled at Havana by order of President McKinley for the purpose of framing a constitution, under which the island was to be governed in the future. In order to insure the preservation of the independence which the United States had given the Cubans, the government insisted upon the incorporation of articles in their constitution providing that there should be no acquisition of territory or control in Cuba by any foreign power; that certain cessions of land should be made to the United States for naval stations; that no debt should

[12] Since the above was written Congress has passed an act to admit free of duty into the United States Philippine products except sugar, tobacco, and rice, which are to pay twenty-five per cent. of the Dingley rate, instead of seventy-five.

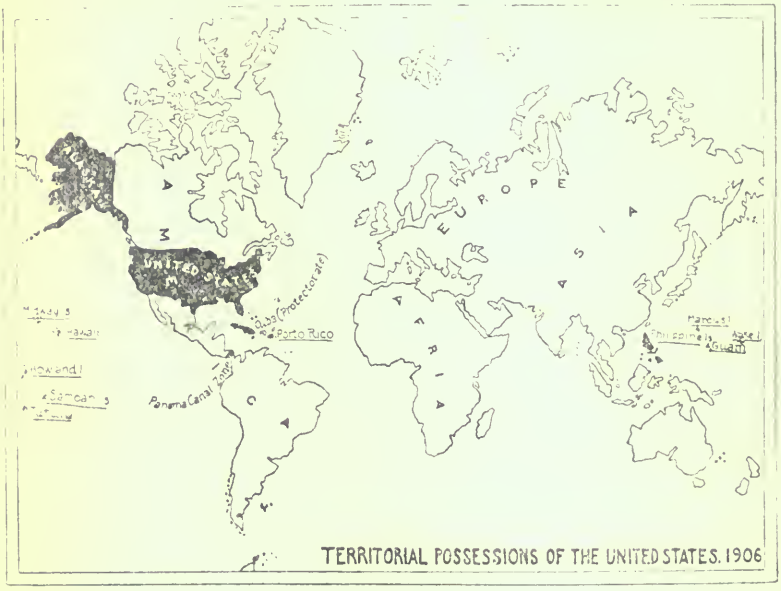
be contracted by the Cuban Government which could not be defrayed out of the ordinary revenues of the island; and that the United States should have the right to intervene by force to maintain the independence of Cuba and preserve the integrity of its territory. The Cubans manifested some opposition to these conditions, and insisted that they would in effect destroy that independence which the United States professed to be anxious to preserve; but the government remained firm, and the conditions were accepted and became part of the Cuban constitution in June, 1901. In the December following the Cubans held their first general election for the choice of President, Vice President and members of Congress. Thomas Estrada Palma was chosen as the first President of the new Republic, and on May 20, 1902, the government was formally transferred by General Wood to the Cuban authorities. American occupation was declared to be at an end, and the military forces of the United States withdrew from the island. The United States had kept its promise, and after three years of occupation, during which the island was largely transformed and made anew, it was handed over to the keeping of those to whom it properly belonged.

One thing more remained to round out the policy toward the people of Cuba. That was to accord them generous commercial privileges as regards their trade relations with the United States. It was urged that the imposition of the full tariff rates on sugar, which was their main article of export to the United States, would at this stage of their national career work great hardship to the Cuban people. A bill was therefore proposed in Congress providing for a reduction of the duties on Cuban sugar, and President Roosevelt exerted all the pressure he could bring to bear upon the members of Congress to secure its passage, declared that we were bound not only by considerations of expediency, but by those of national honor and morality to deal liberally with the Cubans.

On account of the opposition of those Senators who represented the sugar interests of the United States the bill failed in the Senate. But the President did not give up the fight for the Cubans, and accordingly negotiated a reciprocity treaty with the Cuban Government which provided for a 20 per cent. reduction of the existing tariff duties on all Cuban products imported into the United States, in return for which the United States was to be favored by reductions on American products imported into Cuba.

This treaty was finally approved by the Congress of the United States late in 1903.

The influence of the United States as a world power was recently shown by the honorable and prominent part which the government took in the international settlement of Chinese affairs growing out of the "Boxer" outrages of 1900. In this year an upheaval was caused in China by an outbreak against foreigners led by an anti-foreign society which demanded the expulsion of



the foreign element from the empire. The disturbances spread from province to province, and the foreign legations in Peking were besieged by the Boxers, who cried for the blood of the despised foreigners. The German minister was murdered, the residences of foreigners were plundered and their property destroyed, and telegraphic connection with the outside world was cut off. Troops of the various powers were hurried to the relief of the besieged legations to which foreign residents had taken refuge, the Taku forts were bombarded and occupied, Tientsin was attacked, and finally Peking was taken and the legations rescued. In these operations American troops participated, and when it came to the matter of settling up with China for the outrages

against the foreigners the government of the United States took the leading part. Some of the European powers would have been glad to take their indemnity in Chinese territory or exclusive trade privileges, as some of them had done on previous occasions, but Mr. Hay, the American Secretary of State, very early during the troubles communicated a note to the allied powers stating that the United States would insist upon the preservation of the "territorial and administrative entity" of China and an "open door" in matters of trade with all parts of the Celestial Empire.

The justice of this position was so obvious that it met the approval of the civilized world, and one by one the allied powers announced their acceptance of the principle laid down in Secretary Hay's note. So with regard to the amount of indemnity and the manner of payment, as well as the punishment of the Boxer leaders, Mr. Hay pleaded for a spirit of justice, forbearance and magnanimity in dealing with China, and urged that nothing should be done to degrade her sovereignty or impair her rights as an independent nation. Altogether it was a creditable chapter in American diplomacy and won the admiration and respect of all Americans without respect to party.

Chapter XLIV

ADMINISTRATION OF ROOSEVELT. 1901-1909

I

ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT McKINLEY

IN the meantime President McKinley's first term had come to an end and he had entered upon a second term with every prospect of a successful administration. But within a few months the country was shocked at the news that the President had been stricken down by an assassin's bullet. On September 6, 1901, while holding a public reception in the Temple of Music at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo he was shot by an anarchist named Czolgosz, who approached the unsuspecting President with a revolver concealed under a handkerchief which appeared to cover an injured hand. For several days the President's condition held out some hope of his recovery, but suddenly he became worse and died on September 14. The popular manifestations of grief over the death of Mr. McKinley were most extraordinary. All over the land meetings were held for the purpose of paying tributes of respect to the memory of the dead President, and in many parts of the country people stood with bowed and uncovered heads for a few minutes on September 19 while his body was being borne to its tomb in Canton, Ohio. Few Presidents have been more popular with all classes and parties than was Mr. McKinley at the time of his death. Especially had he endeared himself to the people of the South by his touching references to the Confederate soldiers and by his thoughtful consideration of Southern customs and traditions. No President since the Civil War had done so much to bring about a complete reconciliation between the people of the two sections and to secure Southern respect for a Republican administration. It was Mr. McKinley's belief that by entrusting prominent Southern white men with office he would be able to attract many of this class into the Republican ranks and thereby create the nucleus of a new party in the South which would command the re-

spect and support of Southern men who had shown an increasing dissatisfaction with the economic and financial policies of the Democratic party. There is reason to believe that, had Mr. McKinley lived, his policy would have been largely successful.

Hardly entitled to the distinction of a statesman of the first order, Mr. McKinley was, nevertheless, almost unsurpassed as a political leader. Tactful in his dealings with men and conciliatory in his disposition, he succeeded in a rare degree in winning friends and holding them as if by bands of steel. The purity of his domestic life, the sincerity of his motives and the Christian fortitude with which he bore his last suffering won the admiration and praise of the entire American people.

A few hours after Mr. McKinley's death the Vice President, Theodore Roosevelt, took the oath of office as President at Buffalo and entered at once upon the discharge of the duties for which Mr. McKinley had been chosen. The formal assumption of the Presidency by the Vice President was peaceful and orderly and without the slightest interruption in the operation of the government. In assuming the office of President, Mr. Roosevelt announced his intention to continue the policies of the late President, and at his request all the members of the Cabinet retained their portfolios.

A few weeks after Mr. Roosevelt's accession to the Presidency the first session of the Fifty-seventh Congress convened, with Senator Frye of Maine as president of the Senate and David B. Henderson of Iowa as Speaker of the House. President Roosevelt's message gave a prominent place to the dangers of anarchy and recommended legislation making anarchistic attacks upon the President cognizable by the Federal courts. The President further recommended "publicity" as the "only sure remedy" for "trusts"; the creation of an executive department of Labor and Commerce; the reënactment of the Chinese Exclusion Law which was to expire in 1904, as well as greater restriction upon the immigration of undesirable persons from other countries; an amendment to the Interstate Commerce Act to prevent discrimination in railroad rates to shippers; legislation for the improvement of the merchant marine; a thorough reform of the consular service; better protection of the forest reserves; Federal aid for irrigation of arid lands in the West; a reduction of the Spanish-American War taxes, and the reorganization of the army by the creation of a

general staff. Notwithstanding the abundance of recommendations, Congress enacted little important legislation at this session. Aside from the routine appropriation bills, laws were enacted for erecting the census office into a permanent bureau, for repealing the remaining war taxes, and for continuing the present Chinese exclusion laws and extending their application to the dependencies and enlarging the number of persons exempted from the prohibition.

Throughout the summer of 1902 public interest was centered in a serious and protracted strike of anthracite coal miners in Pennsylvania. The strike began on May 12 and lasted until October 23, affecting altogether about 145,000 employees. The cause of the strike was the demand of the miners for higher wages, shorter hours of employment and for recognition upon the part of the employers of their labor union. The miners offered to submit all questions to arbitration, but their proposal was rejected by the mine owners. The attempt of the operators to work the mines with non-union men led to the usual riots and disorders, and these increased in extent and seriousness until the governor of Pennsylvania was forced to call out the militia to protect the non-union miners and to preserve the peace. As the scarcity of the fuel supply increased and the approach of winter drew near, the price of coal rose to extraordinary heights, many manufacturing establishments were compelled to close, and great distress prevailed among the poor in the larger cities of the East. Finally, the situation became so serious that President Roosevelt was led to intervene. He summoned the operators and representatives of the miners to Washington and urged them in the most earnest manner to settle their dispute by arbitration, otherwise the government might be forced to take steps to end the strike. The operators, refusing at first, eventually agreed to submit under certain conditions the questions at issue to an arbitration commission to be appointed by the President. Thereupon the miners resumed work and the most serious labor strike in the history of the country came to an end. Later in the winter the strike commission rendered its award, granting substantially the demands for which the miners had contended.

At the second session of the Fifty-seventh Congress, which met December 3, 1902, a few weeks after the termination of the coal strike, several important measures were enacted into law. One of these created an executive department of Commerce and Labor

charged with fostering and developing foreign and domestic commerce, the mining, manufacturing, shipping and fishing industries, the labor interests, the transportation facilities and the insurance business of the United States. A notable feature of the new department is a bureau of corporations charged with making investigations of the business of corporations and joint stock companies engaged in foreign or interstate commerce, with a view to collecting information for the use of the President in enforcing the anti-trust statutes. This is sometimes called the "publicity" bureau and was created in response to President Roosevelt's recommendation that the only effective means of dealing with the powerful trusts was to make their doings public. Mr. George B. Cortelyou was placed at the head of the Department of Commerce and Labor and soon gave it a systematic organization.

Another measure enacted at this session was the Elkins law, also aimed at the trusts, and which undertakes to prevent the large corporations from securing discriminating freight rates from the railroads. It forbids the offering as well as the receiving of rebates, and makes the corporations thus favored, as well as its agents, liable to prosecution for violation of the act. It is a matter of common knowledge that some of the most powerful trusts in existence to-day have attained their greatness largely as a result of favored treatment from the railroads, in competition with which, of course, the small shippers have been at a great disadvantage. Another anti-trust measure appropriated $500,000, to be expended by the Attorney General in prosecuting violations of the anti-trust statutes, and still another was enacted to expedite the hearing and determination of suits arising under the anti-trust acts by providing for the removal of trust cases from the Circuit Courts directly to the Supreme Court. Both of these acts have been taken advantage of by the Government since their enactment and have greatly facilitated the prosecution of several important anti-trust suits. An important measure of a military nature was the act for the creation of a general staff for the army and substituting a "chief of staff" in place of the "commanding general." The general staff consists of forty-five officers and is charged with the preparation of plans for the defense of the country and the mobilization of the army in time of war. This measure was conceived and carried through by Secretary Root, and it is believed has added greatly to the efficiency of the army. It was followed by an act to

regulate the militia, which allows national aid to the State militia whenever it conforms to certain standards of organization and observes certain regulations prescribed by the Federal authorities with regard to drilling and participating in encampments. The State militia is thus brought more under control of the national government and its efficiency as an arm of the national service consequently increased.

On November 9, 1903, a special session of the Fifty-eighth Congress met in response to a call of the President for the purpose of approving the reciprocity convention with Cuba to which reference has already been made. Joseph Cannon of Illinois was elected Speaker of the House to succeed David B. Henderson of Iowa, who had at the close of the previous session resigned his seat in Congress and retired to private life. The House with unanimity promptly passed the bill to carry out the provisions of the reciprocity convention, but the Senate refused its immediate concurrence and fixed December 16 as the day for a vote, and demanded an adjournment of the special session. The House leaders took the position that courtesy to the President required that Congress should perform the duty for which the extra session had been called, and refused to consent to an adjournment. Each House showed resentment at the conduct of the other, each accused the other of attempting to dictate its action and firmly refused to recede from its position. Accordingly both branches of Congress kept up perfunctory sessions until the opening of the regular session on December 7. At the opening of the regular session the President sent in his annual message, in which he devoted much space to praise of the new Department of Commerce and Labor, and to a defense of his Panama policy. He recommended the creation of a commission to investigate the condition and needs of the American merchant marine, a revision of the public land laws, an extension of the classified civil service and the authorization of the Treasury Department to deposit the customs receipts in the national banks.

Among the important measures passed were a bill providing for a loan of $4,000,000 to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition; a bill appropriating $250,000 for the extermination of the cottton boll weevil in the Southern States; an act to extend the navigation laws of the United States to the Philippine Islands; and an act to create a commission to investigate the condition and needs of the merchant marine. Much time was devoted to the discussion of a

bill to admit the Territories of Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and the Indian Territory, to statehood, and although the bill passed the House, it failed in the Senate. Another subject of lively discussion was a Democratic proposal for the appointment of a special committee to investigate the frauds and scandals recently discovered in the Post Office Department. As a result of the discoveries, some thirty persons were indicted, several high officers in the department were dismissed, including the superintendent of the free delivery service, the chief of the division of salaries and allowances, the superintendent of the money order bureau, and the auditor of the same department, while several others were forced to resign their positions. In some cases the offenses charged were conspiracy to defraud the government on contracts for supplies, in others they were the abuse of official positions to secure contracts with firms with which the accused were connected, while in still other cases officials were guilty of falsifying their accounts.

The President ordered a thorough investigation of the affairs of the Post Office Department, and the results showed that the government had lost several million dollars, in the form of excessive prices on supply contracts, a goodly share of which went to the conspirators. Ex-Congressman Driggs of Brooklyn was convicted by a United States court of having accepted from a manufacturing concern a large sum for the use of his influence in securing a contract for cash registers for the use of the government. He was sentenced to a term of imprisonment and to pay a fine of $10,000. An ex-superintendent of the free delivery service and several other private persons were also convicted and punished, but the majority of the accused were acquitted.

An important incident in the foreign relations of the United States in the year 1903 was the settlement by arbitration of a long standing and perilous controversy with Great Britain, concerning the boundary between Alaska and Canada. Various efforts to settle the difficulty through diplomatic channels having resulted in failure, the two governments agreed to submit the dispute to the decision of a commission of six jurists of repute, three appointed by each government. The commissioners were duly appointed and met in London September 3. On October 18 the decision was announced, allowing substantially all the claims of the United States. Her claim that the line passed round the head of the inlets, thus including the White and Chilkoot passes, was confirmed, while she was

also awarded the small islands of Sitklan and Kannaghunut at the mouth of Portland Channel with the right to navigate the Channel and control its western shore. The two Canadian commissioners refused to sign the award, which was made by Lord Alverstone and the three American commissioners, Secretary Root, Senator Lodge of Massachuetts and ex-Senator Turner of Washington, and there was some complaint among the Canadians that their interests had been sacrificed. This feeling was perhaps natural under the circumstances, but the justice of the award can hardly be questioned by impartial observers, and the people of Great Britain with singular imanimity gave it their approval.

The settlement by arbitration in the previous year of disputes with Mexico concerning the Pious Fund, and with Russia concerning seizures of American vessels in the Behring Sea, together with the conclusion in the following year of a general arbitration treaty with France and other powers, seemed to furnish strong evidence of the peaceful disposition of the United States, and the desire of the government to settle its disputes with other nations by arbitration, when it can be done consistently with the honor of the country.

II

THE PANAMA CANAL

Of the events of President Roosevelt's administration the one which will probably stand out above the others in the permanency and general usefulness of its results to mankind was the act of Congress authorizing the construction of the long projected ship canal across the isthmus connecting North and South America. The project of this waterway is almost as old as the national government itself. It was one of the proposed subjects of discussion at the Panama Congress of 1826, the American delegates being instructed by Mr. Clay, then Secretary of State, to investigate "the practicability and the probable expense of the undertaking on the routes which offer the greatest facilities." During Jackson's and Van Buren's administrations commissioners were appointed to investigate the question of suitable routes, and reports and recommendations were made, but never acted upon.

In 1849 the government of Nicaragua granted a concession for the construction of a canal across Nicaraguan territory to an

American company, of which Cornelius Vanderbilt was the leading member, but nothing was ever done toward the work of construction. In the same year, Mr. Hise, the American *chargé d'affaires* at Nicaragua, concluded a treaty with the government of that republic by which the United States was given a perpetual and exclusive right of way for the construction of a canal across Nicaraguan territory, but the treaty did not meet with the approval of President Tyler, and was never submitted to the Senate for its action. Interest in the Nicaragua route, however, did not subside, and with a view to securing the coöperation of Great Britain in constructing the proposed canal, as well as in guaranteeing its neutrality, the United States in 1850 entered into an agreement with the British Government, known as the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, already described in another chapter, by which it was stipulated, among other things, that neither power would assume any exclusive control over the canal when completed and that both would unite in guaranteeing its neutrality and uninterrupted use in time of war as in time of peace. During the next twenty-five years various concessions were granted to American citizens, and almost every possible route across the isthmus was surveyed either by private parties or by engineers of the United States army or navy. A commission appointed by President Grant reported, in 1876, in favor of the Nicaraguan route, and in 1884 a treaty was concluded with Nicaragua by which the necessary concessions were granted to the United States. Finding this treaty before the Senate at the time of his accession to the Presidency, Mr. Cleveland withdrew it and refused to resubmit it because it contained certain stipulations which did not meet his approval.

In the meantime a movement was under way to construct a canal across the Isthmus of Panama between the cities of Panama and Colon, and in 1879 an international congress held at Paris decided upon this route as the one most practicable. To carry out this project a French company was organized under the presidency of Ferdinand de Lesseps and a concession was secured from the government of Colombia. In 1881 work was actually begun, but unexpected difficulties were soon encountered; increased funds were found necessary, many of the transactions of the company were marked by fraud and scandal, so that after expending about $250,000,000 and having accomplished but a small part of the work of construction, the company was declared bankrupt and a

receiver appointed to take charge of its affairs. Finally in 1884 the receiver succeeded in organizing the New Panama Company, 50,000 of the shares of which were taken by the government of Colombia. To this new company the property and assets of the old De Lesseps company were transferred, and the work of construction was recommenced on a small scale, and by June, 1899, it was estimated that the canal was about two-fifths completed. In the meantime in June, 1889, an American company had begun the preliminary work of construction on the canal by the way of the Nicaragua route, but in 1893 it ceased operations on account of lack of funds, a fruitless effort having been made to induce Congress to guarantee its bonds for construction purposes.

The most that Congress would do was to provide for the appointment of three commissioners (the Ludlow Commission) to investigate and report upon the feasibility and cost of completing the work. The investigation was hurriedly made, and not deeming it sufficiently thorough, Congress provided for the creation of a new commission, with Rear-Admiral John G. Walker at its head, to continue the inquiries begun by the first commission. A most thorough investigation was now undertaken, and in May, 1899, the commission reported that in its opinion the Nicaragua Canal could be completed at an expense not exceeding $118,000,000. About this time the organization of the New Panama Company revived the popular interest in the projected canal by way of Panama. This interest was increased by the report of an international congress of experts in favor of the desirability of this route. Congress accordingly decided not to act upon the report of the Walker Commission, but provided for the creation of another commission of nine members of which Admiral Walker was also chairman, charged with investigating all possible routes on the isthmus from Nicaragua to Colombia. After an exhaustive investigation the commission unanimously reported in November, 1901, in favor of the Nicaragua route as "the most practicable and feasible." The commission, however, gave the preference to the Nicaragua route, not because the natural difficulties of construction were fewer than those of the Panama route, for in reality they were greater, but because of the financial difficulties involved in acquiring the property and franchises of the Panama Canal Company, the value of which the company had placed at more than one hundred million dollars. The Panama Company now removed this difficulty by offering to sell its prop-

erty and franchises to the United States for the sum of $40,000,000, the valuation which the commission had placed upon the work already done. The commission thereupon made a supplementary report recommending the acceptance of the offer and the completion of the unfinished canal by way of Panama.

In Congress discussion of the respective merits of the Nicaragua and Panama routes was long and earnest, but finally ended in June, 1902, by the passage of the Spooner Act, which authorized the President to purchase the property and franchises of the Panama Company for $40,000,000, provided a satisfactory title could be secured, and further authorizing the construction of the canal at a cost not exceeding $120,000,000. In case a satisfactory title could not be obtained from the company or the necessary concessions from Colombia, the President was authorized to begin negotiations with Nicaragua for concessions and to construct the canal by that route at a cost not exceeding $180,000,000. Already by the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of November, 1901, the British Government had consented to the annulment of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, which stood in the way of American construction and control, and which both secretaries, Blaine and Frelinghuysen, had endeavored without success to have abrogated. But Mr. Hay, after the first treaty which he made had been amended by the Senate, and then rejected by England, had succeeded in making a second treaty embodying the Senate amendments, by which Great Britain conceded to the United States the sole right to construct, maintain and police the canal, and withdrew her claim to a joint guaranty of the canal upon the promise of the United States to maintain its neutrality and to adopt the rules governing the Suez Canal for the control of the proposed Panama Canal.

Soon after the enactment of the Spooner Law Secretary Hay began negotiations with the Colombian Government to obtain the necessary concessions for the construction of the canal. After about six months of tedious negotiation Mr. Hay finally concluded a treaty with the Colombian envoy, Dr. Herran, by which the United States stipulated to pay to the Colombian Government the sum of $10,000,000 in cash for the concessions and a perpetual annuity of $250,000, beginning nine years after the date of the ratification of the treaty. On March 18, 1903, the Senate of the United States ratified the treaty by a vote of 73 to 5. It was then laid before the Colombian Congress, which met in special session

at Bogota, June 20, for the purpose of considering the treaty. From the first a strong opposition was manifested toward the treaty, on the grounds, as alleged, that the proposed concession with regard to jurisdiction over the canal zone was an impairment of Colombian sovereignty, that the Panama Company was without legal capacity to transfer its rights to a foreign power without the consent of the Colombian Government, and lastly that the proposed compensation for the privileges conceded was insufficient. The last ground was the real source of opposition. There is little doubt that the Colombian representatives were deluded with the belief that the United States could be made to pay any amount for the concessions which the Colombian Government might demand. Believing, therefore, that a larger sum could be obtained than that stipulated for, the Congress adjourned after three or four months of wrangling, and without having approved the treaty. General Reyes, president-elect, was later sent to Washington to negotiate for a new treaty on the basis of a larger compensation and the recognition of Colombian sovereignty over the proposed canal zone. But the proposal was firmly refused, because the situation had radically changed.

The adjournment of the Colombian Congress without action was followed, as was expected, by a revolution in Panama. The people of this province were naturally deeply interested in the fate of the treaty, and, feeling that their interests were neglected by its rejection, decided to revolt from Colombia and set up a separate government. Accordingly on November 3 the inhabitants of the town of Panama rose in revolt, seized and held as prisoners the Colombian military and naval officials stationed there, organized a provincial government, and proclaimed their independence as the Republic of Panama. The revolution was from the first a bloodless affair and was confined practically to the cities of Panama and Colon.

Rumors of the impending outbreak had reached the ears of the United States authorities, and on November 2, the day before the revolution broke out, the commanders of the *Nashville* and the *Marblehead* were instructed to prevent the landing of Colombian troops for the purpose of suppressing the expected uprising, and not to permit the approach of Colombian war vessels within fifty miles of Panama, and likewise to prevent any movement of insurgent troops by sea or on the railroad. This action of the United States

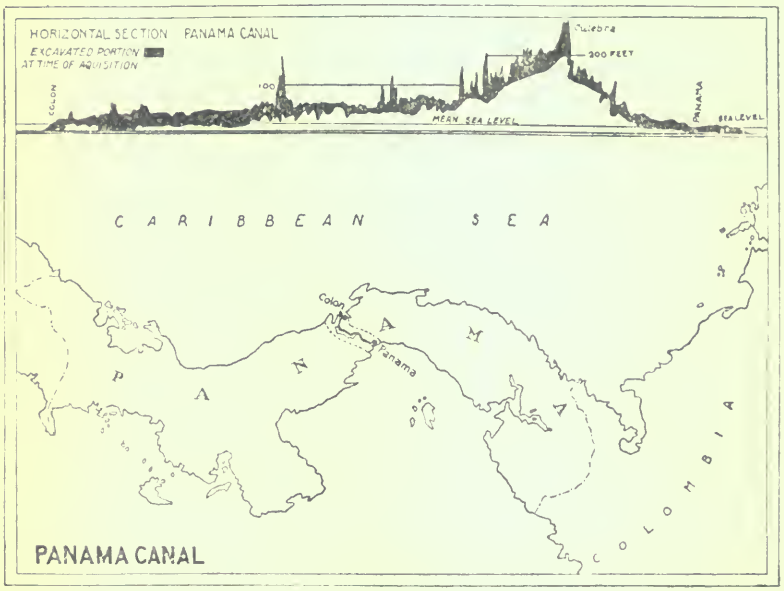
was based on Article 35 of the Treaty of 1846 with New Granada (now Colombia) by which the United States agreed to "guarantee positively and efficaciously . . . the neutrality of the isthmus with a view that free transit may not be interrupted or embarrassed."

Three days after the Panama outbreak the United States consul at Panama was authorized to enter into relations with the provisional government when it should be sufficiently established, and on November 13, only ten days after the revolt, the President received M. Bunau-Varilla as minister from the new republic. The action of the United States was soon followed by that of various other powers. In some quarters the President was severely criticised for the haste with which he recognized the independence of Panama and for his intervention in Colombian affairs, but there was a general feeling that it was no more than the Colombians deserved. To the President it seemed as if they had trifled with the United States for mercenary purposes, the results of which, had they been successful, would have been to block a great undertaking of lasting value to mankind. Five days after M. Bunau-Varilla reached Washington he concluded a treaty with Secretary Hay, by which the necessary canal concessions were granted to the United States, in return for which our government agreed to guarantee the independence of Panama.

The government of Colombia protested against the action of the United States as unduly hasty, and charged that the President had encouraged and aided the revolutionists in their action. In vain did the Colombian Government ask for permission to land troops on the isthmus for the purpose of maintaining the integrity of its territory. It then dispatched General Rafael Reyes to the United States, as a special envoy to endeavor to induce the government to recede from its position. In due time he reached Washington and was cordially received by the President, but was told that the Panama affair was a "closed incident," and that the department was "unable to regard the complaints of Colombia as having any valid foundation." The Colombian envoy then offered on behalf of his government the necessary canal privileges free of cost provided Colombia were allowed an opportunity to reassert her sovereignty over Panama, but the offer came too late, and his proposition was not considered.

The Hay-Varilla Treaty signed November 18 followed the

general lines of the Hay-Herran Treaty except that more liberal concessions were granted to the United States. It was agreed that the United States should pay $10,000,000 in cash to the Republic of Panama, and a perpetual annuity of $250,000 beginning nine years after the date of the ratification of the treaty. A zone of territory five miles wide on each side of the canal was ceded to the United States, with full jurisdiction over the same, together with any other lands that might be necessary to the construction and maintenance of the canal. The treaty was at once sent to Panama,



where it was promptly ratified by the Junta without change, was hurriedly returned to the United States, promptly laid before the Senate, and on February 23, 1904, it was ratified by a vote of 66 to 14, after a long and earnest debate, in the course of which the Democrats delivered many speeches denouncing the President's Panama policy, and attempted to secure the adoption of various resolutions which implied a censure of his conduct. Of the fourteen negative votes all were those of Democrats. Fourteen other Democrats, however, voted for ratification, some of them having been instructed to do so by their State legislatures, which were not slow to appreciate the advantages which the said States would derive

from the construction of the canal. Shortly after the ratification of the treaty the government of Colombia, as a shareholder, instituted suit in a French court to restrain the Panama Company from transferring its franchises and other property to the United States; but an adverse decision was rendered and the government having by investigation satisfied itself that a good title could be conveyed, the offer of the Panama Company to sell was accepted, and on April 23 the formal transfer of its title took place in Paris. A little later a warrant for $40,000,000 was delivered to the company's agent in New York, and the transaction was complete.

In April, 1904, Congress passed an act for the government of the canal zone. It was modeled upon the Act of 1803 for the government of the Louisiana Territory, and vested the full power of government in the President until the expiration of the Fifty-eighth Congress. In pursuance of this act the President, through the War Department, issued regulations for the administration of the government of the zone. In the meantime the work of preliminary construction has begun, and it is estimated that the canal will be completed and open to navigation within fourteen years. It will shorten the distance by sea from New York to San Francisco from 14,000 miles to about 5,000, while the distance saved between British ports and the Pacific coast will not be less than 6,000 miles. It should be a source of gratification and pride to every American citizen that the United States will have the honor of completing an enterprise of such vast significance and incalculable value to the future history of the world

III

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1904

In the meantime the regular quadrennial contest for the Presidency was in progress, and the interest of the country turned toward the selection of the candidates. The Republican party was the first to act. Its national convention was held in Chicago June 21, 22 and 23, and was organized by the election of Elihu Root, of New York, as temporary chairman and Joseph Cannon, of Illinois, as permanent chairman. Upon taking the chair, Mr. Root delivered an elaborate speech in which he reviewed the record of the Republican party during the last eight years and eulogized

the character and ability of President Roosevelt. The address created great enthusiasm among the delegates, and its reference to the work of the government in behalf of the people of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines led to a demonstration rarely equaled in a national convention. The chief feature of the following day's proceedings was the speech of Mr. Cannon and the adoption of the platform. The platform was agreed upon without bickering or dissention and was adopted by the convention with promptness and unanimity. In addition to the usual self-glorification, the platform contained declarations in favor of the settlement of international differences by arbitration, a "liberal administration" of the pension laws, the reduction of the representation in Congress of those States which have "by special discrimination" limited the elective franchise, the maintenance of a navy powerful enough to defend the United States against attack and to uphold the Monroe Doctrine, an honest enforcement of the civil service laws and legislation for the encouragement and up-building of the American merchant marine. On the "trust" question the platform contained a declaration taunting the Democrats with failure to enforce the anti-trust laws during the Democratic ascendency, asserted that the combinations of capital and labor are "the results of the economic movement of the age" and declared that neither should be permitted to infringe upon the rights and interests of the people. On the currency question the platform pronounced emphatically in favor of the maintenance of the gold standard. On the tariff it pronounced in favor of the principles of protection and advised "readjustment" of the existing laws only when "conditions have so changed that the public interest demands their alteration," and then only by the Republican party. Other declarations eulogized the administration for its success in the management of our foreign relations, for its conduct in the government of the insular dependencies and for its attitude on the Panama Canal question.

The platform having been adopted, the convention proceeded to nominate candidates for President and Vice President. As has so often been the case in Republican conventions, the work of selecting a presidential candidate had already been determined beforehand by the overwhelming sentiment of the party. Early in the year there was a likelihood that Senator Marcus A. Hanna, of Ohio, would be a prominent candidate for the nomination, but his death in February left Mr. Roosevelt without opposition. No

other name was proposed or suggested in the convention, and he was accordingly nominated by acclamation, the first instance in the history of the country of the nomination for the Presidency of one who had as Vice President succeeded to the Presidency through the death of the chief magistrate. Since the early days of the Republic it had been the custom to nominate available men for the Vice Presidency with no thought of promoting them to the Presidency. The position of Vice President had, in fact, come to be looked upon as a graveyard for politicians rather than a stepping-stone to the first place — a fact which had led Mr. Roosevelt to protest strongly against his nomination as Vice President in 1900. McKinley having died, however, early in his term, Mr. Roosevelt had had three years and a half in which to show his fitness for the duties of the chief magistracy. During this period he had given evidences of strong leadership as well as remarkable administrative ability. By the time of the meeting of the convention there was no longer any doubt that he would make a very strong candidate, and so the Republicans did the unprecedented thing of nominating their Vice President for the Presidency. As Mr. Roosevelt's associate on the ticket the convention nominated Senator Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana.

The Democratic national convention met at St. Louis, July 6, and organized by the election of John Sharp Williams, of Mississippi, as temporary chairman, and Champ Clark, of Missouri, as permanent chairman. Mr. Williams delivered a long address devoted largely to satire on Mr. Root's Chicago speech and to criticism of the Roosevelt administration. From the first there was a lack of that harmony and unanimity of purpose which had characterized the proceedings of the Republican convention. It required the most prolonged and laborious effort to secure the adoption of a platform acceptable both to the radical and conservative elements of the party. As finally agreed upon, however, the platform contained declarations demanding greater economy in the administration of the government, for procuring which, it declared, one of the best means would be to have all public officers, from the occupant of the White House down to the lowest, return to Jeffersonian simplicity of living. It asked a thorough legislative investigation of "those executive departments already known to teem with corruption, as well as other departments suspected of harboring corruption"; a "wise, conservative and business-like revision

and a gradual reduction of the tariff by the friends of the masses"; an enlargement of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission; generous pensions for soldiers and sailors, "not by arbitrary executive order, but by legislative act"; and the upbuilding of the merchant marine "without new or additional burdens upon the people and without bounties from the public treasury."

With regard to the issue of "imperialism," which the Democratic candidate later exalted to the foremost place, the platform declared that the Filipinos should be given the same independence which had been accorded the people of Cuba. With regard to the "trust" question, the platform demanded the "vigorous and impartial enforcement of the anti-trust statutes, and condemned the Republican system of legislation, which was alleged to be responsible for the existence of trust monopolies. On the currency question the draft platform, as prepared by a sub-committee of the committee on resolutions, virtually recognized the gold standard as a fixity and declared that in view of the recent enormous production of gold the "maintenance of a money standard of value was no longer open to question," and hence the money question was removed from the field of political contention. Mr. Bryan and other silver leaders, however, were displeased with this direct reference to the gold standard and succeeded in inducing the full committee, after a continuous session of eighteen hours, to strike out all allusion to the gold standard, and in this form the platform was adopted by the convention. There was no reaffirmation of the Kansas City or Chicago platforms and no reference to the currency question or those other questions which had occupied such prominent places in the platforms of 1896 and 1900. It was, or seemed to be, a virtual admission that the attitude of the party on the money question had in the past been wrong and was in effect a repudiation of the free silver "heresy." The adoption of the platform was the great task of the convention.

At five o'clock in the morning of July 9 the convention wearied almost to exhaustion, nominated Alton B. Parker, chief judge of the New York Court of Appeals, as the candidate for President. His chief competitor was William Randolph Hearst, millionaire editor of several daily newspapers in New York, Chicago and San Francisco. On the first ballot Hearst received 200 votes. Scattering votes were cast for Richard Olney, George B. McClellan, E. C. Wall and others. Mr. Bryan, the leader of the Democratic party in

the last two campaigns, was not a candidate and received no votes, although he exercised a dominant influence in the convention and succeeded in having the currency, tariff and "trust" planks of the draft platform changed to suit his own views. As the candidate for Vice President the convention nominated Henry G. Davis, ex-Senator from West Virginia, an octogenarian of rugged qualities and a successful business man of large wealth.

As the convention was on the eve of adjourning great excitement was caused by the reading of a telegram from Judge Parker, addressed to one of his close political friends, saying that he regarded the gold standard as firmly and irrevocably established, that he should act accordingly if elected President, and that if his views were unsatisfactory to the convention he wished another to be nominated in his stead. The reading of the telegram threw the convention into confusion and at first there was considerable feeling in favor of rescinding the nomination of Parker and substituting someone else. It was asserted by some that he had even trifled with the convention. Ever since his name had been mentioned as a possible nominee he had maintained absolute silence as to his views on the money question. He had so skillfully concealed them, it was charged, that perhaps less than half a dozen men in the convention knew what his opinions were. Instead of frankly making them known beforehand for the intelligent guidance of the party, he waited until the nomination had been accorded him and then spoke out when it was impracticable to undo the work of the convention. Such was the feeling of many delegates who had voted for his nomination, the most conspicuous of whom was Mr. Bryan. Judge Parker's friends, on the other hand, took the position that in view of the silence of the platform he had exhibited rare courage and manliness in thus stating his views before the adjournment of the convention, in order that it might have an opportunity to nominate someone else.

After a little reflection the convention recovered its equanimity, and it was seen to be impossible to reopen the platform and impracticable to rescind the nomination of Parker. Accordingly a conference of the leaders was held and an agreement reached that a telegram should be sent to him assuring him that there was nothing in his views which would preclude him from accepting a nomination on the platform. This was done with the approval of the convention, which thereupon adjourned.

The insignificant part played by the minor political parties entitles them to little more than a bare mention. The remnant of the Populist party held a national convention at Springfield, Illinois, on July 5, and nominated Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, for President and T. H. Tribbles, of Nebraska, for Vice President. The platform adopted was substantially the same as those of 1892, 1896, and 1900. The Prohibitionists chose the Rev. Dr. Swallow, of Pennsylvania; the Social Democrats put forward Eugene V. Debs, the labor leader; and the Socialist Labor Party nominated Charles H. Corregan, a printer, of New York.

Mr. Roosevelt was formally notified at Oyster Bay, July 27, of the action of the Chicago convention, and he accepted the nomination in a speech devoted mainly to a review of the record of the administration during the last four years and to a comparison of Republican and Democratic policies. In accepting the nomination Mr. Roosevelt declared that he had kept, to the best of his ability, his promise to carry out President McKinley's principles and policies for the honor and interest of the country. Continuing, he maintained that it would be unwise to change policies which were now working so well. There was prosperity at home, the national interest and honor had been upheld abroad, and the finances were sound on the gold basis. Whenever the need arose there should be a readjustment of the tariff. It was beyond doubt that such changes could be made only by those devoted to the principle of protection. Referring to the foreign policy of the United States Mr. Roosevelt said:

"Our foreign policy has been so conducted that not one of America's just claims has been sacrificed. Our relations with all foreign nations are now of the most peaceful kind, and there is not a cloud on the horizon. The last cause of irritation, the Alaska boundary question, has been removed. Cuba, Venezuela, and Panama have shown the Monroe Doctrine to be a living reality, designed to hurt no nation, but to serve as a protection for the civilization of the Western Continent for the peace of the world."

Alluding to the abandonment by the Democrats of their former cherished idols, he said: "Seemingly their present attitude as to their past record is that some of them were mistaken and others insincere." As to the Republicans, on the other hand, he declared, "We make our appeal in a wholly different spirit. We are not constrained to keep silent on any vital question; we are divided on

no vital question; our policy is continuous, and is the same for all sections and localities. There is nothing experimental about the government we ask the people to continue in power, for our performance in the past, our proved governmental efficiency, is a guarantee as to our promises for the future." The speech in reply to the notification address was followed on September 11 by a lengthy letter of acceptance, in which he threw down the gauntlet to the Democrats and challenged them to meet the Republicans on the common ground of argument. In clear and forcible language he met squarely every issue raised by the Democratic platform — the Panama affair, the trust question and all the others. This letter, like the address of July 27, made a very favorable impression upon the country and greatly strengthened the chances of Republican success.

Judge Parker was formally notified of the action of the St. Louis convention on August 10 at his home, Esopus, on the Hudson, and in his speech of reply gave public expression for the first time to his views on the issues of the campaign. He gave the most prominent place in his speech to the question of "imperialism" and devoted much space to an abstract discussion of liberty and equality, which was enlivened by frequent quotations from Jefferson. Imperialism he insisted was the paramount issue, although in the popular feeling it was hardly so regarded. Other questions were treated in a manner which did not arouse the enthusiasm of the Democratic masses. Finally he declared that if elected he would not seek the nomination to a second term.

Personally both Mr. Roosevelt and Judge Parker are admirable types of American character. The searching light of the presidential campaign failed to reveal a single spot in the character of either. No taint of corruption, no suspicion of motive, no doubt as to high and honorable intentions, or of the most exalted patriotism, nothing that smacked of ill-breeding or political chicanery, could be found in the lives or past conduct of either. Mr. Roosevelt had the great advantage of a long and successful record in the public service. Graduating at Harvard at the age of twenty-one, he was elected three years later to the New York legislature, where, as the leader of the minority, he won the good opinion of the people by his firm stand against corruption, which was then rife at Albany. Receiving increased mental and physical vigor from two years' residence on a Western ranch, he returned to New York

State and was nominated as the Republican candidate for mayor of New York, only to be defeated by Abram S. Hewitt, the Democratic candidate, and a man of great ability and popularity. During the ensuing four years he devoted his time mainly to literary activity, bringing out among other volumes his notable work entitled the "Winning of the West." In 1889 he was again in political life, this time as Civil Service Commissioner of the United States. He filled this position with signal ability until 1895, when he resigned from the Federal service to accept the position of police commissioner of New York City under the reform administration of Mayor Strong. He held this office for two years, and by the thoroughness and impartiality with which he enforced the laws attracted the attention of the entire country. Probably at no time in the history of the metropolis had the police service of New York been so efficient and of such a high character. Blackmail among the police was largely broken up and violators of the law irrespective of rank or station were brought to punishment. With the return of Tammany to power in 1897 Roosevelt resigned the police commissionership and reëntered the Federal service as Assistant Secretary of the Navy under President McKinley. Upon the outbreak of war with Spain he resigned this position and went to the front as lieutenant colonel of a regiment of "rough-riders." He took part in the land campaign before Santiago, and his services at San Juan Hill are a part of the recorded history of the war. With the honorable distinction of a gallant military commander he was nominated by the Republicans of New York for governor and was elected over his opponent by a majority of nearly twenty thousand votes. As governor of the Empire State he gave additional evidence of his administrative ability, earnestness of purpose and patriotism. It was while serving in this capacity that he was nominated for the Vice Presidency on the ticket with Mr. McKinley, against his personal wishes. His record in the public service had amounted to about twenty years, and it had included service in the municipality, in the State, under the Federal government and in the army. There could be no doubt, therefore, of Roosevelt's administrative ability.

With Judge Parker, however, all was different. His entire public experience, long and honorable as it was, had been in judicial, not in administrative, positions. He was a good lawyer, and as chief judge of the New York Court of Appeals had won the respect of the bar by his dignified behavior, his affable manners, and

his high sense of judicial honor. His party managers exerted themselves to convince the voters that of the two candidates he was the safer, and that of the two he alone was "trained in the ways of the Constitution." They asserted that Mr. Roosevelt by his pension order and other acts had shown a disposition to override constitutional limitations; that by his procedure in the Panama affair he had shown himself inconsiderate of the rights of other nations; that he was reckless, over-strenuous, aggressive and inclined to militarism; that he showed want of tact in dealing with the Southern question, as a result of which he had driven the Southern Democrats whose respect McKinley had won into distrust and hatred; in short, whether considered from the point of view of domestic tranquillity or foreign peace, he was a dangerous candidate. The truth is, "Rooseveltism" was the only issue before the people.

His supporters, on the other hand, contended that he had done more than any of his predecessors to enforce the anti-trust statutes, and upon his recommendation his party had enacted at least five new statutes aimed at the trusts. The currency situation was highly satisfactory, the management of the foreign relations of the United States had been eminently successful, the Monroe Doctrine had been upheld, new and valuable treaties negotiated, several irritating and long-standing international disputes amicably settled, and the country was at peace with all the world and enjoyed an unusually high degree of respect abroad. The organization of the army had been improved and its efficiency increased; the militia of the States had been reorganized and brought into conformity with the organization and standard of the regular army, and frauds in the public service had been unearthed and the guilty prosecuted.

The question of "imperialism," which Judge Parker insisted on making the paramount issue, was alleged by his opponents to be a mere bogey. The masses of the voters could not be made to believe that the government which had expended such vast sums for the improvement of conditions in Porto Rico and the Philippines meant to oppress and tyrannize over the people of those dependencies. Our whole policy, they insisted, had shown that the United States sought only to improve the material and political conditions of our insular subjects and to qualify them for membership in our body politic. Mere mention of the acts by which Cuba had been transformed under American rule and then handed over to the Cubans, they said, gave the lie to the Democratic charge that the

government was animated by motives of conquest and aggression. The campaign had not progressed very far before it was evident that, notwithstanding Judge Parker's efforts to the contrary, "imperialism" was not and could not be made an issue. Likewise the efforts of his managers to convince the people that Roosevelt was an "unsafe" man were unavailing. Roosevelt's friends admitted that he was a man of extraordinary mental and physical energy and that he reached his conclusions quickly and acted with promptness, but not without deliberation and concentration of thought. They denied that he was reckless, rash, or impulsive, ready to plunge the country into war or that his mind was closed to advice from others. One of his most intimate friends and advisers said of him: "When after full consideration he has made up his mind as to what is right, he is unbending; but no man has been in the White House for many years who is so ready to take advice, who has made up his mind more slowly, more deliberately and after more consultation than Theodore Roosevelt. No President in my observation has ever consulted with the leaders of the party, not only in the House and Senate, but in the State and in the press, so frequently and to such good advantage." His aggressive honesty, his native courage, his frankness, his Americanism, his rugged character, undoubtedly made him the greatest popular favorite since Lincoln.

The campaign was one of the quietest and most uninteresting in the history of the country. The Democratic managers exerted themselves to the utmost to arouse enthusiasm and attract the voters to the support of their ticket. The doubtful States were overrun with campaign orators and flooded with Democratic literature, but as the campaign progressed it became evident that the Republicans would win. Yielding to the pressure of his managers, Judge Parker in the last days of the campaign took the stump and delivered several speeches to visiting delegations at his home and in New York City in the hope of stemming the tide that was evidently setting in against him. But his speeches rather injured than increased his chances of election. In support of his indictment against the government for its imperialistic policy he made use of statistics so inaccurate as to excite ridicule. Finally in a last effort he made an attack upon Roosevelt and Cortelyou, the manager of the Republican campaign, charging the former with appointing the secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor as chair-

man of the national committee that he might make use of the information collected in his official capacity to blackmail the great corporations into making contributions to the Republican campaign fund. This charge called out a spirited reply from the President, who denounced the charge as "unqualifiedly and atrociously false," and who called upon the people to judge whether Cortelyou was capable of such reprehensible conduct. There was a pretty general feeling that the Democratic candidate in making these charges had descended from the high plane which he occupied at the beginning of the campaign when he wrote to the secretary of the Democratic campaign literary bureau requesting him to publish nothing that would reflect upon President Roosevelt. To indulge in a personality of this kind seemed wholly inconsistent with Judge Parker's well-known reputation for dignity, official propriety and fair play, and can only be explained by the pressure exerted upon him by politicians less scrupulous than himself in the hope of securing by personal assault what could not be secured by argument and conviction. Judge Parker's charge that the Republican campaign committee had received contributions in such quantities as "to induce and permit the most lavish expenditure ever made in a campaign" was explicitly denied by Cortelyou, who asserted that the campaign had been conducted with less money than any for the last twelve years, but as to this there is no evidence available to the public.

The September elections in Maine and Vermont presaged the final result. Despite the exertions made by the Democrats to reduce the customary Republican majorities in these States, for the effect it might have on the November elections, both went Republican by large majorities. On the morning of November 8, when fifteen million voters went to the polls to cast their ballots, there was little doubt as to who would be elected President. The only surprise was the magnitude of the Republican triumph. Roosevelt swept the country by a majority unprecedented since the election of General Grant in 1868. He carried all the doubtful States, including Maryland, West Virginia and Kentucky, and in addition five States which the popular McKinley had failed to carry in 1900. His extraordinary popularity was further shown by the fact that he carried four States (Missouri, Massachuetts, Colorado and Minnesota) which elected Democratic governors. His total electoral vote aggregated 343, as against 133 for Parker. Many

town and districts throughout the North and West which had been accustomed to giving majorities for the Democratic ticket went almost solidly for Roosevelt. Politically the result was a complete overthrow. Only twelve Southern States remained true to the Democracy, and one of these, Arkansas, only by a small majority. Never was a presidential administration so overwhelmingly indorsed by the people of the country. Mr. Roosevelt was deeply touched by the result, and as soon as he was made aware of it he issued a statement to the American people announcing that upon the expiration of his term he intended to retire and would under no circumstances be a candidate for or accept another nomination.

On December 5, 1904, the last session of the Fifty-eighth Congress assembled at Washington, and on the following day the annual message of the President was submitted to the two houses. The message was a document of unusual length, and for the vigor of its tone as well as the variety and scope of the questions which it discussed was probably never surpassed by any similar State paper in the history of the government. Among the more important recommendations were proposed measures for the improvement of the consular service, the encouragement of the merchant marine, greater economy in the cost of public printing, revision of the naturalization laws with a view to prevention of frauds, legislation against bribery and corruption in Federal elections, better preservation of the forest reserves, extension of the national parks, increased salaries for Federal judges and restriction of immigration. The message contained a vigorous assertion of the Monroe Doctrine and of the duty of the government to protect all its citizens abroad regardless of color or race, the latter having reference to the conduct of the Russian Government in refusing to recognize American passports issued to citizens of Jewish birth or race.

Much attention was given to the army and the navy, the consideration of which the President declared to be absolutely essential in treating of our foreign policy and of the attitude that this country should assume in the world at large. He "most earnestly" recommended that there should be "no halt in the work of upbuilding the navy," and asserted that there was no more patriotic duty before us as a people than to keep the navy adequate to the needs of this country's position. Likewise, with regard to keeping up the strength of the army, he declared that it was not merely

unwise, but contemptible, for the nation, as for an individual, to use high-sounding language to proclaim its purposes or to take positions which are ridiculous if unsupported by potential force and then to refuse to provide this force. While the President greatly desired peace, evidence of which was to be found in the call which he had just issued to the powers of the world to unite in a second Hague Conference, he nevertheless argued that peace under certain circumstances was not preferable to war. On this point he declared:

"The steady aim of this government, as of all enlightened nations, should be to strive to bring ever nearer the day when there shall prevail throughout the world the peace of justice. There are kinds of peace which are highly undesirable, which are in the long run as destructive as any war. Tyrants and oppressors have many times made a wilderness and called it peace. Many times people who were slothful or timid or short-sighted, who had been enervated by ease or by luxury, or mislead by false teachings, have shrunk in unmanly fashion from doing duty that was stern and that needed self-sacrifice, and have sought to hide from their own minds their shortcomings, their ignoble motives, by calling them love of peace. The peace of tyrannous terror, the peace of craven weakness, the peace of injustice, all these should be shunned as we shun unrighteous war. The goal to set before us as a nation, the goal which should be set before all mankind, is the attainment of the peace of justice, of the peace which comes when each nation is not merely safeguarded in its own rights, but scrupulously recognizes and performs its duty toward others."

Of all the subjects treated in the President's message, however, the one which received the greatest prominence was the proper attitude of the national government toward the great industrial problems which have in late years forced themselves upon the attention of the country. Concerning labor unions he discoursed at length defending those organized for legitimate purposes and conducted in a legal and orderly manner, but giving notice that organizations of employees in the Federal service for the purpose of improperly extorting high salaries from the government would not be tolerated.

Concerning the control of the great corporations which have come to be such a menace to the progress and good order of the country, he stated that it was an "absurdity" to suppose that the

abuses connected with them could be eliminated by the action of the several States, because more than one State pursues the policy of creating on easy terms corporations which are never operated within that State at all, but in other States whose laws they ignore. "The national government alone," he affirmed, "can deal adequately with these great corporations."

Finally, the President raised a national issue by his vigorous attack upon the railroads for their conduct in granting rebates in violation of the law and in otherwise making discriminations against certain shippers and places. Such abuses, he declared, must be stopped and the laws enforced. To correct the evil of discriminating rates he recommended that the Interstate Commerce Commission be vested with power, where a rate has been challenged, to prescribe what is a reasonable charge, subject to judicial review, such ruling to take effect immediately and to remain in force until reversed by the court of review. In accordance with the executive recommendation the House of Representatives promptly entered upon the consideration of several projects for the solution of the railway rate problem and for the correction of general abuses connected with interstate railroad traffic. One of these, the Hepburn Bill, so called from the name of its author, proposed to abolish the present Interstate Commerce Commission and create a larger one in its place, and also to provide a Court of Commerce, to be composed of five circuit judges of the United States with exclusive jurisdiction of all suits involving interstate commerce rates. A more popular measure was the Townsend-Esch Bill, which proposed to retain the Interstate Commerce Commission and clothe it with power to regulate rates and schedules subject to the right of appeal to a court of transportation similar to that provided in the Hepburn Bill. This bill commended itself strongly to all parties except the railroad interests, and it passed the House by a practically unanimous vote. The Senate, however, apparently remained unaffected by this evidence of unanimity upon the part of the House of Representatives or by the popular clamor which swept over the country, and it therefore took no action upon the bill. The Senate felt, and not entirely without good reason, that the popular agitation for government rate control was partly the result of hostility to the railroads, and that legislation of such radical and socialistic character should follow only after the most thorough and enlightened consideration of all the facts involved. It therefore contented it-

self with directing its Committee on Interstate Commerce to sit during the recess and conduct an investigation into the alleged abuses of the railroads. The disappointment of the country was very great at the failure of Congress to enact legislation for which there seemed an imperative need, and while the agitation partly subsided there was little doubt that the demand was as strong as ever and that moderate legislation would follow at an early date.

In one other particular did the Senate defeat the popular will. During the year 1904 the Secretary of State, following the example recently set by many European governments, succeeded in concluding arbitration treaties with France, Norway and Sweden, Portugal, Austria-Hungary, Germany, Mexico, Great Britain, Italy, Switzerland and Spain, by which the signatory parties agreed to refer to the Hague tribunal all controversies of a legal nature, arising between them, which did not affect the vital interests, the independence or the honor of the contracting states, nor the interests of third states. To be sure, the class of controversies embraced within the scope of the treaties was not large but the agreement upon the part of so many nations to settle certain disputes, however few in number or unimportant in character, was felt to be a good beginning which might strengthen arbitration sentiment and in time lead to the conclusion of more general and comprehensive treaties. President Roosevelt, with a feeling of personal pride at the prospect of being able to contribute so much to the cause of international peace, promptly laid the treaties before the Senate for ratification and urged upon that body favorable action. The Senate, however, showed little enthusiasm for the cause of arbitration, and soon gave notice of its intention to so amend the treaties as to make necessary the conclusion in advance of arbitration a special treaty covering each specific case. It was like saying "We agree to arbitrate certain questions provided we can agree to submit them to arbitration." It appeared to the President that such an amendment would so seriously impair the value of the treaties that it would not be worth while to have them ratified, and so he wrote to Senator Cullom, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, announcing that if the Senate persisted in its determination he would not send the treaties back to the European governments for concurrence in the amendments. The publication of this letter in the press caused some indignation in the Senate, and as a mark of resentment that body promptly adopted the proposed amendment

by a vote approaching unanimity. Thereupon the President quietly dropped the treaties, and thus for the time at least the arbitration movement has come to an end. Considerable popular disappointment was expressed at the action of the Senate, and it seems clear that the great majority of the people were with the President in his efforts to promote a cause of such vast benefit, not only to the United States, but to mankind in general.

The action of the Senate in other particulars called out strong popular criticism and further increased the already growing dissatisfaction with its slow and somewhat antiquated methods of procedure, as well as its general attitude toward many questions of public policy. It refused to give its advice and consent to the Hay-Bond Commercial Reciprocity Treaty with Newfoundland, an agreement for which there is a strong popular demand and one which embodies a principle which the Republican party has time and again endorsed unreservedly in its national platform. It refused to admit the Oklahoma Territory to the Union as a State for political and factional reasons, in the face of a popular demand approaching unanimity and in spite of the fact that the Territory is entitled to statehood by every consideration of justice and practical expediency.

Finally the Senate opposed the President in his new and sensible interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine and threw obstacles in the way of the enforcement of the executive policy. It is Mr. Roosevelt's idea that besides conferring benefits on the United States, the Monroe Doctrine imposes corresponding obligations and responsibilities. He claims, with unanswerable logic, that it is not compatible with international equity for the United States to refuse to allow the European powers to take the only means at their disposal of satisfying the claims of their subjects against South American states which repudiate their debts, and yet to refuse itself to take any steps toward aiding or compelling such states to discharge their just obligations to European creditors. By assuming such a responsibility, the President argued, a general acceptance of the Monroe Doctrine by the European nations must soon follow, and with it an increase of the sphere in which peaceful measures for the settlement of international difficulties gradually displace those of a warlike character. In other words, we should prove by our actions that the world may trust in our good faith and sense of justice.

In February, 1905, at the request of the government of Santo

Domingo, whose finances were in a chaotic condition, the President concluded a treaty with the Dominican authorities by which the United States was to take charge of the customs houses in the island; collect the revenues, turn over 45 per cent. of the proceeds to the Dominican Government and apply the remainder on an equitable basis to the discharge of the *bonâ fide* debts of Santo Domingo. On February 16 President Roosevelt sent the treaty to the Senate, accompanied by a long message describing the disordered financial conditions in Santo Domingo as a result of disturbances, revolutions and misappropriation of the revenue, and urged the ratification of the treaty as a moral duty to a distracted sister republic, already, in fact, under the quasi protection of the United States, and as a measure of justice to her European creditors, who were not free to take such steps as they might choose to enforce their claims.

On March 6 the President sent a second message to the Senate, reëmphasizing the arguments in his first message and calling attention to the fact that the treaty had been entered into at the earnest request of Santo Domingo, and was intended primarily for the benefit and relief of the people of the island republic itself. The President pointed out, however, that the United States would derive a certain benefit from the increased stability, order and prosperity which the treaty would tend to establish in Santo Domingo and the consequent removal of apprehension from possible aggressions on the part of European powers. In conclusion he said: "Santo Domingo grievously needs the aid of a powerful and friendly nation. This aid we are able, and I trust that we are willing, to bestow. She has asked for this aid, and the expressions of friendship repeatedly sanctioned by the people and the government of the United States warrant her in believing that it will not be withheld in the hour of her need."

This strong appeal of Mr. Roosevelt, however, did not convince the Senate, and it adjourned without taking any action on the treaty. Those who opposed it did so mainly on the ground that such a policy violated the long-standing practice of the United States with regard to entangling relations with foreign governments, and that it would tend to establish a precedent by which the United States would become a sort of receiver for bankrupt Latin-American republics, a rôle which was neither wise nor dignified for it to play. Nevertheless the President was thoroughly con-

M. Witte, Baron Rosen, President Roosevelt, Baron Komura, Minister Takahira,
THE RUSSO-JAPANESE PEACE ENVOYS AS GUESTS OF THE PRESIDENT ABOARD THE
YACHT "MAYFLOWER"

vinced of his policy, and notwithstanding the action of the Senate he entered into an informal arrangement with the Dominican authorities, by which the aid stipulated for in the rejected treaty is now being given, with results which amply vindicate the President's position.

Throughout the summer of 1905 the eyes of the civilized world were turned toward the United States in consequence of the meeting of the Russo-Japanese Peace Conference at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Through the tact, unfailing energy, masterly diplomacy and real statesmanship of President Roosevelt, a bright chapter has been added to the history of the United States, great and lasting fame has been achieved by its President and the nation has been lifted to a position of the highest influence in the international politics of the world.

For nearly a year and a half a great war had been going on in the Far East, and although the military and naval operations of one of the belligerents had been marked by a succession of unparalleled victories, the other, with true Slavic stubbornness, supported by vast latent material resources, showed no disposition to abandon what seemed to many a hopeless struggle. At the very beginning of the war President Roosevelt had taken the initiative in limiting the area of hostilities; for many months he had watched with deep concern the progress of the struggle, and seeing no prospect of its early termination now resolved to make an effort to induce both belligerents to consent to the opening of negotiations with a view to the conclusion of peace. Accordingly, after having held informal conferences with both the Russian and the Japanese ministers at Washington, he sent an identical note to the governments of the two belligerents, in which he expressed with his characteristic frankness and directness the opinion that the time had come when, in the interest of all mankind, he must endeavor to bring to an end the terrible and lamentable conflict then going on in Asia. With both Russia and Japan, he declared, the United States had inherited ties of friendship and good-will, that it hoped for the prosperity and welfare of each and felt that the progress of the world was being set back by war between these two great nations. The President, therefore, urged the Russian and Japanese governments, not only for their own good but in the interest of the whole civilized world, to open negotiations for the conclusion of peace. At the same time the President, while

feeling that no necessity existed for calling in an intermediary, offered his services to aid in bringing about an arrangement of the necessary preliminaries with regard to the time and place of meeting, should it be possible for the two powers themselves to reach a direct agreement on these points. The form and tenor of the note was such that instead of giving offense to either government, it was cordially approved, and with surprising promptness the President's suggestions were accepted and plenipotentiaries appointed. After some discussion an American town was selected for the place of meeting, and early in August the plenipotentiaries with their secretaries arrived and the negotiations began. The Japanese demand for a large money indemnity was firmly rejected by the Russians, and for a time it seemed as if the conference must break up without reaching an agreement. Days of excitement and strain followed, the tension being increased by occasional rumors that the plenipotentiaries were packing their trunks with a view to an early departure from America. In the meantime, the President was laboring with untiring effort to bring the negotiators to agreement. Mysterious exchanges of visits between Portsmouth and Oyster Bay followed; powerful appeals were made by the President direct to the Czar and the Mikado, imploring them not to allow the conference to break up without concluding a treaty. Finally the President's efforts were crowned with success, an agreement on all points was reached and the war came to an end.

Everywhere throughout the civilized world Mr. Roosevelt was immediately recognized as the one man to whom the credit for the peace achievement was due. Congratulatory messages poured in upon him from emperors and kings, statesmen and churchmen, political and commercial bodies of every description. The Czar telegraphed, saying, "The successful conclusion of the negotiations is due to your energetic efforts," and that "my country will gratefully recognize the great part you have played in the Portsmouth Peace Conference." The Mikado sent a similar dispatch thanking him "warmly" for his "disinterested and unremitting efforts in the interest of peace and humanity." The Emperor of Germany cabled his congratulations, saying, "I am overjoyed" and "the whole of mankind must unite in thanking you for the great boon you have given it." The London *Times*, in an editorial describing Mr. Roosevelt's "great service to the world," declared that it was to "his initiative, untiring energy, and refusal to despair of the

successful outcome of the conference that peace is largely due." Such is to-day the world's tribute to Theodore Roosevelt, a tribute in which the people of the Republic, without regard to party or section, join with a feeling of genuine pride and affection.

The President's popularity at home was soon to be further increased by his vigorous demand for national legislation along certain lines and his successful championship of great national policies upon which public opinion was pronounced. When the Fifty-ninth Congress assembled on December 5, public sentiment throughout the country was in a state of feverish anxiety as a consequence of the startling revelations made in the management of the life insurance business by several of the large companies whose head-quarters were located in New York City. A Committee of the New York State legislature, appointed to investigate alleged abuses in the management of certain of these companies discovered that in many cases their funds were being applied to illegitimate purposes to the injury of policy holders, that in other cases their investments were manifestly unwise, and that in various ways the management of the business was conducted with a shameful disregard of the interests of the public. It was found that extravagant salaries were being paid to the officials of some of the companies, that contributions had been made for political purposes, that extraordinary sums had been used for maintaining lobbies at the state capitols, that the practice of granting rebates had become a serious abuse and that in general, policy holders had too little share in the control and management of the companies in which they were interested.

In his message to Congress President Roosevelt made a strong appeal for national regulation of the life insurance business. The inability of the states to regulate effectively a business of such vast proportions ramifying as it did all parts of the country was, he said, perfectly clear. Public opinion he declared was strongly growing in favor of Federal supervision and the act of Congress which authorized the Bureau of Corporations to collect and publish useful information concerning the insurance business was evidence of the national character of the business. Congress did not act upon the President's recommendation as it did not appear to be within their constitutional powers to do so, but several of the state legislatures, notably that of New York, took up the matter and improved their insurance laws in the direction of greater stringency

with the results that the interests of policy holders have been properly safeguarded and this great business has been put upon a more stable and a more honest footing.

The first session of the Fifty-ninth Congress, which lasted from December 5 to June 30, will occupy an important place in American history. It was marked by an almost unprecedented amount of debate, some of which deserves a high rank in the annals of congressional oratory. But more important still, the record of the session has scarcely been equalled in the large amount of far-reaching legislation. The virtual rejection by the senate at the previous session of the railway rate regulation bill which had passed the House with practical unanimity had only served to increase the popular demand for legislation to bring the railroads under more thorough control of the national government. The President in his annual message vigorously expressed the popular feeling when he repeated in more emphatic language his recommendations of the previous session for the enactment of the desired law. The Senate had no desire to resist the pressure which came from every part of the country and so after months of investigation, discussion and compromise it agreed with the House and the rate bill as amended and largely remade in the Senate was passed. It is one of the most important statutes ever enacted by Congress and it is believed will result in the elimination of many long standing evils from the management of the railroad business of the country. It not only includes within its purview the railway lines doing an interstate business but also oil pipe lines, express companies, sleeping car companies and, indirectly, private car lines. It increases the number of members of the Interstate Commerce Commission from five to seven and confers upon it the authority upon complaint and hearing to fix a maximum rate subject to review by the courts.

At last after years of agitation and discussion Congress passed the National Pure Food Law to protect the public against adulterated and mis-labeled articles of food and drugs. There was already national legislation to prevent the importation of such articles from abroad but nothing to protect the people against interstate traffic in similar articles manufactured in the United States. There was a wide popular demand for the present law and it deserves to rank with the rate bill as one of the most important acts of Congress passed in recent years. Along the same line was the National Quarantine Law designed to bring the matter of quaran-

tine against the introduction of contagious disease from abroad, under more thorough national control; and the National Meat Inspection Law intended to establish more effective Federal supervision of the great slaughtering houses of the country. During the session of Congress an investigation of the packing houses in Chicago was made under the direction of the President and its report disclosed the existence of unsanitary conditions in the handling and care of meat products in certain of the Chicago packing establishments. The publication of the report created something of a sensation throughout the country and aroused a strong public opinion in favor of a more effective Federal statute for the supervision of those slaughtering houses engaged in interstate traffic. President Roosevelt sent a special message to Congress recommending in urgent terms the enactment of a law to protect the public against what he described as the indecent condition prevailing in the Chicago packing houses and largely through his tireless energy and active vigilance a valuable law was passed, the effect of which is to bring the slaughtering business, like railway traffic, under more complete national control.

Legislation looking to the admission of the Indian Territory and the Territories of Arizona, New Mexico and Oklahoma into the Union as States was the subject of long discussion marked by evidence of partisan feeling and disregard of the rights of the inhabitants primarily concerned. The Statehood Bill as finally passed provided for the admission of Oklahoma and Indian Territory as a single State to be known as Oklahoma, and also of Arizona and New Mexico as another provided a majority of the electors of each of the two last mentioned vote in favor of the union of the two Territories.

Extensive abuses in the administration of the naturalization laws demanded the attention of Congress and a law was passed creating the Federal Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization and restricting the right of granting naturalization certificates to courts of record. Like most of the other important acts above mentioned it is a step in the direction of more thorough national control and will doubtless be the means of eliminating to a large extent some of the frauds that have been practiced upon the government in the large cities. The abolition of the tax on alcohol used in the arts, highly beneficial to manufacturers, to farmers and to the health of those who use it in their trades was also passed

by this Congress and was an economic measure of the utmost importance. Congress also declared in favor of the lock type for the Panama Canal and directed that American products and manufactures should be used in its construction. Finally a measure of more than usual importance to the commercial interests of the country was an act to reorganize and reform the Consular Service. In recent years evidence of wide spread dissatisfaction among business men and manufacturers has existed throughout the country to the effect that the Consular Service has not contributed as it might to the promotion of American commercial interests abroad particularly as regards opening new markets for American products. Mainly through the initiative of Secretary Root aided by Senator Lodge who had long been advocating the reform, a law was passed providing for the classification of consular officers. The fee system, one of the old sources of evil, was abolished, five consular inspectors were provided for, the consulates were reclassified and salaries readjusted and all but unimportant consular positions were reserved exclusively for American citizens. The President by subsequent regulation provided for promotion by merit and entrance after examination to only the two lowest grades, valuable provisions which had been stricken from the Lodge Bill by Congress.

Aside from the doings of Congress the great disaster of the city of San Francisco was the only other event of national importance during the year 1906. In the early morning of April 18 before the inhabitants had hardly begun to stir, the city was visited by a terrible earthquake which was immediately followed by a wide-spread conflagration. All in all it was one of the most awful disasters in history. Thousands of buildings were destroyed, hundreds of lives were lost, and tens of thousands of people were suddenly rendered homeless. Various towns and cities adjacent to San Francisco also suffered and many of the fine buildings of the Leland Stanford University were either seriously damaged or destroyed outright. For days the flames spread from district to district in the city of San Francisco, it being found impossible to check them on account of the destruction of the water mains by the earthquake shock. As soon as communication with the outside world was established a movement was started to carry relief to the sufferers. Congress at once appropriated $3,000,000 and this was supplemented by contributions from many State legislatures and municipal bodies and by private subscriptions. From many

foreign countries also came generous contributions and messages of sympathy. Thousands of sufferers were sheltered in tents in the various parks of the city while many others sought refuge in the neighboring towns of Oakland and Berkeley. Through the prompt and energetic action of General Funston and later of General Greeley in command of the military forces at the Presidio order was restored and protection afforded to life and property. In the midst of the appalling disaster, however, the inhabitants never lost courage and entered at once upon the rebuilding of their city.

IV

CLOSING YEARS OF ROOSEVELT'S ADMINISTRATION, 1906-1909

The second term of the Fifty-ninth Congress began on December 3, 1906. Several important subjects were dealt with in the President's message and received the attention of Congress. Laws were passed (1) prohibiting corporations from contributing to campaign expenses; (2) the Federal Appeals Bill, conferring upon the Government the right of appeal in criminal cases; (3) the Philippine Bank Bill, designed to assist agriculture in the Philippine Islands and strongly urged by Secretary Taft; and (4) amendments to the Meat Inspection Law and the Denatured Alcohol Laws of the first session. In addition to these, two important labor measures were passed: the first made it a penal offense to kidnap (shanghai) men for the purpose of shipping them as sailors; and the second limited the hours of labor for railway employees. This latter law was introduced by Senator Robert M. LaFollette, of Wisconsin, but was greatly amended; it also appropriated $50,000 for an examination of automatic stops and other safety appliances. The Senate also ratified a treaty with Santo Domingo.

But the most important measure passed by Congress in this session was the Immigration Bill. This became a law on February 20, 1907, effective on July 1 of that year. It excluded imbeciles; feebleminded persons; tuberculosis victims; all who under a medical examination should be certified to have physical or mental defects which will unfit them to earn a living; persons admitting crimes; children until sixteen years of age unaccompanied by one or both parents, at

the discretion of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor; and women and girls entering the country for immoral purposes. The period within which an immigrant found to be a public charge may be deported was increased from one year to three years. Aliens induced to emigrate by offers or promises of employment, even when no specific contract had been made, were to be excluded; a person whose passage had been paid for by another must show that it was not paid for by a corporation, an association, a society, a municipality, or a foreign government. Steamship companies are required to return free of charge all rejected immigrants. Two commissions were also provided for: one to enquire into the subject of immigration and to study conditions in Europe; the second to collect information regarding labor conditions in all parts of this country and to spread it among immigrants with the idea of preventing their congestion in cities and of distributing them in the sections of the country where they will do the country the most good and at the same time receive the most good themselves. Another section of the law read that: "Whenever the President shall be satisfied that the passports issued by any foreign government to its citizens to go to any country other than the United States, or to any insular possession of the United States, or to the Canal Zone, are being used for the purpose of enabling the holders to come to continental territory of the United States to the detriment of labor conditions therein, the President may refuse such citizens of the country issuing such passports to enter the continental territory of the United States." This provision although couched in general terms, was directed against the Japanese, who had been abusing the passport privilege. A coolie desiring to come to the United States would obtain a passport from his government to the Hawaiian Islands or to the Canal Zone and then reship to the United States; or he would get a passport to Mexico or Canada, then buy a railroad ticket to Canada or Mexico, and drop off the train going through the United States.

The Brownsville incident took up much of the time of this and the next two sessions of Congress. This trouble originated at Fort Brown, Brownsville, Texas, where was garrisoned the Twenty-fifth Infantry, composed of colored soldiers. On the night of August 13-14, 1906, a riot occurred in Brownsville in which one citizen was killed, another wounded, and the chief of

police injured. Bitter feeling having existed for sometime past between the colored soldiers and the people of the town the latter accused the soldiers of instigating the riot. An investigation followed. The inspector-general reported he could obtain no evidence from the troops that they had any knowledge of the affair. The sergeants in charge of the gun-racks claimed that they found the guns in their proper places and apparently unused. The Government's theory in the matter was that from nine to twenty men out of a battalion of 170 men formed a conspiracy to revenge themselves on the citizens, that these men left the barracks about twelve o'clock at night, that they returned on the call to arms being issued, and that a "conspiracy of silence" was formed to shield the guilty. On receipt of the inspector-general's report, President Roosevelt dismissed the entire battalion without honor, the order also containing a provision that the discharged men should not be again employed by the Government, either in a civil or in a military capacity. When Congress was convened in December, Senator Joseph B. Foraker of Ohio took the position that the President had exceeded his authority. The Senate passed resolutions calling on the President for facts and documents in the case. Mr. Roosevelt responded on December 19. On January 7, Mr. Foraker and others again severely criticized the President while Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts defended him. On January 14, 1907, the President sent another message to Congress, in which he held to his former position and assertions except that he revoked that part of his order preventing the ex-soldiers from holding civil positions as being outside of his jurisdiction. On January 22 the Senate passed a resolution authorizing an investigation of the affair by the Senate Committee on Military Affairs. This committee took testimony during the summer and fall of 1907 and on February 25, 1908, adopted a resolution that the shooting at Brownsville was done by some of the soldiers of the Twenty-fifth Infantry but that the testimony failed to identify the particular soldier or soldiers. Senator Foraker then introduced a bill into the Senate providing for the restoration of the discharged soldiers with back pay. On March 19, Senator William Warner of Missouri introduced a bill with the approval of President Roosevelt, authorizing the President to permit the reenlistment of such of the dishonorably discharged soldiers as

should prove to the satisfaction of the President that they had neither part in nor guilty knowledge of the affray. When the bills came up for action, it was decided to let them go over until the next session of Congress. In the meanwhile, on December 26, 1906, Oscar W. Reid, one of the discharged soldiers, had brought suit in the United States District Court of New York City to recover $122, which he claimed was due him as pay since his dismissal. The suit was brought under the Tucker Act which permits the United States to be the defendant in the district court when the amount involved is $1,000 or less. On May 15, 1907, Judge Hough gave as his decision, that the discharge of Reid by the President was legal, being based on the Articles of War, and that such a right is recognized in those articles. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court. On December 14, 1908, the President sent a message to the Senate on this affair, inclosing a report from Herbert J. Browne, a detective employed by the Government. This report contained in detail the alleged confessions of some of the discharged soldiers, among them Boyd Conyers, who stated that he and others whom he named had planned and carried out the raid to avenge themselves for slights received from Brownsville citizens. Before this report was read and without knowledge of its contents, Senator Foraker offered an amendment to his bill for the reinstatement of the soldiers, providing for a commission of retired army officers of general-rank to investigate the affair. Senator Lodge, on December 16, made a speech in the Senate in which he defended the President's action and contended that Senator Foraker's bill was an unconstitutional usurpation of executive authority. The matter was finally settled by the passage of the bill permitting the men to reënlist on proving their innocence.

When the first session of the Sixtieth Congress convened on December 2, 1907, the two-thirds Republican majority in the Senate which had existed for some time was destroyed because the two new Senators from Oklahoma were Democrats; the Senate stood sixty Republicans and thirty-two Democrats, the House 223 Republicans and 169 Democrats. The House reëlected Representative Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois, Speaker, an office he had held since the organization of the Fifty-eighth Congress in 1903.

1906 1909

In his annual message, the President discussed at great length the financial conditions existing as a result of the panic in the financial markets and the business during the preceding months of October and November and he pressed Congress to pass regulations making dishonest corporations liable to the Federal courts. He recommended amendments to the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, expressed a wish that the income tax and the inheritance tax should be a part of the Federal system, suggested the limitation of the use of injunctions, and urged the adoption of adequate liability laws, providing compensation for Government employees injured in the performance of their duties. The relations between capital and labor were also discussed at considerable length and the President recommended a compulsory investigation of industrial disputes. He also among other matters urged Congress to take action in providing for some form of local government for Alaska, citizenship for Porto Ricans, the creation of a Bureau of Mines, internal waterways, the preservation of public lands, a system of postal savings banks, and the establishment of a National Gallery of Art.

Although nearly 30,000 bills were introduced in this session of Congress, thus breaking all previous records, the Sixtieth Congress was popularly known as the "Do-Nothing Congress" because it refused to pass any of the labor legislation urged by the President in his regular annual message. On January 31, 1908, the President sent Congress a special message, emphasizing the importance of these measures and especially urging the passage of the Employers' Liability Act and the limitation of the power of courts to enforce injunctions; the greater part of the message, however, was devoted to a defense of his own policies and to an attack upon several of the larger corporations. The message was expressed in most emphatic language and caused a great sensation not only in Congress but all over the country. About two months later, March 25, the President sent another message on the same subjects but couched in milder terms. He asserted that child-labor ought to be prohibited throughout the entire United States and suggested the adoption of a model child-labor bill for the District of Columbia; he repeated his recommendation for the immediate enactment of the Employers' Liability Act, framed to coincide with the decisions of the Supreme Court; he also recom-

mended amendments to the Interstate Commerce Law and to the Anti-Trust Law. In regard to the former law he said it should be amended so as to give the railroads the right to make traffic agreements, the subject of these agreements to be approved by the Interstate Commerce Commission and the agreements to be published in all their details.

These suggested measures caused great discussion in Congress, but some of them were finally passed. Among those passed was a new Employers' Liability Law, relating to common carriers doing interstate business and dealing with the question of contributory negligence on the part of the employee injured or losing his life. There was also passed a bill establishing the right of employees of the Government employed in the mechanical trades in the District of Columbia.

The cause of one of the greatest contests of the session was the question of revising the law regulating the use of injunctions. The labor unions asked that a law be passed taking them out of the category of corporations in order that they might restrain trade for profit and that the term "conspiracy" be taken from the law when referring to unions engaged in strike. The National Civic Federation prepared a bill dealing with this subject and succeeded in having it introduced into both houses but it was killed in the committee.

The Child Labor Law for the District of Columbia, advocated by the President, was passed; Congress refused to amend the Sherman Anti-Trust Law or to enact any laws providing for a Federal inheritance and income tax. Other important measures passed were these: (1) modifying the customs law; (2) making the militia an integral part of the National military organization; (3) authorizing many new public buildings; (4) providing for the construction of two new battleships at a cost of $6,000,000 each; and (5) the thorough reorganization of the consular service. A commission was appointed to represent the United States at the Tokio, Japan, Exposition in 1912; $29,227,000 was appropriated for the Panama Canal; and $10,800,000 of the Chinese indemnity from the Boxer uprising was remitted. A law was passed excluding from the mails intoxicants and anarchistic and seditious publications.

But the most important measure passed at this session of the

1906-1909

Sixtieth Congress was without question the Emergency Currency Bill. This bill, which is also known as the Aldrich-Vreeland Act from its sponsors, was approved on May 30, 1908. It contains the following provisions: (1) any national bank with unimpaired capital, having bond-secured circulation of not less than forty per cent. of its capital and a cash surplus of not less than twenty per cent. of its capital, may secure additional circulation; (2) the Comptroller of the Currency, the Treasurer of the United States, and the Secretary of the Treasury are authorized to determine whether conditions require the issue of an emergency circulation, to fix time and amount of issue, and to pass on security offered as the basis therefor; (3) the total circulation issued by any bank shall not exceed its capital and surplus and the total amount issued by all shall not exceed $500,000,000; (4) the emergency notes shall be guaranteed by the Government, and shall be similar in character to present national bank notes; (5) they shall however bear a graduated tax of not more than ten per cent. per annum, to insure their speedy retirement when the serious need for them ceases; (6) there shall be deposited in the Treasury lawful money equal to ten per cent. of the emergency notes as a fund for the redemption of the notes of failed banks. Two ways are provided in which a national bank may secure emergency circulation, both methods being subject to all of the above provisions. In the first method the law permits the formation of national currency associations, each association to be composed of not less than ten national banks that fulfil the foregoing conditions and whose aggregate capital and surplus amounts to $5,000,000; these banks must be from contiguous territory, but only one association may be formed within a city and no bank may belong to more than one association; any member bank may deposit with its currency association, in trust for the United States, state, county, city, town, or other municipal bonds of specified character, and for these bonds it will receive from the Comptroller of the Currency through its association emergency notes equal to ninety per cent. of the market value but not exceeding the face value of such bonds; a bank may also deposit with its association two-name commercial paper of not more than four months time and representing actual business transactions and receive emergency notes equal to seventy-five per cent. of their

cash value, but the notes based on commercial paper shall not exceed thirty per cent. of the bank's capital and surplus; the members of a currency association are jointly and severally liable for the redemption of emergency notes issued to any member bank. In the second method any qualified national bank may deposit with the Treasury, state, county, city, town, or other municipal bonds, but not commercial paper; if these are approved, the Comptroller of the Treasury issues directly to the bank so depositing emergency bank notes equal to ninety per cent. of their market value, but not exceeding their face value. A National Monetary Commission was also provided for by this law to be composed of nine Senators and nine Representatives, to investigate the monetary system of the United States, its banking and currency laws, and to report to Congress any changes deemed desirable. This statute expires by limitation on June 30, 1914.

The second session of the Sixtieth Congress was convened on December 7, 1908, and on the following day the President's annual message was read in both houses. The message opened with a review of the Government's income and expenditure, showing that, in spite of the appropriations for the Panama Canal and other increased expenses, there had been a net surplus of nearly $100,000,000 during Mr. Roosevelt's administration, with about $90,000,000 reduction of the national debt and a decided decrease of the annual interest burden. The Sherman Anti-Trust Law was denounced and a substitute proposed for it which would permit the formation of combinations but give the Government full power of control and supervision. The President advocated the placing of the railroads completely under the Interstate Commerce Commission as a better plan than dealing with them under a law intended for industrial trusts and combinations. Again the President declared that the Government should provide further protection for the wage-earner by increasing the liability of employers. He also discussed at great length the relation of the courts to the establishment and enforcement of the principles of justice, saying that our courts require the constant scrutiny and the sharpest solicitude on the part of the citizens to keep them above suspicion.

In the message the President also called the attention of Congress to an item in the Appropriation Bill of the preceding year which owing to the multiplicity of the details covered by the

bill had escaped general attention and probably been overlooked by the President himself. This was the section which, while providing for the expense of the Secret Service declared that there should be no details or transfers from that department. The Secret Service officers have been a small body of trained and trustworthy men of police or detective experience, attached directly to the Treasury Department, but used by the President wherever necessary in carrying out his duty of enforcing the laws and preventing crime. For many years Secret Service officers had assisted in protecting the mails and in enforcing the laws against lotteries; they had aided in unearthing the frauds against the public land laws which had caused a great loss to the Government and many scandals involving public officials. The President said that such a restriction could only act in favor of those who desired to commit some crime against the Government. In this connection he said, "The chief argument in favor of the provision was that the Congressmen did not want themselves investigated by Secret Service men." The President goes on to say that these detectives have been used constantly in prosecuting and convicting criminals in the executive branch of the Government, and adds, "In my belief, we should be given ample means to prosecute them, if found, in the legislative branch." In concluding this part of his message he said, "But if this is not considered desirable, a special exception could be made in the law, prohibiting the use of the Secret Service force in investigating members of Congress. It would be far better to do this than what was actually done, and strive to prevent, or at least to hamper, effective action against criminals by the executive branch of the Government." Congress was highly incensed over this portion of the President's message, and considered that they had been collectively and individually insulted.

About this time some newspapers made charges relating to the purchase by the Government of the assets of the French companies which held the Panama Canal franchise. On December 15 the President sent a special message to Congress reviewing the purchase of the canal and transmitting certain documents. The charges asserted that the United States bought from American citizens for $40,000,000 what had cost those citizens only $12,000,000 in France; the President's brother-in-law, Mr. Douglas

Robinson, and Mr. Charles P. Taft, brother of the Secretary of War, were involved in the scandal. The charges also asserted that Mr. William H. Taft was Secretary of War and active in the Panama purchase at a time when everybody knew that Mr. Taft was in the Philippines and Mr. Philander Knox as Attorney-General made the purchase. The price paid the French receivers was fixed by a board of engineers named by the American Government to report upon the relative merits of the Panama and the Nicaragua routes. The board had reported that the Panama rights and unfinished work were worth $40,000,000 and that they favored the purchase of the Panama route if it could be had, including the franchise for that figure. Those interested in France authorized the sale on those terms and Congress after discussing every phase of the question authorized the purchase at the same figure. Attorney-General Knox verified all questions arising as to title and the money was paid through the banking house of J. P. Morgan & Company.

During January, 1909, there was an attempt in Congress to increase the salaries of the President, the Vice-President, the Speaker of the House, and the federal judges, but the bill failed to pass. In spite of deficits in the Treasury and with a total lack of definite plans, there was an effort made to force a large appropriation for river and harbor improvements, but the appropriation was held down to $10,000,000 for the continuance of work that could not properly be checked or suspended.

As the time was drawing near for the taking of the census, Congress passed a bill granting Congressmen the right of appointing the extra clerks needed for work of enumeration. It has been proved that if these additional clerks are appointed under the civil service rules like other employees in that department there would be a saving to the Government of at least $2,000,000 besides taking much less time. Therefore on February 5 the President vetoed the bill. At first there was some talk of passing the bill over the veto but finally the matter was left for the Sixty-First Congress to attend to.

On March 4 the Senate ratified a treaty with Canada concerning the boundary waters and adjourned without date.

In 1907, on November 5, elections were held in the twelve following states: Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, New

Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Ohio, Nebraska, California, and Utah. In Massachusetts, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Maryland, Kentucky, and Nebraska the elections were for Governors; in all the others with the exception of Pennsylvania where a State Treasurer was elected the elections were chiefly for municipal or judicial officers. Several of these elections were of more than local importance, however; this was especially true in California, where a combination of Democrats and Good Government Clubs succeeded in placing Edward R. Taylor in the office of mayor in San Francisco as an attempt to overthrow the corrupt government that has prevailed in that city for many a long year. The leading issue in New Jersey was the excise question—whether or not liquor should be sold on Sunday; the Democratic platform made no mention of this while the Republican supported it; Judge J. Franklin Fort, the candidate of the Republican party was elected by a plurality of less than 8,000. In New York City there was an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the Democratic or Tammany party by a combination of the Republicans and the Independent League, but the Democratic party won the election by a large majority. Maryland and Delaware went Democratic by small margins while the Republicans in Nebraska defeated a combination of the Democrats and Populists on a platform formulated by William Jennings Bryan. Kentucky went Republican for the third time in its history, the Republican candidate for Governor defeating the Democratic candidate who had held office for two successive terms. In Ohio the chief point of interest was Cleveland where the Republican candidate for mayor was defeated by the Democratic candidate, the mayor of the city, Tom L. Johnson. In Massachusetts the Republicans won by a large majority, owing to a split in the Democratic party which had resulted in the latter party placing two candidates in the field.

In December there arose in the navy a dispute as to the relative rights of officers of the line and of the staff. The discussion was called forth by the question whether the hospital ship *Relief* should be commanded by an officer of the line or by an officer of the medical department of the navy. Rear-Admiral W. H. Brownson, chief of the Bureau of Navigation, insisted that a line officer should command this and other hospital ships, while P. M. Rixey,

Surgeon-General of the Navy, contended that hospital ships should be under the command of a medical officer, and that they should be officered and manned by civilians under this medical officer. The dispute was submitted to President Roosevelt who decided in favor of the medical man. Rear-Admiral Brownson therefore resigned as chief of the Bureau of Navigation on December 20.

There were two disasters in the navy during 1907. On June 10, the launch of the *Minnesota* which was stationed with the fleet at Jamestown was lost while on its way from the shore to the vessel in the storm which prevailed at that time; eleven men and officers were lost. On July 18, an explosion occurred in the powder magazine of the *Georgia*, while that ship was engaged in target practice in Massachusetts Bay; ten officers and men were killed and many more injured.

In March, 1907, an Internal Waterways Commission was appointed, consisting of Theodore E. Burton, chairman; Dr. W. J. McGee, Brigadier-General Alexander McKenzie, Senators William Warner of Missouri, Francis G. Newlands of Nevada, and John H. Bankhead of Alabama, Gifford Pinchot, Fredericks H. Newell, and Herbert Knox Smith. During the summer the commission made a thorough examination of the Mississippi waterways system. In October, President Roosevelt, accompanied by the commission and the Governors of ten states, journeyed from Keokuk, Ia., to New Orleans by way of the Mississippi River, in order that he might personally understand the need for the improvement of the internal waterways of the country. Later the President expressed himself very forcefully on the need for this work. During the fall and early winter of this year several meetings in this connection were held in different parts of the country but the most important was National Rivers and Harbors Congress held in Washington in December. Thirty-three states and about fifty municipalities were represented. Addresses were made by Martin A. Knapp, the chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, Senator Francis G. Newlands, and Secretary Elihu Root; the latter in his speech pledged the support of the national administration to the movement for the adoption of a definite legislative policy for the improvement of the waterways of the United States. Resolutions were passed calling upon the national Government to appropriate not less than $50,000,000 yearly for the improvement

of the waterways of the United States and to provide, by bond issue if necessary, such further sums as might be needed. These resolutions were embodied in a special message from the President to Congress on February 26, 1908, but Congress failed to take any action on these recommendations or even to provide for the continuance of the commission and the President, therefore, continued it by executive act, reappointing the same members. The hearts of these members were greatly stimulated by the action of the State of Illinois in the November, 1908, election. This State voted by a large majority to issue bonds to the value of $20,000,000 for the construction of a deep canal from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi River. They believed that the willingness of Illinois to pay out of her own resources for what is properly a national project would encourage the improvement of the Mississippi from St. Louis to the Gulf.

On May 13, 1908, an important conference was held in Washington, D. C.; Governors and representatives from all the States in the Union met at the invitation of the President to discuss the question of conserving the natural resources of the country. Addresses were made by many notable men; Andrew Carnegie spoke on iron and coal in relation to their exhaustion, Elihu Root urged the States to exercise their sovereignty in preserving their natural resources, James J. Hill spoke on the wasteful use of the soil; among the other speakers were William J. Bryan, James R. Garfield, Secretary of the Interior, Governor Glenn of North Carolina, John Mitchell, and Gifford Pinchot. The National Conservation Commission, composed of forty-eight members including several Senators and United States Representatives, was appointed by President Roosevelt on June 8. This commission met in Washington on December 1 and continued in session for several days. At this meeting a joint committee was authorized to be composed of six members of State commissions and three members of the national commission to plan ways and means for coöperative work.

From December 9 to 12, 1908, a second National Rivers and Harbors Congress met in Washington. Nearly three thousand delegates were present from forty-four States and Territories. Addresses were delivered by William H. Taft, Vice-President Fairbanks, President Ramsdell of the Congress, Andrew Carnegie,

Joseph G. Cannon, and others. Resolutions were adopted commending the conservation of natural resources of the country but recommending delay until waterway improvement was well under way. Congress was asked to double the corps of engineers in the army and to give power to this corps to present to Congress plans for improving rivers and harbors.

In the six weeks preceding the expiration of President Roosevelt's term of office two centenary celebrations were observed in the United States. Edgar Allen Poe was born on January 19, 1809, and the one hundredth anniversary was observed with appropriate ceremonies in the city of Baltimore, where Poe was born and died; at Richmond, Virginia, where he spent his boyhood; at the University, which he attended for a term; at Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, where after the death of his wife he wooed Mrs. Sarah Helen Whitman; and in New York, where his closing years were passed. On February 12 the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln was observed throughout the country. Congress made the day a holiday and echoes of this anniversary continued to be heard during the remainder of the year.

There were many important changes in the diplomatic service of the United States in 1907; the Turkish ministry was raised to an ambassadorship; Henry White, ambassador to Italy, was made ambassador to France to succeed General Horace Porter; J. W. Riddle, minister to Servia and Roumania, was made ambassador to Russia to succeed George Von L. Meyer, who became Postmaster-General; Lloyd Garrison was appointed minister to Italy to succeed Henry White; Irving V. Dudley, minister to Peru, was sent to Brazil as minister to that country; Dr. David J. Hill, minister to the Netherlands, was appointed to succeed Charlemage T. Tower as ambassador to Germany on Mr. White's retirement; Arthur M. Beaupré, minister to the Argentine Republic, succeeded Dr. Hill at The Hague; Spencer F. Eddy, secretary to the Embassy at Berlin, succeeded Mr. Beaupré as minister to the Argentine Republic; and Thomas J. O'Brien, formerly minister to Denmark, was made ambassador to Japan to succeed Luke E. Wright. The most important change among the diplomats accredited to this country was the appointment of James Bryce as ambassador from Great Britain to succeed Hon. H. Mortimer Durand, who retired. Mr. Bryce had long been known to the American public from his writings, and

especially from his "American Commonwealth" and America welcomed his coming as the return of an old friend. Mehmed Ali Bey was the first ambassador from Turkey. For the first time Norway sent a minister, C. Hauge, who, however, died later in the year while on a visit to Norway. Don Enrique C. Creel was made ambassador from Mexico to succeed Joaquin D. Casasus. In October the announcement was made that the minister from China, Sir Chentung Liang-Cheng, would be succeeded by Wu Ting Fang, who had previously represented his country in the United States. In December the Japanese ambassador, Baron Aoki, was recalled at his own request and it was announced that Baron Takahira, who was in this country at the time of the Russo-Japanese War, would succeed him. The changes in the diplomatic service in 1908 were less numerous and important: the ambassador from Germany, Baron Herman Speck von Sternburg, died on August 24 and was succeeded in November by Count Johann Heinrich von Bernstorff, the consul-general of Germany at Cairo, Egypt; Don Enrique C. Creel, the minister from Mexico, resigned his office and was succeeded by Francisco L. de la Barra, who had been serving his country at the Dutch court; owing to troubles in Turkey, the Turkish minister, Mehmed Ali Bey, was recalled and the Turkish consul-general at New York, Mundji Bey, temporarily assumed the office of acting ambassador at Washington until the appointment of Hussein Kiazim Bey as ambassador; Joseph W. J. Lee resigned as minister to Guatemala and was succeeded by William Heinke; two new diplomatic posts were created in Central America, one at Honduras and the other at Nicaragua; to the former William B. Sorsby, formerly minister to Bolivia, was accredited and to the latter John C. Coolidge, formerly secretary of the Mexican embassy, was appointed; James F. Stutesman of Indiana was given the post of minister to Bolivia.

It will be recalled that in the seventies there was a decided feeling against the immigration of Chinese laborers into this country, the agitation resulting in 1881 in the passing of the Chinese Exclusion Act. The Chinese alone were legislated against at that time because the coolies from other Asiatic countries had not started to come into this country in such numbers as to affect laboring conditions here. About 1905 the demand for laborers in the United States became very great and wages rose correspondingly.

This was an inducement to Japanese to come here. They naturally settled in the western States of Washington, Oregon, and California, the latter State because of its greater size receiving the larger number of the new comers. The leaders of organized labor in San Francisco and other cities on the coast became alarmed at this increase in the immigration and demanded a change in the immigration laws which would exclude all Asiatic laborers. The administration in San Francisco in the latter part of 1906 and the early part of 1907 was in the hands of men who represented the labor organizations, the mayor, E. F. Schmitz, being himself a member of a labor union. The school board of San Francisco is appointed by the mayor and is subject to removal by him; therefore whatever policies dominate the mayor, the same policies will dominate the school board. The action of the school board in October, 1906, in issuing an order that Japanese children should be excluded from the regular public schools of the city and that they should attend a separate school for Orientals was the result of the fear existing in the minds of the ruling party in the city. The Japanese public was aroused at this action of the school board, considering it an insult to their nation, and on October 15 a protest against it was sent by the Japanese Government to Washington. President Roosevelt immediately sent Victor H. Metcalf, the Secretary of the Interior, to look into the conditions. Mr. Metcalf, in his report, said that the school question had been greatly exaggerated; the ostensible objection of the school board was to the attendance of adult Japanese in the primary schools; in reality there were ninety-three Japanese in all the schools and but very few of these were over twenty years of age. The Secretary also reported that there had been boycotts on Japanese restaurants and unwarranted attacks on Japanese subjects. In his message to Congress that year the President said that the treaty rights of Japan would be enforced at all hazards. This declaration was reassuring to the more intelligent of the Japanese, but not to the ignorant classes who did not appreciate the fact that it might lead to another civil war in the United States. It is almost impossible for people of other nations to understand the distinction between State and National powers and rights which exists in this country. In February, 1907, the mayor of San Francisco and the school board, at the suggestion of President Roosevelt, came to Washington to talk over the mat-

ter with the President. They said they had no objection to admitting the Japanese to the schools provided the immigration of laborers was limited. Soon after this the House and Senate approved a plan to settle the dispute by including a paragraph in the Immigration Bill. The legislature of the State of California, in response to messages from the President and the State Governor, agreed to suspend action and on March 12 the school board decided to admit Japanese pupils up to the age of sixteen. On March 14 President Roosevelt issued an order for the exclusion of all Japanese and Koreans without passports. During the year there continued to be occasional outbreaks against the Japanese but nothing of importance. Sensational newspapers both in Japan and the United States continued, however, to print "war-scares," although at no time was war imminent. On November 7, Baron Hayashi, the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, made a statement for publication on the relations existing between the United States and Japan; he severely reprimanded the press for misrepresenting and exaggerating events of trifling importance; he recognized the seriousness of the immigration problem in the United States and said that the Japanese Government was preparing to deal with it and hoped to come to an amicable agreement without sacrificing its own dignity.

On December 1, 1908, there was an exchange of notes between Elihu Root, the Secretary of State, and Baron Takahira, the Japanese ambassador, which constituted an agreement between the two countries without the formalities connected with a treaty. The text of the agreement was as follows:

1. It is the wish of the two governments to encourage the free and peaceful development of their commerce on the Pacific Ocean.

2. The policy of both governments, uninfluenced by any aggressive tendencies, is directed to the maintenance of the existing *status quo* in the region above mentioned and to the defense of the principle of equal opportunity for commerce and industry in China.

3. They are accordingly firmly resolved reciprocally to respect the territorial possessions belonging to each other in said region.

4. They are also determined to preserve the common interests of all powers in China by supporting by all pacific means at

their disposal the independence and integrity of China and the principle of equal opportunity for commerce and industry of all nations in that empire.

5. Should any event occur threatening the *status quo* as above described or the principle of equal opportunity as above defined it remains for the two governments to communicate with each other in order to arrive at an understanding as to what measures they may consider it useful to take.

There can be no misunderstanding between two nations which can come to such an agreement.

In Central America hostilities broke out in February, 1907, and continued through the early part of the year in spite of attempts on the part of the United States, Mexico, Costa Rica, Guatemala and Salvador to preserve peace. On March 21 marines were landed from the United States gunboat *Marrictta* at different places in Honduras in order that American interests might be protected at these points. On April 6 a conference was held between the ambassadors of Mexico and the United States in which it was agreed that the time had arrived for joint action for peace. Nothing resulted, however, and hostilities continued until April 11, when President Bonilla of Honduras, surrendered to the Nicaraguan forces at Amalpa. Representatives of Nicaragua and Salvador, which had been drawn into the strife on the side of Honduras, met at Amalpa, on April 18 and a treaty was signed on April 23. In August President Roosevelt invited the five republics of Central America to send representatives to Washington, there to meet and prepare treaties of peace and arbitration. The invitation was accepted and the meeting took place on November 14, 1907. Deliberations lasted a month in which time six treaties had been concluded.

In September and October Secretary Root visited Mexico as the guest of the Mexican Government. He was received with great cordiality and the visit doubtlessly did much to increase the friendly feelings existing between the two countries. Mexico ceded to the United States privileges at Magdalena Bay, on the coast of Lower California, for a coaling station for the navy. In 1908 there were insurrections in Mexico and many of the insurrectionists took refuge in Texas and from there made raids into Mexico. The Mexican Government complained to the Government at Washington. President Roosevelt took active measures against these persons and fif-

teen of them were arrested on August 10, for violating the neutrality laws by inciting riots and conspiracies.

Again just at the close of President Roosevelt's administration, the Japanese question came into prominence. That Japan had kept faith with the United States during 1908 was amply proved by the immigration statistics for the year, only 185 more Japanese of all classes being admitted to the States than departed and the number of laborers arriving was considerably less than the number departing. But about the first of the new year there was introduced into the legislature of the State of California four measures with the object of segregating and controlling the Japanese in the State in the same way in which the Chinese are managed. On January 19, 1909, President Roosevelt sent a request to the Governor of California that the bills be not made laws. In his message to the legislature on January 26, the Governor reviewed what had been done by the Federal Government and by Japan to meet the wishes of both peoples with regard to the labor immigration and told the legislators in a courteous manner that immigration is a question for the National Government and not for the State Governments. On February 8 the President sent a telegram to the Speaker of the California legislature setting forth the Government's views. In part it is as follows:

"We (the Federal Government) are jealously endeavoring to guard the interests of California and of the entire West in accordance with the desires of our Western people. By friendly agreement with Japan we are now carrying out a policy which while meeting the interests and desires of the Pacific slope is yet compatible not merely with mutual self-respect, but with mutual esteem and admiration between the Americans and the Japanese. The Japanese Government is loyally and in good faith doing its part to carry out this policy precisely as the American Government is doing. The policy aims at mutuality of obligation and behavior. In accordance with it the purpose is that the Japanese shall come here exactly as Americans go to Japan, which is in effect that travelers, students, persons engaged in international business, men who sojourn for pleasure or study and the like shall have free access from one country to the other, and shall be sure of the best treatment, but there shall be no settlement in mass by the people of either country in the other. . . . . If the present policy con

sistently followed works as well in the future as it is now working all difficulties and causes of friction will disappear, while at the same time each nation will retain its self-respect and the good-will of the other. . . . . In short the policy of the administration is to combine the maximum of efficiency in achieving the real object which the people of the Pacific slope have at heart with the minimum of friction and trouble, while the misguided men who advocate such action as this against which I protest are following a policy which combines the very minimum of efficiency with the maximum of insult, and which while totally failing to achieve any real result for good, yet might accomplish an infinity of harm. If in the next year or two the action of the Federal Government fails to achieve what it is now achieving then through the further action of the President and Congress it can and may be made entirely efficient."

After this the bills failed of passage in the California legislature and similar bills and resolutions which had been introduced into legislatures of Nevada, Oregon, Montana, Washington and Nebraska were defeated.

Chapter XLV

ADMINISTRATION OF TAFT. 1909—

I. Nomination and Election.

The booms for the nominations for President began early in 1907 and continued throughout the year. The first candidate in the field for the Republican party was Vice-President Fairbanks. He visited all sections of the country making speeches and endeavoring to make himself a familiar figure with the public, but it is doubtful if he was ever taken seriously outside of his own State. In spite of President Roosevelt's announcement at his election in 1904 that he would not again be a candidate for the office there was a great deal of talk of his being given the nomination. This theme continued to be discussed in the newspapers until the President himself in a letter written on December 11 declared that he was not a candidate for another term. Senator Knox of Pennsylvania, Senator La Follette of Wisconsin, Senator Foraker of Ohio, and Speaker Cannon of Illinois were advocated as candidates but their political strength was confined to their respective States. Governor Hughes of New York was mentioned frequently and favorably during the year as a possible candidate because of his work in investigating the insurance companies and also because of the ability he had shown in his office. But the candidate who had apparently the greatest chances for the nomination was William Howard Taft, the Secretary of War. Mr. Taft was not only popular for his own merits but it was generally understood that he had Mr. Roosevelt's indorsement.

In the Democratic Party only two candidates received serious consideration: William J. Bryan, who had twice before been the nominee of his party, and John A. Johnson, Governor of Minnesota, who by personal uprightness as well as by his administration as Governor had become known throughout the country. Other candidates mentioned as possibilities were Governor Folk of Missouri, Senator Culberson of Texas, and Senator Daniel of Virginia.

1908

The Republican Convention was held in the Coliseum in Chicago on June 16, 1908, and the days following. Senator Julius C. Burrows of Michigan, was the temporary chairman and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, the permanent chairman. On the first ballot William H. Taft received 702 votes; Senator Knox, 68; Governor Hughes, 67; Speaker Cannon, 58; Vice-President Fairbanks, 40; Senator La Follette, 25; Senator Foraker, 16; the total number of votes cast was 980. Immediately the nomination was made unanimous. There were several candidates for the Vice-Presidency, Governor Curtis Guild of Massachusetts, Ex-Governor Franklin Murphy of New Jersey, and Senator Jonathan P. Dolliver of Iowa being the most prominent. It was generally conceded, however, that a New York man should have the place because of the importance of the electoral votes of that State, but it was not until the last minute that the New York delegation could agree on a man. This man was James Schoolcraft Sherman of Utica, who had served his State in Congress for many years. Mr. Sherman received 816 votes on the first ballot.

The Democratic National Convention was convened at Denver on July 7, 1908. The temporary chairman was Theodore A. Bell of California and the permanent chairman, Henry T. Clayton of Alabama. Resolutions on the death of Ex-President Grover Cleveland, who had passed away in Princeton, New Jersey, on June 24, were presented by Judge Alton B. Parker, head of the New York delegation, and adopted unanimously by a rising vote. On the first ballot William J. Bryan received 892½ votes; Governor John A. Johnson of Minnesota, 46; and Judge George Gray of Delaware, 59½. The nomination of Mr. Bryan was made unanimous. John W. Kern of Indiana was given the nomination for Vice-President.

The Independence Party met in convention in Chicago on July 28 and nominated Thomas L. Hisgen of Massachusetts for President and John Temple Graves of Georgia for Vice-President. This party was the successor of the Independence League, organized in 1906 by William R. Hearst of New York.

The Socialist Party held its convention in Chicago, also and on May 13 nominated Eugene V. Debs of Indiana for the Presidency and Benjamin Hanford of New York for the Vice-Presidency.

The Prohibition Party held its convention at Columbus, Ohio,

1908

and on July 16 nominated Eugene W. Clafin of Illinois for President and Aaron S. Watkins of Ohio for Vice-President.

The Populist Party held its convention at St. Louis and on April 3 nominated Thomas E. Watson of Georgia for President and Samuel W. Williams of Indiana for Vice-President.

The convention of the Socialist Labor Party was held in New York City and on July 6 nominated Martin R. Preston of Nevada for President and Donald Munro of Virginia for Vice-President. As Preston was a prisoner in the Nevada State Prison, serving a term of twenty-five years for the killing of a man in 1905, he declined to accept the nomination and his name was removed from the ticket and that of August Gilhaus of New York substituted.

The real issue of the campaign, although unexpressed, was the personal preference of the voters for Mr. Taft or Mr. Bryan. The latter gentleman had twice before, in 1896 and 1900, appeared in the aspect of a candidate for the highest office in the United States. Mr. Taft was known to the public for his long and faithful public life. He was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, on September 15, 1857, the son of Alphonso Taft, who was Attorney-General of the United States in 1876 to 1877. He received his education in the public schools of Cincinnati and at Yale College, graduating from the latter institution in 1878, second in his class of one hundred and twenty-one members and salutatorion at the commencement exercises. He then took up the study of law at the Cincinnati Law School, winning his degree and being admitted to the Ohio bar in 1880. The year following his admittance to the bar, he was law reporter for the Cincinnati *Times* and later for the Cincinnati *Commercial*. His entrance into public life was made in 1881, when he became assistant prosecuting attorney for Hamilton County, Ohio. He was collector of internal revenues for the first district of Ohio, 1882-1883; county solicitor of Hamilton County, 1885-1887; judge of the Superior Court of Ohio, 1887-1890; solicitor-general of the United States, 1890-1892; dean and professor of the law department of the University of Cincinnati, 1896-1900; United States circuit judge of the Sixth Circuit, 1892-1900; president of the Philippine Commission from March 13, 1900, to February 1, 1904; first civil governor of the Philippines, July 4, 1901 to February 1, 1904; Secretary of War, February 1, 1904, to June 30, 1908. In 1902, while he was governor of the Philippines, he made a visit to Rome to con-

fer with Pope Leo XIII on the matter of the purchase of certain agricultural lands belonging to Roman Catholic orders in the Philippines. While Secretary of War, he was sent by President Roosevelt to restore order in Cuba in 1906; in March and April, 1907, he visited Panama, Cuba, and Porto Rico; and in May to December, 1907, made a trip around the world by way of Shanghai, Manila, Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Berlin. In all the visits which were official ones Mr. Taft showed great tact and firmness and won for himself the sobriquet of "the Secretary of Peace."

The tariff, the trusts, the guaranteeing of bank deposits, and the labor question were all discussed at great length by the candidates, but there was no decided party lines on any of these questions. Mr. Bryan attempted to make a party issue out of the proposal to guarantee bank deposits but he found little encouragement outside of the West where a few States were considering or had adopted a system of bank guarantee. The most important discussion of the campaign centered on the issuing of injunctions in labor cases but even this roused very little interest among the people at large.

On July 8, the Republican National Committee elected Frank H. Hitchcock as chairman and George R. Sheldon as treasurer and established headquarters in New York and Chicago. On July 17 the Democratic candidates issued an appeal to the farmers of the country asking for special contributions for the campaign; Norman E. Mack was elected chairman and Charles N. Haskell treasurer of the Democratic National Committee; and Chicago was chosen as the headquarters for the campaign. Mr. Taft was formally notified of his nomination in Cincinnati on July 28 and Mr. Bryan of his nomination in Lincoln, Nebraska, on August 12. On August 21 Mr. Bryan opened the campagn by a speech at Des Moines, Iowa. Mr. Taft announced on August 22 his intention, if elected, of calling as soon after March 4, 1909, as possible a special session of Congress to revise the tariff.

About the middle of September a discordant note was struck in the campaign when William R. Hearst in a speech in support of Mr. Hisgen, the Independent candidate, accused the treasurer of the Democratic Committee, Charles N. Haskell, of being in strong affiliation with the Standard Oil Company and of being one of three men who had taken bribes to undertake the dismissal of suits

against the company in Ohio. Mr. Haskell denied these charges and denounced them as falsehoods. Mr. Hearst then produced a still greater sensation by bringing forth certain letters from a high official of the Standard Oil Company to Senator Foraker, who was conducting the Republican campaign in Ohio, proving that Senator Foraker had at one time received checks from the Standard Oil Company, presumably in payment for services rendered to that corporation. Mr. Foraker denied that any of the money received had been used for other than legitimate purposes. One of the checks was for $50,000; this money, Mr. Foraker said, was used in an attempt to buy the *Ohio State Journal,* a paper bitterly opposed to Republican policies. Senator Foraker was promptly repudiated by the Republican leaders and a spirited series of letters between President Roosevelt and Mr. Bryan followed regarding the connection of Governor Haskell with the Standard Oil Company, culminating in the resignation of Governor Haskell as treasurer of the Democratic Committee.

President Roosevelt refused to take any active part in the campaign until October 21 when he made public a letter to Senator Knox of Pennsylvania in which he called upon Mr. Bryan to specify the intentions of the Democratic Party toward the labor question, declaring that the Democratic platform promises really meant the enactment of a law that would strip lawful business of all protection and would legalize the blacklist and secondary boycott, while at the same time it was an attempt to delude the labor element as such a law would be declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Mr. Bryan did not reply directly to these charges but said that they had been fully answered in his previous speeches.

In the latter part of September and the first of October Mr. Taft made a speaking tour as far west as Colorado and Wyoming; in the middle of October he visited the Southern States. Both candidates centered their final efforts on New York State as it was believed that the election of either one depended on winning the electoral vote of that state.

The campaigns of the smaller parties were not as important as those of the larger ones. Mr. Clafin of the Prohibition Party made an aggressive campaign; Mr. Debs, the Socialist candidate, toured the country in a special train and spoke to large and enthu-

siastic crowds; the only thing of importance in the campaign of the Independent Party was the disclosures made by Mr. Hearst in regard to the Standard Oil Company affair.

The election took place on November 3 and resulted in Mr. Taft's receiving 321 electoral votes against 162 for Mr. Bryan. Outside of the States known as the "Solid South," and which are always counted Democratic before the election, and the border States, the Democratic Party carried but four States—Colorado, Nebraska, Nevada, and Oklahoma. The same number of border States was lost to them: Maryland, West Virginia, Missouri, and Delaware. In Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York the plurality given Taft exceeded that given Roosevelt in the previous campaign.

The Electoral College met in Washington and cast their votes for the President and Vice-President on January 11, 1909, and these votes were counted by Congress in a joint session on February 10.

II. The First Year of the Taft Administration.

Following his election, Mr. Taft spent a few weeks in the South, making speeches and appearing at public functions. On January 25 he sailed from Charleston, South Carolina, on the United States cruiser *North Carolina* to inspect the Panama Canal. The President-elect was accompanied by a party of prominent engineers; together they made a thorough examination of the Canal and on their return reported that they found everything most satisfactory. Mr. Taft further declared that every dollar thus far had been honestly spent. On February 11 Mr. Taft arrived in New Orleans on his return from Panama and was the city's guest.

Inauguration Day, 1909, found Washington in the clutches of its worst storm of the season and Mr. Taft was obliged to depart from the time-honored custom of delivering the inaugural address on the East Portico of the Capitol and to speak in the Senate chamber instead. There was a large military parade in spite of the suffering entailed by the snow, sleet, rain, slush, and harsh winds.

President Taft's address fully met all expectations. In speaking of the policy he should follow, he said:

"I have had the honor to be one of the advisors of my distinguished predecessor and as such to hold up his hands in the reforms he has initiated. I should be untrue to myself, to my prom-

ises, and to the declarations of the party platform upon which I was elected to office if I did not make the maintenance and enforcement of those reforms a most important feature of my administration. They were directed to the suppression of the lawlessness and abuses of power of the great combinations of capital invested in railroads and in industrial enterprises carrying on interstate commerce. The steps which my predecessor took and the legislation passed on his recommendation have accomplished much, have caused a general halt in the vicious policies which created popular alarm, and have brought about in the business affected a much higher regard for existing law. To render the reforms lasting, however, and to secure at the same time freedom from alarm on the part of those pursuing proper and progressive business methods further legislation and executive action is needed. Relief of the railroads from certain restrictions of the anti-trust law has been urged by my predecessor and will be urged by me. On the other hand, the Administration is pledged to legislation looking to a proper Federal supervision and restriction to prevent excessive issues of bonds and stocks by owning and operating interstate commerce railroads."

The new cabinet was made up as follows: Secretary of State, Philander C. Knox, who had been Attorney-General, 1901-1905, and United States Senator from Pennsylvania from 1905 until his resignation to accept this appointment; Secretary of the Treasury, Franklin MacVeagh, a business man of Chicago who was educated for the law; Secretary of War, Jacob M. Dickinson, general counsel of the Illinois Central Railroad, who was Assistant Attorney-General, 1895-1897; Secretary of the Navy, George von L. Meyer, who was Postmaster-General in President Roosevelt's cabinet; Secretary of the Interior, Richard A. Ballinger of Seattle, Washington, who was at one time a successful commissioner of the general land office; Secretary of Agriculture, James Wilson, who had held that office for twelve years; Secretary of Labor and Commerce, Charles Nagel of St. Louis, a lawyer of the highest personal and professional standing; Attorney-General, George W. Wickersham of New York, a law partner of the President's brother, Henry W. Taft; Postmaster-General, Frank H. Hitchcock, chairman of the National Republican Committee, and at one time Assistant Postmaster-General.

Congress met in special session on March 15, 1909; Mr. Cannon

was reëlected Speaker of the House; but when the motion was made that the same rules of procedure be adopted for this session as were used in the preceding Congress thirty-one Republicans joined the Democrats in opposing the passage of the motion, which was lost by this action of the insurgents. Mr. Champ Clark of Missouri, the leader of the Democrats, proposed certain changes in the old rules so that they could be used for this session and suggested means which provided for a thorough revision of the rules. Mr. Clark's motion was not passed but a compromise proposed by Mr. Fitzgerald of New York met with approval.

On March 17, Mr. Payne, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, introduced a new tariff bill; this was discussed, altered, discussed and altered again, and finally passed by the House on April 9; then the Senate took it and made it over and passed their version of it on July 8; a conference committee from the two branches of the legislature was then appointed; their report was adopted by the House on July 31 and by the Senate on August 5. The President immediately signed the bill which became effective on midnight of that same day. The Payne Tariff, as the bill is known, is the most thorough-going high-protectionist measure ever enacted in this country or in any other; on some things the tariff was increased and other things lowered, but the average was higher than under the old Dingley Tariff.

Other bills passed at this special session were: (1) the Census Bill; (2) the Porto Rican Government Bill, which provided that in the event of the legislature failing to pass the necessary appropriations those of the preceding year should be continued; (3) the Urgent Deficiency Appropriation Bill, which included an item of $25,000 for the President's traveling expenses; and (4) a resolution to submit to the State legislatures the Income Tax Bill.

On March 23, 1909, Ex-President Roosevelt sailed from New York on his way to Africa where it was his intention to go into the interior on a hunting trip. The reasons for this trip were three in number: first, Mr. Roosevelt felt the need of relaxation after his eight years of strenuous work as Vice-President and President of the United States, and second, it was better that there should be no suspicion that Mr. Roosevelt was dictating to Mr. Taft what he should do; third, to hunt wild animals in the interest of science. The expedition was fitted out by the Smithsonian Institute of

Washington, which deposited all specimens collected in the National Museum in Washington. The American companions of Mr. Roosevelt were Dr. and Colonel Edgar A. Mearns, United States Army; Edmund Heller of California, a trained naturalist; J. Alden Loring, an experienced collector of small mammals and birds, and Mr. Roosevelt's son, Kermit Roosevelt, who acted as official photographer of the expedition. In Europe they were joined by an Englishman, R. J. Cunninghame, who had guided many hunting parties in Africa, besides being an experienced collector of natural history specimens, and who acted as guide and caravan chief to the expedition. The expedition was successful in every way; no lives were lost and more specimens were obtained than had been expected. The expedition was brought to an end at Khartum, Egypt, on March 14, 1910. Here the Ex-President was met by Mrs. Roosevelt and their daughter Ethel, and together they visited the countries of Europe. Everywhere Mr. Roosevelt was greeted with honor and enthusiasm. Just before his arrival in England, Edward VII, king of that country, died and the Ex-President acted as the nation's representative at the monarch's funeral, which took place on May 20, 1910.

There were several strikes of varying importance in different parts of the country in 1909. The most important were in Philadelphia and Georgia. The motormen and conductors of the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company declared a strike on May 29; their demands were for an increase of wages from twenty-one cents to twenty-five cents an hour, a different arrangement of their working day, and the privilege of buying their uniforms wherever they pleased; the strike lasted about a week and was acompanied by acts of violence; a conference between the political leaders of the city, including the mayor, and the officials of the trolley company resulted in an agreement being drawn up and submitted to the men; it was accepted by them as all their demands were granted except the increase in wages of which they were given a part. On May 24 the white firemen on the Georgia Railroad struck against the employment of negroes; the railroad was idle for a week causing great suffering and inconvenience to towns along the line because of delays in getting food supplies and mail; the strike was settled in favor of the men.

On February 19, 1910, the employes of the Philadelphia Rapid

Transit Company again went out on strike, this time demanding an increase in wages and a recognition of their union; riots in every section of the city followed attempts to operate the cars; on February 21 Clarence O. Pratt, the national organizer of street railway employes, was arrested, charged with inciting to riot; on March 5 about 40,000 union men in Philadelphia went on strike in sympathy with the street car men; but on March 22 the strike was called off after the strikers had refused all concessions offered to them.

In September came news that gave great pleasure to the entire country and aroused interest over all the civilized world. It was that the North Pole had been reached by two Americans: Dr. Frederick A. Cook of Brooklyn, announced that he had reached the long sought goal on April 21, 1908, and Commander Robert E. Peary said that he reached the Pole on April 6, 1909. Mr. Peary contended that Dr. Cook never reached the farthest north and that his records were "faked." Public feeling ran high, some persons believing Dr. Cook's story and others believing that Mr. Peary's accusations were justifiable, and all anxiously awaiting the verdicts of the scientists who were to examine the records. Dr. Cook submitted his proofs to the University of Copenhagen and the committee appointed to examine them reported on December 21 that it found nothing in the data submitted to it which warranted the belief that Dr. Cook actually reached the Pole. Six weeks before, on November 3, the National Geographical Society at Washington had approved Commander Peary's records and awarded him a gold medal.

The first regular session of the Sixty-First Congress was convened on December 6, 1909. The following day the President's message was received and read in both houses. Certain subjects which were expected to have first place in the message were not dealt with at all but Mr. Taft promised to send special messages on those subjects at later dates; these special messages would deal, he said, with (1) changes in the laws regulating interstate commerce, (2) amendments of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, (3) the conservation of the natural resources, and (4) the proposed revision of the laws governing army organization in time of war. On January 10 the President's message on interstate commerce and the anti-trust laws

1910

was received and read; four days later he sent another on the conservation of natural resources.

In the House on March 19, after two days' parliamentary contest, a union of Democrats and insurgent Republicans, under the leadership of Mr. Norris of Nebraska, and by vote of 191 to 155, succeeded in ousting the Speaker from the Committee on Rules and in increasing that Committee to ten members, to be chosen by party caucuses instead of being appointed by the Speaker. Mr. Burleson of Texas made a motion that the Speaker's chair be declared vacant, but this was defeated by a vote of 191 to 155.

At the time this edition goes to press the following bills have been passed by both Houses: (1) the District of Columbia Appropriation Bill, (2) the Fortification Appropriation Bill, (3) the Army Appropriation Bill, (4) the Urgent Deficiency Bill, (5) Diplomatic and Consular Appropriation Bill, (6) the Indian Appropriation Bill, and (7) the River and Harbor Appropriation Bill. The following had passed the House of Representatives but not the Senate: (1) two bills to promote safety on railroads, (2) a bill abolishing the Isthmian Canal Commission and creating instead the office of Director-General, (3) a bill for Statehood for New Mexico and Arizona, (4) a bill abolishing the Lighthouse Board, (5) a bill providing for creation of a Bureau of Mines in the Department of the Interior, (6) the Mann "White Slave" Bill, (7) a bill defining the limits of the bankruptcy laws and reducing the compensation of receivers, (8) the Postoffice Appropriation Bill, (9) the Naval Appropriation Bill, (10) a bill providing for the expenditure of $250,000 by the Tariff Commission to investigate manufacturing costs at home and abroad. These bills had passed the Senate but not the House: (1) a bill raising Robert E. Peary to the grade of Rear-Admiral and placing him on the retired list, (2) a bill creating the Glacier Natural Park in Northern Montana, (3) the Bennet "White Slave" Bill, (4) the Cummins Bill modifying criminal procedure with particular reference to bringing corporations to trial, (5) a bill creating a Government Business-Method Commission, (6) the Postal Savings Bank Bill,* (7) the Agricultural Appropriation Bill, and (8) on June 3, the Railway Bill.

* On June 9, 1910, the House of Representatives passed the Postal Savings Bank Bill.

Chapter XLVI

PROGRESS OF A CENTURY

BY JOHN BACH McMASTER, LL.D.

WHEN the War of Independence ended with the treaty of peace in 1783, our country extended from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and from the Great Lakes and the province of Quebec on the north to the 31st degree of north latitude and the north boundary of Florida on the south. The region within these limits was owned, or claimed, by the thirteen States and Vermont, not then a member of the Union. Maine was a part of Massachusetts; Kentucky belonged to Virginia; Tennessee to North Carolina; what is now Alabama and Mississippi was claimed in part by South Carolina and Georgia; and the region north of the Ohio and west of Pennsylvania had but lately been ceded to Congress by Massachusetts, New York, Connecticut and Virginia.

The population, which amounted to less than three million souls, slaves included, was confined chiefly to the Atlantic seaboard. Beyond the mountains, as at Detroit and Vincennes, were a few old French settlements. In Kentucky and Tennessee were outposts of civilization planted by Boone, Harrod and the hardy frontiersmen who followed them. Most of the people lived on farms, in villages and plantations. The total population of the six principal cities amounted to but 131,000.

From an economic and industrial point of view the condition of our country was one of chaos. The Congress of the Confederation was absolutely destitute of all power to regulate trade with foreign countries or between the States. It could not levy a tonnage duty, nor pass a navigation act, nor impose a tax on imported goods, wares or merchandise, nor establish an excise, nor lay internal taxes of any sort. Each State regulated its own trade with foreign nations and with its neighbors in its own way. Congress, during the course of its existence, did, indeed, make treaties of commerce with France, the Netherlands, Morocco, Sweden and Prussia; but it could not by the imposition of discriminating duties,

by countervailing, by any restraint of trade, force a foreign nation to a reciprocity basis, and the Congress never secured from Spain, or Great Britain, a commercial treaty of any sort, though their territory surrounded us on three sides, and their island colonies lay off our costs.

Manufactures had scarcely passed the household stage; agriculture was still primitive and agricultural implements were of the rudest sort. Mining was little practiced; transportation by land was slow and costly, for not a turnpike had been built, not a wide river was bridged, and not a steamboat or a railroad existed.

At the close of the Revolution slavery existed in every State save Pennsylvania, where a gradual abolition law was passed in 1780. But ere seven years passed it was abolished outright in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, was undergoing gradual abolition by law in Connecticut and Rhode Island, and was forbidden in the Northwest Territory by the ordinance of 1787. Temporary servitude of white men, women and children under the redemption system was in universal use, but chiefly in Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. The free laborer toiled from sunrise to sunset, with one hour for breakfast and one for dinner, and was paid one rate of wages in summer and another in winter. Imprisonment for debt, however small, was universal.

The people, unwilling or unable to submit to taxation or incur debt for public improvements, resorted to lotteries as a means of securing money to pave streets, build bridges, town halls, schools, academies, provide churches with spires or bells, buy fire engines or improve docks and wharves. Our ships were excluded from British West Indian ports, and our flour, lumber, grain and whale oil discriminated against in British ports when brought thither in American vessels. Our commercial relations with Great Britain were regulated, not by treaty, but by orders in council under authority of an act of Parliament. Save foreign coins there was no metal circulating medium, and in all the land there was but one bank. The money of the people consisted of coins struck in foreign mints, and various sorts of bills of credit issued by each State, passing at a discount and rarely ever received outside the limits of the State that issued them.

The economic defects of the Confederation early attracted the attention of Congress, and by 1783 serious efforts were made to find a remedy. The States were asked to amend the Articles of

Confederation and give Congress power for twenty-five years to lay an import duty of five per cent. *ad valorem* on all goods imported, save pepper, coffee, tea, and Madeira wines, on which specific duties were to be levied; and to regulate trade with foreign nations for a period of fifteen years. To secure such amendments required the consent of each of the thirteen States, which could not be obtained. Some of the States, meantime, proceeded to impose duties and restrictions for the regulation of foreign trade; but lack of uniformity and the failure of other States to follow their example practically defeated their purpose. American ships, excluded from the West Indies and confined to direct trade with Great Britain, could not compete with British ships which came over loaded with manufactured goods, took a cargo of American products to the West Indies, and thence home, freighted with the articles of West Indian production. Driven to desperation, Virginia in 1786 invited her sister States to send delegates to a convention at Annapolis to take into consideration the state of trade and commerce in the United States. Few attended, and the convention, under the lead of Hamilton, requested Congress to call another, which met at Philadelphia, and, abandoning all hope of amending the Articles of Confederation, framed the Constitution.

By that instrument Congress is invested with power to regulate trade with foreign nations, among the States and with the Indians; the States are forbidden to issue bills of credit or make anything but gold and silver legal tender; Congress has power to coin money, fix the value thereof, regulate the currency and lay taxes, duties, imposts and excises, all of which is the direct result of the experience gained in the dark days of 1783–1787.

With the adoption of the new Constitution and the establishment of a new government, conditions began to mend. A tariff was enacted; tonnage dues imposed; the debts incurred by the States in the war for independence were assumed, and together with the continental debt were funded; a bank, empowered to issue notes and to establish branches in the States, was chartered; a federal system of coinage was adopted, a mint established, and a census ordered to be taken in 1790. From that census it appears that there were living in the United States 3,929,000 people; that Virginia was the most populous State and Philadelphia the most populous city; that the five States of Virginia, Maryland, the two Carolinas and Georgia, or the planting States, contained nearly one-half the

population of the country, and that the people were moving westward from the seaboard along three well-defined routes. One, chiefly from New England, was pushing up the Mohawk Valley and had gone as far as Utica. Another was moving down the Ohio, peopling Kentucky and founding towns on the north bank of the Ohio. The third had entered the region about the headwaters of the Cumberland and had planted settlements at Nashville and along the Tennessee. Hard times which followed the peace, cheap lands in the west, imprisonment for debt, and the general economic condition of the country were the causes of this westward march.

The establishment of a strong government, the assumption and funding of the debts, the charter of the bank and the general financial policy of the government restored confidence. Money long in hiding was brought out and investment eagerly sought in corporate enterprises. State banks were chartered; five and twenty canals were planned and many started; turnpike companies were incorporated and manufacturing plants put up in many places. An era of industrial development opened, when, suddenly, France made war on Great Britain, opened her West Indian ports to neutral trade, and the whole course of our economic growth was changed. To put money into canals, bridges, turnpikes and wait till they were built for dividends, to be content with the small returns of a little factory when quick returns and large profits were to be made by loading a vessel with flour, grain, fish, barrel staves, lumber, and sending it to a port in the French Antilles, was poor business. Capital was, therefore, withdrawn from slow-going enterprises and invested in ships and cargoes. Canal building stopped, but one turnpike was finished and our tonnage rose from 201,000 tons in 1789 to 729,000 tons in 1795.

In this prosperity the South had little share. The foreign markets for her cotton, her tobacco, her rice, were Great Britain, France and Portugal. There, as a consequence, the westward movement of population was unchecked and her people streamed over the mountains into Kentucky and Tennessee. In the Middle and Eastern States the demand for ships and sailors, as well as for products of the soil, flour, grain, breadstuffs and lumber, gave increased employment to the people, checked the westward movement of emigrants or sent them into the valleys of the great rivers down which grain and lumber could be floated to a market, and commerce and agriculture flourished exceedingly.

With the rise of Napoleon to the First Consulship and the return of peace in Europe, this prosperity ended. Dull times returned. Congress adopted the credit system of selling lands with five years' exemption from taxation; population once more set westward, and in 1803 Ohio was admitted as a State in the Union. That year Napoleon declared war on Great Britain; that year we purchased Louisiana and relieved our countrymen in the Ohio valley from the trade restrictions imposed on them by Spain. Once more trade, commerce and agriculture flourished, and in four years' time we became the great neutral maritime power of the world, and our tonnage passed the million mark.

All the enterprise, all the energy, all the capital of the Eastern and the Middle States seemed to be centered in ships and commerce and in such products of the soil as found a ready foreign market, while manufactures languished and were suffered to fall into decay. So dependent were we on Great Britain for our china, glass, crockery, hardware, edge-tools, cottons, woolens, leather goods and a hundred other articles of daily use, that the duties paid annually on such imports from that country made up nearly half the gross revenue collected at the customs houses. Three results followed this growth of commerce. Demand for capital led to the steady increase of State banks. Demand for products for shipment led to the construction of turnpikes in grain-growing, flour-making States. The third was the attempt of Great Britain to pass this commerce through her customs houses for examination and license; the resistance of Napoleon, and that series of orders in council and French Decrees which led at last to retaliation from us. In 1807 the Long Embargo was laid, and for fifteen months not a ship sailed for a foreign port, and for part of this time even the coasting trade was suspended.

To us who look back, it is easy to see that this, although a political and financial blunder, was one of the greatest acts in all our economic history, for while it struck down commerce for the time being, it laid the foundation of American manufactures, set in motion those forces which made us independent of Europe industrially, as we are politically, and finally brought about protection of manufactures as a policy. Scarcely had the passage of the Embargo been made public, when associations were formed to provide for the manufacture of cotton and woolen goods. Associations whose members were pledged to use none but American made goods, if

they could be had at not more than 25 per cent. advance on the cost of British goods, sprang up, and when the various State legislatures met in 1808, a very important part of their work was incorporating Union Companies for the manufacture of woolen and cotton cloth. Taxes were remitted on their plants; mill and factory hands were exempt from jury and military duty; and as an example worthy of emulation members of several legislatures pledged themselves to attend the next sessions clothed from head to foot in articles of American manufacture. The lifting of the Embargo in 1809 and the restoration of trade with all the world save France and Great Britain threatened the life of many of these infant industries, and the hemp-growing, hemp-manufacturing State of Kentucky cried out to Congress for protection. But how was Congress to know what should be protected? No statistics of the kind, value or output of manufactures existed.

Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, therefore, was bidden to gather such information, and in 1810 made his report to Congress, with the suggestion that when the census was taken in 1810 the marshals and their deputies should collect the information Congress needed. This was done, but when the statistics thus collected, arranged, classified and digested, were presented to Congress, our country was on the eve of war. War followed, and for three years, our infant manufactures received additional stimulus on account of non-intercourse with Europe.

Great improvement meantime had been made in the means of transportation. Many large rivers had been bridged; several thousand miles of turnpike had been built in New England and the Middle States; the steamboat had appeared on the Hudson, the Delaware, Lake Champlain and Chesapeake Bay, and in 1811 the first on the western waters went from Pittsburg to New Orleans. One great highway to the west was up the Hudson, along the Mohawk and by canal and lake to Oswego; by sailing vessel to Lewiston; around Niagara Falls to Black Rock; by boat to Westport on Lake Erie, by land to Chautauqua Lake and by its outlet and the Allegheny to Pittsburg. A second route was across Pennsylvania from Philadelphia, and a third, from Cumberland on the Potomac to Wheeling on the Ohio, was under construction by the Federal Government. The journey from Boston to New York could now be made in forty-eight hours; from New York to Philadelphia in eleven hours; and from Boston to Washington in

four and a quarter days. Freight from Philadelphia to Pittsburg was twenty days on the way.

Thus was it that at the opening of the war three economic conditions pressed for treatment. The currency was in great disorder; the need of internal improvements and cheap transportation to the West was of vital importance to the East, and our manufactures were threatened with destruction by the competition of cheap foreign products. The refusal to recharter the United States Bank, the legislation of the States against small change notes put out by individuals and unincorporated associations (no bank in those days could issue notes below the denomination of one dollar), and the near approach of the day when many State banks must seek a renewal of their charters, brought up the question of State banking, in 1811, in almost every State in the Union. A wild mania for State banks swept over the country, and from 88 in 1811 the number rose to 208 in 1814, and that same year every one of them, outside of New England, suspended specie payments and brought the government and the people to bankruptcy.

The return of peace and the opening of our ports to British trade was followed by the arrival of fleets of British merchantmen loaded with the products of British mills. They came in charge of supercargoes and agents of the mills and factories, and as they were not consigned to merchants were sent to the auction room and sold in original packages, to the ruin of the American importer, wholesale merchant, ocean carrier and manufacturer, all of whom joined in a demand for protection. The response of Congress was the tariff of 1816, the first ever deliberately and systematically planned for the protection of American manufactures.

The suspension of specie payments in 1814, outside of New England, made the paper issues of the State banks the only circulating medium of the country and led Congress (1816) to charter a second Bank of the United States to serve as a safe depository of government revenue; to regulate the currency; to supply a uniform circulating medium and to aid in forcing the resumption of specie payments, which was brought about in 1817. Hard times now set in on the seaboard. The inflated prosperity, built up by the long war in Europe and at home, was gone. Again our ships were excluded from the British West Indies. The great carrying trade between the powers of Europe and their colonies now went in their own ships. Business readjustment on a domestic and a peace

basis was the order of the day. Trades, occupations, and pursuits of all kinds were affected, and the people, allured by cheap lands and no taxes for five years, went west by tens and hundreds of thousands to settle on the government domain. Never before had such an exodus been known. A great wave of emigrants rushed westward, and in five years' time Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Mississippi, and Missouri entered the Union as States. The census of 1820 showed that the population had risen to 9,633,000, that more than two million were west of the Alleghany Mountains, and that in every seaboard State save New York the ratio of increase of population had fallen since 1810.

The West from an economic point of view was now independent of the East. The products of its farms, mines and forests could, as of old, be floated down the Mississippi and its tributaries to New Orleans, exchanged there for the products of European mills and factories which, now that the steamboat had been introduced on the Mississippi, could be carried from New Orleans to St. Louis, to Cincinnati, to Pittsburg. If the cities of the East were to hold their Western trade cheaper means of transportation to Pittsburg must be secured, and the question of internal improvement at Federal expense rose to national importance. While Congress and the Presidents wrangled over the constitutional right of Congress to use money for such purposes, the States began to act. In 1817 New York broke ground for the Erie Canal and pushed its construction with such vigor that in 1825 a packet with De Witt Clinton on board left Buffalo, passed through the canal, went down the Hudson, and, in the harbor of New York, water from Lake Erie was emptied from a keg into the waters of the Atlantic. The effect of this canal was immediate. Pennsylvania in alarm began the construction of her system of canals and roads to join Philadelphia with Pittsburg; Maryland pushed her turnpikes to the Susquehanna, and to the national road at Cumberland; Virginia went seriously to work on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and Ohio began a like work between Cleveland and the Ohio River.

Meantime the beneficial effects expected of the tariff of 1816 had not been realized. Goods manufactured in Great Britain were sold for less than cost to agents of the manufacturer residing in our seaports. The bill of sale countersigned by the American consul of the port of shipment would be presented at the customs house, and on this valuation the duties were levied and the goods then

sent to auction. Such undervaluation broke down the tariff, manufactures declined, and in 1819 our country entered on one of the worst years of business depression we have ever known. Long afterwards it was spoken of "Eighteen Hundred-and-starve-to death." In 1819, therefore, tariff reform began again to be agitated, and in 1820, 1821, 1822, 1823 appeals for a new act were made to Congress. But not till 1824, when the Republican party had four candidates for the Presidency in the field, and when neither faction dared seriously oppose it, did a new bill pass Congress and the President. To the growers of wool and the manufacturers of wool the new tariff proved far from satisfactory, and in response to their call, a convention of manufacturers of all sorts of goods met at Harrisburg, in 1827, and urged a new tariff. Again Congress yielded, and in 1828 enacted the famous "Tariff of abominations." To any such legislation the planting States had long been opposed, and as early as 1825 South Carolina passed resolutions denying that Congress had power "to levy duties to protect domestic manufactures." Virginia made a like denial in 1826, and again in 1827. That same year both South Carolina and Georgia remonstrated, and in 1828 North Carolina, Alabama, South Carolina and Georgia, and in 1829, Mississippi and Virginia. So high did opposition rise in South Carolina that in the summer of 1830 the campaign for calling a convention to nullify the act of 1824 and 1826 was started in earnest. In 1832 Clay was a candidate for the Presidency, and alarmed at the attitude of the South toward the tariff, and persuaded that the extinction of the national debt, then near at hand, would make a revision of the tariff necessary, seized the opportunity and carried through the tariff of 1832. Duties to the amount of twelve millions annually were taken off, but the protective feature was retained, and in 1832 South Carolina nullified the tariffs of 1828 and 1832, and extorted from Congress the compromise tariff of 1833.

While the quarrel over the tariff was rapidly coming to a crisis, the President was constantly urging Congress to act on the Bank of the United States. In his opinion that Bank was unconstitutional, had failed to provide the country with a sound circulating medium, and ought not to have its charter continued after its lapse in 1836. That day was nearly seven years away, and a presidential election must intervene. But these facts made no difference to Jackson, and again and again he attacked the Bank in his annual

messages in 1829, 1830 and 1831. Clay, in 1831, as a candidate for the Presidency, was convinced that it would be good politics to make the question of re-charter an issue in the campaign, and in 1832 secured the passage of an act to extend the charter. Jackson vetoed it, the attempt to pass it over the veto failed, and the question of bank or no bank went to the people. The triumph of Jackson at the election in 1832 settled the issue, and considering his reëlection an instruction from the people, he went on with his attack, and in October, 1833, ordered that in future the government money should be deposited in such State banks as the Secretary of the Treasury might designate.

Fear that the deposits in the Bank of the United States would be withdrawn at once and in bulk brought on a period of restriction of discount and loans, and in 1834 the business world was forced to meet a money famine. As it became apparent that the deposits in the Bank of the United States were not to be removed, but drawn out gradually to meet current expenses, alarm subsided and the money market went back to normal conditions.

Our countrymen were then engaged in improving and developing every known means of internal communication. Turnpikes were being built, canals dug, and in 1828 ground was broken for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and before Jackson went out of office more than three thousand miles of canal and as many more of railroad were in operation. The rapid increase of manufacturing establishments, the growth of cities, the construction of canals and railroads had been followed by an immense increase in the number of the working class. The sons and daughters of farmers went by thousands into the mills and factories, thousands of skilled workmen came from abroad and thousands more of unskilled laborers were imported to work on the railroads and canals. The first effect of all this was the entrance into politics, between 1828 and 1831, of the workingmen in the large cities, and demands for lien laws, common schools, better wages and payment in good money; an increase in trades unions from 1830 to 1833; the formation in 1833 of General Trades Unions in the chief cities; demands for better wages, a working day from six in the morning to six in the evening with one hour for breakfast and another for dinner and no prison-made goods, followed by innumerable strikes to secure their demands. In Philadelphia in 1835 the ten-hour day was secured.

The year 1835 is made memorable by the extinction of the national debt and the entrance of the country on a wild career of speculation. Starting with a debt of $75,000,000 in 1790, Congress set apart as a sinking fund for its payment the proceeds of sales of the public lands, and the surplus revenue from duties on imports and tonnage and the interest on bonds purchased; and in 1792 appointed the president of the Senate, the Chief Justice and the Attorney General commissioners to use the sinking fund to pay the debt. The funds thus set apart were never large, and no important reduction was made in the amount of the debt, till, in Gallatin's time, a new principle was introduced. After 1802 a specified sum was annually appropriated to the sinking fund, and then the debt began to decrease rapidly. After the war with Great Britain the yearly appropriation was increased, and from $127,000,000 in 1816 the debt melted away to nothing on January 1, 1835.

Our country had never before been so prosperous. Cities were being rebuilt and spreading in area. Railroads and canals had multiplied in number, had opened up to markets sections of country till then isolated, had reduced the cost of transportation and had increased the assessed valuation of farm land for purpose of State taxation. Money was plentiful and made cheaper yet by the incorporation of new and the increase in the capital of old banks and a great inflation of paper currency. The dislike of the President and his party leaders to paper money and the discovery of small gold mines in Georgia and Carolina had led, in 1834, to a new coinage law and an attempt to force specie small change into circulation. It now became the fashion, therefore, to legislate against banknotes of small denominations, and by 1836 eleven States had forbidden the issue of bank bills under five dollars. This had no effect on large borrowers, and the country entered on an era of speculation. Stocks of banks, railroads, canals, manufacturing and improvement companies, as well as bonds of the States, were now becoming objects of speculation, and the terms "Bulls" and "Bears" became familiar to the people for the first time in our history. Everybody was investing and speculating. Timber lands in Maine, real estate in the cities, suburban farms cut into lots, brought prices that seemed fabulous. That the public lands should escape was impossible. When not sold at auction, the price was $1.25 an acre, and at that price speculators hastened to buy. From $4,000,000 in 1834 the proceeds of land sales rose to $14,000,000

in 1835, and to $24,000,000 in 1836. Speculation in foreign goods had been quite as wild, and though the tariff had suffered a reduction in 1833 and another in 1835, the receipts from customs dues rose from $16,000,000 in 1834 to $23,000,000 in 1836.

These two sources of revenue, the land sales and the customs, rolled up a surplus of $42,000,000, all of which, save $5,000,000, was distributed among the States in 1837. The removal of the surplus from the five and thirty banks in which it was deposited to such others as the States designated forced a stoppage of loans and discounts, brought on a general liquidation of debt, a suspension of specie payment, and precipitated the panic of 1837, which would probably have come later from other causes. The fourth installment of the distribution fund was suspended, the government was again plunged in debt and four years of hard times followed.

The quarter century which ended with 1840 was one of great mechanical improvement. It was during this period that fire bricks, paper made from hay and straw, penknives, axes, chisels, and edged tools were first manufactured in our country; that boards were first planed by machine; that Fairbanks invented the platform scales; that ether was discovered; that Howe made and sold the first lock-stitch sewing machine; that Morse invented the recording telegraph; that steel pens and friction matches came into use; that Colt invented the revolver; and that the reaper was given its first public trial; that the art of burning anthracite coal was discovered; that the railroad was introduced and the steamboat greatly developed; that omnibuses appeared in the large cities; that steam navigation of the Atlantic began; and schemes of all sorts were considered and attempts made to build a canal across Panama.

In the decade from 1840 to 1850 Texas was annexed, the north boundary of Oregon was settled, the war with Mexico fought, an immense territory taken from Mexico was added to our domain, gold was discovered in California, and the first State on the Pacific Coast was admitted to the Union. During this decade express companies were organized, postage stamps were introduced, the sewing machine was made a success by Howe, electric telegraph lines were put in operation, the daguerreotype introduced, and vulcanized india rubber made by Goodyear. Until 1850 the people had moved steadily westward. Between 1821 and 1836 the steamboat, better roads, canals and the railroad had checked the movement across the Mississippi, had led to a filling up of the Western States, and

during sixteen years no new State was admitted into the Union. In 1836 Arkansas and in 1837 Michigan came into the Union. The addition of two slave States, Florida and Texas, in 1845 made necessary the admission of two free States, so Iowa entered in 1846 and Wisconsin in 1848.

Thus far each State created had touched some other east, north, or south of it. With the rush of gold-seekers to California in 1849 and the admission of California in 1850, a State existed parted by nearly two thousand miles of almost uninhabited desert from the nearest State to the eastward.

This condition gave serious importance to the long-urged plan of Asa Whitney for a railroad to the Pacific, and in 1853 five routes between latitude 32° and 49° were ordered surveyed. Jefferson Davis, then Secretary of War, recommended the most southern route in 1855, and the platforms of both the Republican and Democratic parties in 1856 called for a railroad to the Pacific. But local jealousy defeated a choice of routes and the decade ended with nothing done.

Meantime gold was discovered (1858) on the eastern slopes of the Rockies, a wild rush set in for Pike's Peak, and in a few months Denver was a town of a thousand people with a daily line of coaches to Leavenworth. In 1860 Denver was a city of frame and brick houses with two theaters, two newspapers and a mint. That same year a pony express spanned the plains and mountains from the Missouri to San Francisco, and the overland coach soon followed.

The war made quick communication with the Pacific more imperative than ever, the secession of the Southern States eliminated the contest for the southern route, and in 1862 the Union Pacific and Central Pacific were chartered to build, the one westward and the other eastward, till they met. Construction began in 1866, and in 1869 a line of rails stretched from Omaha to Sacramento. What gold did for California and Denver, silver and the railroad did for the country east of the Sierras. In 1859 the rich mines on Mt. Davidson were discovered, population rushed thither, Virginia City sprang up, and Nevada was made a Territory in 1861. In 1861 Colorado Territory was organized, and out of what are now the two Dakotas and Montana was formed Dakota Territory. Scarcely had this been done when gold was found on the Jefferson Fork of the Missouri River, and Bannock City, Virginia City and Helena were founded, and Montana became a Territory in 1864.

Precious metals were discovered in 1862 in what was then eastern Washington, and Boise City, Idaho City, and Lewiston became thriving towns, and in 1863 Idaho Territory was formed. Before the decade ended Arizona and Wyoming were Territories; Nebraska and Nevada were States and Alaska had been purchased from Russia; the production of petroleum had become an important industry; a cable joined the Old World and the New, and the labor system of the South had been changed by the war from slave to free.

With the close of the war our countrymen entered a new era of industrial development, which far surpassed any that went before. During the fifteen years 1865–1880, dynamite, the barbed wire fence, the Gatling gun were introduced, the compressed-air rock drill, the Westinghouse brake, the Janney car coupler, the cable car system, the machine for making tin cans, the electric light, the electric motor, electric railway, the phonograph and telephone, the gas engine, the passenger elevator, the typewriter and many more mechanical devices which have transformed the business and social life of the people.

Trades, industries, and corporations were multiplied, and financial and labor issues became the questions of the hour. The short voyage and low fares from Europe, prosperity and good wages in our own country, brought thousands each year from the Old World to swell the ranks of labor in the New. Between 1867 and 1873, 2,500,000 emigrants reached our shores. The little trades unions of 1840 were now swallowed up in "The Noble Order of Knights of Labor," demanding labor bureaus; government ownership of telephones, telegraphs, and railroads; an eight hour day; no convict labor; no importation of labor under contract; reservation of the public domain for actual settlers, and regulation of interstate commerce. The demands were heard, and in 1885 came the anti-contract labor law; in 1887 the Interstate Commerce Act; in 1888 the Department of Labor, and a second and more stringent Anti-Chinese law. These matters disposed of a growing surplus, brought financial issues to the front, and the Mills Bill, the Sherman Act, the McKinley tariff, the Wilson Bill and the Dingley tariff followed. Then another era of expansion opened. In 1898 Hawaii was annexed, and in the same year Tutuila, Porto Rico, Guam, Wake and the Philippines were acquired, thus carrying our domain across the Pacific to the doors of China.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

For an elaborate general bibliography of the literature of American history the reader is referred to Channing and Hart's "Guide to American History," published in 1896. Scholarly bibliographies of source material dealing with the early period, accompanied by critical notes, are to be found in Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History" (8 volumes, Boston, 1886–1889). A valuable list of histories, documents, records, biographies and other material relating to special phases and periods of American history, political, economic and social, may be found in the "Cambridge Modern History" (Vol. VII., New York, 1903). The value of this list is impaired, however, by the occasional carelessness in giving authors' names and the frequent inaccuracy in quoting titles. A full and useful bibliography, dealing not only with the history of the United States, but with the Western Continent in general, is contained in J. N. Larned's "Literature of American History" (Boston, 1902). Van Tyne and Leland's "Guide to the Archives of the United States" (Washington, 1905) contains a careful review of the character and location of various historical records, manuscript and printed, at the national capital.

GENERAL HISTORIES OF THE UNITED STATES

There is almost no single comprehensive history of America from the discovery to the present time. A 28-volume series designed to meet such a want is "The American Nation," now in course of preparation under the editorship of A. B. Hart, with the coöperation of a group of historical scholars. Several volumes have already appeared, and when completed it will be the most comprehensive general history of this country in existence. Woodrow Wilson's "History of the American People" (5 volumes, New York, 1902) is perhaps the nearest approach to such a work that has as yet appeared. Written with a forceful style, exhibiting a breadth of view and a spirit of impartiality rarely excelled by historians, the work nevertheless suffers in that it is too general in character. It is too much an appreciation of men and measures and too little a consecutive narrative of facts for the average reader. What gives promise of a most excellent History of the United States is Channing's new work, one volume of which, covering the period of discovery and colonization, has recently appeared. An older general history is Bryant and Gay's "Popular History of the United States" (5 volumes, New York, 1870–1881). It covers the period from 1492 to 1870, is written in an interesting style, but lacks perspective and is besides largely out of date. A recently published one-volume history of particular value for advanced students is the "Cambridge Modern History" (New York, 1903), planned by the late Lord Acton of Cambridge University, and consisting of a series of essays by English and American specialists. Aside from the inevitable duplication and lack of continuity and proportion in a work so planned and executed, it has all the merits of a monographic history written by eminent specialists. John Clark Ridpath's "Popular History of the United States," T. W. Higginson's "Larger History of the United States," Goldwin

Smith's "History of the United States," and H. W. Elson's "History of the United States" (New York, 1904) are popular one-volume works dealing with the entire field from the discovery to recent times. Of these the latest and best is Elson's book. It is written in a popular style, with proper regard to perspective, and is fairly free from errors of fact.

Another one-volume history of unusual merit, but less of a popular character, is Edward Channing's "Student's History of the United States." A. B. Hart's "American History Told by Contemporaries" (4 volumes) gives a general view of American history by means of a series of well-selected extracts from various source material, and is an invaluable supplement to the other standard accounts. The "American Statesman Series" (32 volumes, Boston, 1898), affords a general account of American history during the national period as told in the lives of American statesmen. The series is uniform and indexed. The different volumes also appeared separately. Another series of considerable merit, and which in time promises to constitute a general history of the United States, is the "American Commonwealth," edited by Horace E. Scudder. A number of excellent volumes have appeared and others are promised.

GENERAL HISTORIES OF PARTICULAR PERIODS

Of the histories of the early period, the first and most noteworthy is George Bancroft's "History of the United States" (6 volumes, Boston, 1834–1874). It covers the field from 1492 to 1789, and for many years was the standard authority on early American history. Although still valuable, it has been largely superseded by the work of later historical investigators who had access to records and other sources which were not available to historical students in Bancroft's day. The period from the discovery to the year 1821 is covered by Richard Hildreth in his "History of the United States" (6 volumes, New York, 1851–1856). Like Bancroft's history, it has been largely superseded by the more accurate works of later historians, but for a long time it was regarded as a standard authority. Among the defects of Hildreth's history may be mentioned the unattractiveness of the author's style and his strong Federalist partisanship. The history of French exploration and colonization in America and the struggle with the English for supremacy in the great valleys of North America has been charmingly told by Francis Parkman in twelve volumes under various titles (Boston, 1865–1892). The most important of these are his "Montcalm and Wolfe" (2 volumes), "Half Century of Conflict" (2 volumes), and "Pioneers of New France" (1 volume). It is doubtful if any American historical writer has written with a greater charm of style or with more accuracy than Parkman. A comprehensive history of the United States from 1784 to 1844 is John Bach McMaster's "History of the People of the United States" (6 volumes, New York, 1883–1904, to be completed to the Civil War). A distinctive merit of McMaster's work is the emphasis which is given to social and material development of the people, but it is defective in that it lacks consecutiveness of treatment, exaggerates the importance of minor incidents and fails to show the influence upon the national development of great political movements and of great men. A work of greater monumental character is Hermann Von Holst's "Constitutional History of the United States, 1783–1861," (8 volumes, Chicago, 1876–1892, translated from the German by J. J. Lalor). This is a painstaking work, showing evidence of great research and originality of thought, but also of strong bias and lack of sympathy with American institutions. It deals mainly with the slavery controversy, which in the mind of the author dominated all other questions. A work covering substantially the same period is James

Schouler's "History of the United States, 1780–1865" (6 volumes, New York, 1891). Dealing with political, constitutional and social movements, it has certain merits in which both McMaster's and Von Holst's works are lacking. An unusually excellent history is James Ford Rhodes's "History of the United States Since the Compromise of 1850" (5 volumes, New York, 1893–1905). The author devotes two volumes to the decade immediately preceding the Civil War, three volumes to the war and the beginning of reconstruction (1866) and a final volume is to bring the work down to 1878. Rhodes's history is singularly free from traces of bias and partisanship, shows evidence of the most painstaking research and is on the whole attractively written.

Henry Adams's "History of the United States" (9 volumes, New York, 1889–1891) covers the brief period of Jefferson's and Madison's administrations. Hardly any other period of American history has been so thoroughly and well written and it is a matter of regret that the author has not seen fit to continue his work. A monument of scholarship and indefatigable research is Justin Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History" (8 volumes), covering the period from the year 1000 to 1849, and consisting mainly of essays by specialists and accompanied by critical bibliographical notes by Mr. Winsor. General histories of the Civil War are T. A. Dodge's "Bird's-eye View of the Civil War"; John C. Ropes's "Story of the Civil War"; J. W. Burgess's "The Constitution and the Civil War," and "The Century War Book," "Battles and Leaders" (4 large volumes, written by commanders of both sides and containing valuable statistical information relative to the military strength of both armies.). The best general histories of the period subsequent to the Civil War are W. A. Dunning's "Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction," J. W. Burgess's "The Constitution and Reconstruction," and E. B. Andrews's "The History of the United States" (2 volumes) and "The History of the United States in Our Own Time," by the same author (1 volume).

Notable works on special topics are: Edward Stanwood's "History of the Presidency," containing reprints of all national party platforms, together with tables of electoral and popular votes for presidential candidates; A. de Tocqueville's "Democracy in America" (translated from the French by H. Reeve), an appreciative study of American institutions by an intelligent foreign observer seventy years ago; George T. Curtis's "Constitutional History of the United States" (2 volumes), an illuminating treatise by a famous lawyer; J. A. Jameson's "The Constitutional Convention," a scholarly study of the process of constitution-making; F. N. Thorpe's "Constitutional History of the American People" (2 volumes); also his "Constitutional History of the United States" (3 volumes); "The Federalist," a commentary on the Constitution of the United States by Alexander Hamilton, John Jay and James Madison (various editions); J. L. Bishop's "History of American Manufactures" (3 volumes); A. S. Bolles, "Financial History of the United States" (3 volumes); D. R. Dewey, "Financial History of the United States"; F. W. Taussig, "Tariff History of the United States"; J. W. Foster, "A Century of American Diplomacy" and "American Diplomacy in the Orient"; John Bassett Moore, "History and Digest of the International Arbitrations to Which the United States Has Been a Party" (6 volumes); H. L. Carson, "History of the Supreme Court of the United States"; George E. Howard, "Introduction to the Local Constitutional History of the United States"; E. S. Maclay, "History of the United States Navy" (3 volumes); M. C. Tyler, "Literary History of the American Revolution" (2 volumes); B. Wendell, "Literary History of America"; F. G. Dexter, "History of Education in the United States"; T. MacCoun, "Historical Geography of the United States"; B. A. Hinsdale, "The Old Northwest"; Campbell,

"The Puritan in England, Holland and America"; T. Roosevelt, "The Winning of the West" (4 volumes); W. M. Meigs, "Growth of the Constitution"; C. E. Stevens, "Sources of the Constitution"; Judson Landon, "Constitutional History of the United States"; R. H. C. Catterall, "The United States Bank"; T. Dwight, "The Hartford Convention"; J. P. Gordy, "History of Political Parties" (4 volumes); W. F. McCaleb, "The Aaron Burr Conspiracy"; C. W. Loring, "Nullification and Secession"; D. W. Houston, "Critical Study of Nullification"; R. M. Ormsby, "History of the Whig Party"; George W. Williams, "History of the Negro Race in America"; E. D. Warfield, "Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions"; W. H. Siebert, "The Underground Railroad"; S. W. Cobb, "Rise of Religious Liberty in America"; C. H. McCarthy, "Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction"; J. L. M. Curry, "The Southern States of the American Union"; also "History of the Government of the Confederate States"; J. M. Callahan, "Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy"; C. Cushing, "The Treaty of Washington"; L. M. Keasby, "The Nicaragua Canal and the Monroe Doctrine."

For the European background of American History and the play of international forces that have so profoundly affected our history, the student must turn to the histories of other countries. The most valuable of these in English, for the Colonial and subsequent period, are included in the splendid works of the English historical writers. The following brief list includes the most important works: H. C. Lea, "Chapters from the Religious History of Spain"; Edwin Pears, "The Destruction of the Greek Empire and the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks" (2 volumes); A. J. Grant, "The French Monarchy, 1483–1789"; P. J. Blok, "History of the People of the Netherlands" (3 volumes), in part translated by Ruth Putnam; C. R. Beazley, "Prince Henry the Navigator"; C. M. Daviess, "History of Holland and of the Dutch Nation" (3 volumes); W. Busch, "England Under the Tudors"; J. S. Brewer, "Reign of Henry VIII." (2 volumes); J. A. Froude, "History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Armada" (12 volumes); A. F. Pollard, "England Under Protector Somerset"; S. R. Gardiner, "History of England from 1603–1642" (10 volumes), "History of the Great Civil War, 1642–1649" (4 volumes), and "History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate" (3 volumes); Leopold von Ranke, "History of England Principally in the Seventeenth Century" (6 volumes); Samuel Hopkins, "The Puritans and Queen Elizabeth"; (3 volumes); A. B. Hinds, "The England of Elizabeth"; J. P. Prendergast, "The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland"; H. Green, "The Scotch-Irish in America"; G. P. Gooch, "English Democratic Ideas of the Seventeenth Century"; C. G. Walpole, "The Kingdom of Ireland"; W. A. Shaw, "The English Church During the Reformation"; Lord Macaulay, "History of England from the Accession of James II." (8 volumes); Earl Stanhope, "History of England, 1701–1713" (2 volumes); Lord Mahon, "History of England, 1713–1783" (7 volumes); W. E. H. Lecky, "History of England in the Eighteenth Century" (8 volumes); Harriet Martineau, "History of England from the Beginning of the XIX. Century to the Crimean War" (4 volumes); Horace Walpole, "George III." (2 volumes); also "History of England from 1815" (6 volumes); L. S. Pike, "Constitutional History of the House of Lords"; A. V. Dicey, "The Privy Council"; Crawson and Keane, "The Early English Chartered Companies"; Henry Hallam, "Constitutional History of England" (3 volumes); H. E. Egerton, "Short History of British Colonial Policy"; J. R. Seeley, "Expansion of England"; W. N. Massey, "History of England During the Reign of George III." (4 volumes); John Morley, "Life of W. E. Gladstone" (3 volumes).

HISTORIES OF SPECIAL PERIODS

THE ABORIGINES: D. G. Brinton, "The American Race"; G. Catlin, "Manners, Customs, etc., of the American Indians" (6 volumes, London, 1841); H. H. Bancroft, "Native Races of the Pacific States" (5 volumes); S. G. Drake, "The Aboriginal Races of North America"; George E. Ellis, "The Red Man and White Man"; George B. Grinnell, "Story of the Indian"; R. I. Dodge, "Our Wild Indians"; N. S. Shaler, "Nature and Man in America"; Farrand, "Basis of American History"; James Adair, "History of the American Indians"; Lucien Biart, "The Aztecs, Their History, Manners and Customs"; E. M. Chadwick, "The People of the Long House"; W. H. Dall, "Tribes of the Extreme Northwest"; N. O. G. Nordenskiöld, "The Cliff Dwellers of the Mesa Verde, Southwest Colorado"; E. M. Ruttenber, "History of the Indian Tribes of Hudson's River"; F. S. Hellenbaugh, "North Americans of Yesterday"; H. R. Schoolcraft, "American Indians"; J. A. Teit, "The Thompson River Indians"; J. G. E. Heckwelder, "History of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States"; L. H. Morgan, "Ancient Society"; Frederick Starr, "First Steps in Human Progress" and "The American Indian"; E. B. Tylor, "Primitive Culture" (2 volumes); H. C. Yarrow, "Introduction to the Study of Mortuary Customs among the North American Indians"; see also the Reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology and the Annual Reports of the Smithsonian Institution, as these contain the results of the most recent investigation.

DISCOVERY, EXPLORATION AND COLONIZATION: In addition to general accounts mentioned above, the following brief list of special works will be of assistance to students who wish more detailed information than is given in the above general accounts.

Spanish.— John Fiske, "Discovery of America" (2 volumes); H. Harrisse, "Christopher Columbus"; Henry Vignaud, "Toscanelli and Columbus"; H. H. Bancroft, "History of Central America and of Mexico" (3 volumes); Washington Irving, "Life and Voyages of Columbus" (a work of great literary value and at the same time the result of careful investigation); C. K. Adams, "Christopher Columbus"; A. F. A. Bandelier, "Contributions to the History of the Southwestern Portion of the United States"; Bernard Moses, "The Establishment of Spanish Rule in America"; W. Rossher, "The Spanish Colonial System"; Arthur Helps, "The Spanish Conquest in America"; Grace King, "De Soto and His Men"; J. B. Thatcher, "Christopher Columbus" (3 volumes); C. R. Markham, "Life of Christopher Columbus"; F. H. H. Guillemard, "Life of Ferdinand Magellan and the First Circumnavigation of the Globe"; E. G. Bourne, "Narrative of Hernando de Soto"; G. P. Winship, "The Coronado Expedition, 1540–1542" (in United States Bureau of Ethnology, 14th Annual Report).

French.— William Kingsford, "History of Canada" (10 volumes); Francis Parkman, "The Jesuits in North America," "La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West," "The Old Régime in Canada," "Count Frontenac and New France Under Louis XIV.," and "The Conspiracy of Pontiac" (2 volumes); H. H. Miles, "History of Canada Under French Régime"; A. B. Hurlburt, "Historic Highways of North America" (15 volumes); A. G. Bradley, "Fight with France for North America"; W. C. H. Wood, "The Fight for Canada"; G. D. Warburton, "Conquest of Canada" (2 volumes); J. P. Baxter, "Pioneers of France in New England"; Edouard Richard, "Acadia" (2 volumes); J. G. Bourinot, "Historical and Descriptive Account of Cape Breton"; Beckles Wilson, "The

Great Company [The Hudson Bay Company]"; J. R. Simms, "Frontiersmen of New York" (2 volumes); T. J. Chapman, "The French in the Allegheny Valley"; Silas Farmer, "History of Detroit and Michigan"; S. S. Hebbard, "Wisconsin Under French Dominion"; Joseph Wallace, "Illinois and Louisiana Under French Rule"; Justin Winsor, "Cartier to Frontenac"; H. P. Biggar, "Early Trading Companies of New France"; C. W. Butterfield, "History of Brule's Discoveries and Explorations, 1610–1636"; A. G. Doughty, "The Siege of Quebec and the Battle of the Plains of Abraham" (6 volumes); R. G. Thwaites, "Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents" (73 volumes); C. H. Farnam, "Life of Francis Parkman."

English and other Nations, General Works. — B. R. Anderson, "America Not Discovered by Columbus"; N. L. Beamish, "Discovery of America by the Northmen"; B. F. de Costa, "Pre-Columbian Discovery of America by the Northmen"; A. M. Reeves, "The Finding of Wineland the Good"; C. F. Slafter, "Voyages of the Northmen to North America"; J. A. Doyle, "The English in America" (3 volumes); H. C. Lodge, "The English Colonies in America"; Edward Eggleston, "Beginners of a Nation"; G. P. Fisher, "The Colonial Era"; Herbert Osgood, "The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century" (2 volumes); R. G. Thwaites, "The Colonies"; E. J. Payne, "History of America" (2 volumes); Edmund Burke, "Account of English Settlements in America" (2 volumes); George Chalmers, "Political Annals of the Present United Colonies," and his Introduction to the "History of the Revolt of the American Colonies" (2 volumes); E. B. Greene, "The Provincial Governor"; John Oldmixon, "British Empire in America" (2 volumes); Edward Channing, "History of the United States," Vol. I.; H. E. Egerton, "A Short History of British Colonial Policy"; H. R. F. Bourne, "English Seamen under the Tudors."

New England. — J. G. Palfrey, "History of New England" (4 volumes); John Fiske, "The Beginnings of New England"; C. F. Adams, "Three Episodes of Massachusetts History" (2 volumes); Thomas Hutchinson, "History of Massachusetts" (2 volumes); William Bradford, "History of Plymouth Plantation"; E. B. Richman, "Rhode Island, Its Making and Meaning" (2 volumes); E. E. Atwater, "History of the Colony of New Haven to Its Absorption into Connecticut"; John Brown, "The Pilgrim Fathers of New England"; John Winthrop, "History of New England" (2 volumes); W. D. Williamson, "History of Maine" (2 volumes); Jeremy Belknap, "History of New Hampshire" (3 volumes); C. A. Baker, "True Stories of New England Captives Carried to Canada During the Old French and Indian War"; S. A. Drake, "Border Wars of New England," and his "Making of New England"; S. G. Drake, "Annals of Witchcraft in New England"; J. A. Goodwin, "The Pilgrim Republic"; G. E. Ellis, "Puritan Age and Rule in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay"; W. E. Griffis, "The Pilgrims in Their Three Homes, England, Holland and America"; B. H. Hall, "History of Eastern Vermont to the Close of the Eighteenth Century"; William Hubbard, "General History of New England to 1680"; also "History of the Indian Wars in New England"; G. R. Minot, "Continuation of the History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, 1748–1765" (2 volumes); Benjamin Trumbull, "Complete History of Connecticut" (2 volumes); W. Upham, "Salem Witchcraft"; J. N. Arnold, "History of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation" (2 volumes); C. M. Andrews, "River Towns of Connecticut"; Alexander Johnston, "Connecticut"; G. H. Levermore, "Republic of New Haven."

The Middle Colonies. — John Fiske, "Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America" (2 volumes); W. R. Shepherd, "History of Proprietary Government in

Pennsylvania"; William Smith, "History of New York"; Samuel Smith, "History of the Colony of New Jersey"; Robert Proud, "History of Pennsylvania" (2 volumes); J. R. Broadhead, "History of New York" (2 volumes); W. J. Lamb, "History of the City of New York"; T. Roosevelt, "New York"; W. H. Eager, "History of Pennsylvania"; A. C. Dayton, "Last Days of Knickerbocker Life in New York"; S. G. Fisher, "The Making of Pennsylvania"; Charles Miner, "History of Wyoming" [Valley]; J. O. Raum, "History of New Jersey" (2 volumes); E. H. Roberts, "New York" (2 volumes); F. H. Severance, "Old Trails on the Niagara Frontier"; Isaac Sharpless, "A History of Quaker Government in Pennsylvania" (2 volumes); I. A. Mulford, "A Civil and Political History of New Jersey."

The Southern Colonies.—J. L. Bozman, "History of Maryland" (2 volumes); Bernard Steiner, "Beginnings of Maryland"; J. F. Scharf, "History of Maryland" (3 volumes); E. D. Neil, "Founders of Maryland"; W. H. Browne, "History of Maryland"; N. D. Mereness, "Maryland as a Proprietary Province"; John Fiske, "Old Virginia and Her Neighbors"; William Stith, "History of Virginia" (covers the period of the London Company); Robert Beverly, "History of Virginia" (extends to Spotswood's administration); E. D. Neil, "History of the Virginia Company of London"; J. D. Burk, "History of Virginia" (4 volumes); Charles Campbell, "History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia"; Alexander Brown, "Genesis of the United States of America"; also his "First Republic in America"; Edward McCrady, "History of South Carolina under the Proprietary Government"; also his "History of South Carolina under the Royal Government"; W. J. Rivers, "Sketch of the History of South Carolina"; W. R. Smith, "South Carolina as a Royal Province"; F. L. Hawks, "History of North Carolina" (2 volumes); C. L. Raper, "North Carolina"; W. B. Stevens, "History of Georgia" (2 volumes); C. C. Jones, "History of Georgia" (2 volumes); Edward Arber, "Works of Captain John Smith."

Church and State.—C. F. Adams, "Antinomianism in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay"; James Corwithien, "History of the Church of England"; S. H. Cobb, "Rise of Religious Liberty in America"; Daniel Neal, "History of the Puritans"; J. S. M. Anderson, "History of the Church of England in the Colonies" (3 volumes); W. S. Perry, "History of the American Episcopal Church" (2 volumes); William Mead, "Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia" (2 volumes); A. L. Cross, "The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies"; P. E. Laurer, "Church and State in New England"; R. P. Hallowell, "Quaker Invasion of Massachusetts"; J. B. Felt, "Ecclesiastical History of New England" (2 volumes); I. Backus, "History of New England with Particular Reference to the Baptists"; C. W. Upham, "Salem Witchcraft" (2 volumes); Williston Walker, "Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism"; C. C. Tiffany, "History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America."

Social and Economic Life.—P. A. Bruce, "Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century" (2 volumes); W. B. Weeden, "Economic and Social History of New England" (2 volumes); Alice Morse Earle, "Home Life in Colonial Days"; J. H. Fassett, "Colonial Life in New Hampshire"; J. B. Felt, "Customs of New England"; Andrew Burnaby, "Travels through the Middle Settlements of North America, 1759–1760"; Charles Coffin, "Old Times in the Colonies"; G. P. Fisher, "The Colonial Era"; S. G. Fisher, "Men, Women, and Manners in Colonial Times"; C. J. Bullock, "Essays on the Monetary History of the United States"; A. McF. Davis, "Currency and Banking in Massachusetts Bay" (American Economic Association Publications,

3d series, Vol. I, No. 4, and Vol. II., No. 2); Josiah Quincy, "History of Harvard University" (2 volumes); W. L. Kingsley, "Yale College" (2 volumes); G. L. Beer, "Commercial Policy of England toward the Colonies"; Edward Channing, "Navigation Laws"; E. K. Oman, "Industrial History of the United States."

Biographies. — R. Beazley, "John and Sebastian Cabot"; E. Edwards, "Life of Sir Walter Raleigh"; Julian Corbett, "Drake and the Tudor Navy"; G. L. Walker, "Thomas Hooker"; Steele, "Life and Times of William Brewster"; A. P. Marvin, "Life and Times of Cotton Mather"; W. L. Poole, "Cotton Mather and Salem Witchcraft"; N. A. Chamberlain, "Samuel Sewall and the World He Lived In"; Mrs. N. M. Tiffany, "Samuel E. Sewall, a Memoir"; J. K. Hosmer, "Life of Young Sir Harry Vane"; Romeo Elton, "Life of Roger Williams"; J. D. Knowles, "Memoir of Roger Williams"; J. H. Twichell, "John Winthrop, First Governor of Massachusetts Colony"; R. C. Winthrop, "Life and Letters of John Winthrop"; A. C. Buell, "Life of Sir William Johnson"; Robert Wright, "Memoir of General James Oglethorpe"; T. Clarkson, "Memoir of William Penn" (2 volumes); W. H. Brown, "George and Cecilius Calvert"; H. Bruce, "Life of Oglethorpe"; Southey, "John Hawkins"; Robert Wright, "Life of Major General James Wolfe."

Period of the Revolution. — John Fiske, "The American Revolution" (2 volumes); Sir George Otto Trevelyan, "The American Revolution" (3 volumes); H. C. Lodge, "The Story of the Revolution" (2 volumes); S. G. Fisher, "The True History of the Revolution"; W. M. Sloane, "The French War and the Revolution"; B. J. Lossing, "Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution"; C. H. Van Tyne, "The American Revolution"; also his "Loyalists in the Revolution"; W. E. H. Lecky, "The American Revolution (reprinted from Vols. III. and IV. of his "History of England in the Eighteenth Century"); G. W. Greene, "Historical View of the Revolution"; also his "German Element in the War of American Independence"; E. J. Lowell, "The Hessians in the Revolution"; C. J. Bullock, "Financial History of the Revolution"; Victor Coffin, "The Quebec Act"; H. Friedenwald, "The Declaration of Independence"; A. L. Frothingham, "Rise of the Republic"; L. C. Hatch, "Administration of the American Revolutionary Army"; William Kingsford, "History of Canada" (15 volumes); E. E. Hale, "Franklin in France"; Edward McCrady, "South Carolina in the Revolution"; F. D. Stone, "Invasion of Canada in 1775"; W. H. Trescot, "Diplomacy of the Revolution"; J. A. Woodburn, "Causes of the Revolution"; H. P. Judson, "The Growth of the American Nation"; B. C. Steiner, "Western Maryland in the Revolution"; J. S. Jones, "Defence of the Revolutionary History of North Carolina"; William Moultrie, "Memoirs of the American Revolution so Far as It Related to North and South Carolina and Virginia"; David Ramsay, "History of the Revolution in South Carolina" (2 volumes); Thomas Jones, "History of New York in the Revolution" (2 volumes); William Gordon, "History of the Rise, Progress and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America" (4 volumes); Charles Stedman, "History of the Rise, Progress and Termination of the American War" (2 volumes); A. C. Flick, "Loyalism in New York"; A. E. Ryerson, "Loyalists of America and Their Times"; C. E. Merriam, "History of American Political Theories"; H. B. Carrington, "Battles of the American Revolution" (2 volumes); Richard Frothingham, "History of the Siege of Boston"; J. H. Smith, "Arnold's March from Cambridge to Quebec"; H. P. Johnston, "The Yorktown Campaign and the Surrender of Cornwallis, 1781"; W. L. Stone, "The Campaign of Burgoyne and the Expedition of St. Leger"; C. K. Bolton, "The Private Soldier under Washington"; John R.

Spears, "History of Our Navy, 1775–1707"; C. C. Coffin, "Boys of '76"; Frank Moore, "Songs and Ballads of the American Revolution."

Biographies. — The biographies of prominent leaders who took part in the Revolution throw much light on the history of the time. The most important of these are the biographies of "Washington" by H. C. Lodge (2 volumes), by P. L. Ford and by Washington Irving (4 volumes); of "General Nathanael Greene," by G. W. Greene (3 volumes); of "Benjamin Franklin," by John T. Morse, J. B. McMaster and Paul Leicester Ford; of "Thomas Jefferson," by James Schouler, J. T. Morse, James Parton and H. S. Randall; of "John Adams," by C. F. Adams; of "Benedict Arnold," by J. N. Arnold; of "General Knox," by F. S. Drake; of "Alexander Hamilton," by H. C. Lodge and J. C. Hamilton (each 2 volumes); of "Patrick Henry," by M. C. Tyler and W. W. Henry; of "Samuel Adams," by J. K. Hosmer; of "James Otis," by William Tudor; of "Lafayette" (in the Revolution), by Charlemagne Tower (2 volumes); of "Robert Morris," by W. G. Sumner and E. P. Oberholtzer; of "Joseph Warren," by Richard Frothingham; of "John André," by Winthrop Sargent, and of "Ethan Allen," by Henry Hall.

Other valuable biographies are Jared Sparks, "Life and Treason of Benedict Arnold" (3 volumes); W. L. Stone, "Life of Joseph Brant"; John Morley, "Edmund Burke"; J. K. Hosmer, "Life of Thomas Hutchinson, Royal Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay"; G. J. McRee, "Life and Correspondence of James Iredell"; A. S. McKenzie, "Life of Paul Jones"; Frederick Knapp, "Life of John Kalb, Major General in the Revolutionary Army"; G. H. Moore, "Treason of Charles Lee"; R. H. Lee, "Life of Arthur Lee" and "Memoir of the Life of Richard Henry Lee," by his grandson (2 volumes); W. G. Simms, "Life of Francis Marion"; H. A. Muhlenberg, "Life of Major General John Muhlenberg"; M. D. Conway, "Life of Thomas Paine" (2 volumes); I. N. Tarbox, "Life of Israel Putnam"; E. H. Goss, "Life of Colonel Paul Revere" (2 volumes); John Sanderson, "Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence" (9 volumes); B. J. Lossing, "Life and Times of Philip Schuyler" (2 volumes); F. V. Green, "General Nathanael Greene"; C. J. Stillé, "Major General Anthony Wayne" and "The Pennsylvania Line in the Continental Army."

The Confederation and the Constitution. — In addition to the general histories mentioned above: John Fiske, "The Critical Period of American History"; A. B. Hart, "Formation of the Union"; George T. Curtis, "Constitutional History of the United States" (Vol. I.); George Bancroft, "History of the Constitution" (2 volumes); F. N. Thorpe, "Constitutional History of the American People" (3 volumes); A. C. McLaughlin, "The Confederation"; J. R. Tucker, "The Constitution of the United States," a critical discussion of its genesis, development and interpretation; Timothy Pitkin, "Political and Civil History of the United States" (2 volumes, covering the period 1763–1797); Francis Wharton, "Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States" (6 volumes); W. G. Sumner, "The Financier and the Finances of the American Revolution" (2 volumes); G. H. Roberts, "The Foreign Commerce of the United States During the Confederation"; E. H. Gayarré, "History of Louisiana" (4 volumes); J. M. Brown, "The Political Beginnings of Kentucky"; J. M. Green, "The Spanish Conspiracy"; J. A. Barrett, "Evolution of the Ordinance of 1787"; G. R. Minot, "History of the Insurrection in Massachusetts in the Year of 1786, and the Rebellion Consequent Thereon"; C. E. Stevens, "Sources of the Constitution of the United States Considered in Relation to Colonial and English History"; J. F. Jameson, "Essays in Constitutional History of the United States."

THE GROWTH OF THE NATION, 1789–1860. — In addition to the general histories mentioned above: J. W. Burgess, "The Middle Period"; H. Greeley, "The American Conflict"; T. H. Benton, "Thirty Years' View" (2 volumes); T. Roosevelt, "The Naval War of 1812"; B. J. Lossing, "Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812"; W. Wilson, "Division and Reunion"; H. Wilson, "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power" (3 volumes); W. G. Brown, "The Lower South"; James G. Blaine, "Twenty Years of Congress"; E. E. Sparks, "Expansion of the American People"; H. A. Wise, "Seven Decades of the Union"; H. R. Helper, "The Impending Crisis"; B. P. Perley, "Reminiscences"; W. Goodell, "Slavery and Anti-Slavery"; J. T. Headley, "Second War with England" (2 volumes); C. J. Ingwall, "Historical Sketch of the Second War between the United States and Great Britain" (2 volumes); Binger Hermann, "The Louisiana Purchase and Our Title West of the Rocky Mountains"; S. P. Hildreth, "Pioneer History"; A. J. Pickett, "History of Alabama," and incidentally of Georgia and Mississippi from the earliest period (2 volumes); R. G. Thwaites, "Afloat on the Ohio"; Justin Winsor, "The Mississippi Basin"; F. A. Ogg, "Opening of the Mississippi"; J. R. Brackett, "The Negro in Maryland"; J. S. Buckingham, "America, Historical, Statistical and Descriptive" (3 volumes); also his "Slave States of America"; F. Byrdsall, "History of the Loco-foco, or Equal Rights Party"; L. B. Chase, "History of the Polk Administration"; Joseph Hodgson, "Cradle of the Confederacy"; D. F. Houston, "Critical Study of Nullification in South Carolina"; Horatio King, "Turning on the Light," a dispassionate survey of President Buchanan's administration from 1860 to its close; Harriet Martineau, "Society in America" (2 volumes); T. L. Nichols, "Forty Years of American Life" (2 volumes); F. L. Olmsted, "Journey in the Seaboard Slave States" (in 1856); W. R. Siebert, "The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom"; J. H. van Evrie, "Negroes and Negro Slavery"; S. B. Weeks, "Southern Quakers and Slavery"; G. W. Williams, "History of the Negro Race in America" (2 volumes); P. G. Cooke, "Conquest of New Mexico and California"; William Jay, "Review of the Causes and Consequences of the Mexican War"; R. F. Burton, "The City of Saints" and "Across the Rocky Mountains to California"; W. E. Connelly, "Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory"; H. S. Foote, "Texas and the Texans" (2 volumes); H. R. Helper, "Lord of Gold"; Washington Irving, "Astoria"; Francis Parkman, "The California and Oregon Trail"; William Barrows, "Oregon, the Struggle for Possession"; Franklin Tuthill, "History of California" (gives a good account of the formation of vigilance committees); O. W. Nixon, "How Marcus Whitman Saved Oregon"; G. W. Cable, "Creoles of Louisiana"; Thomas Nelson Page, "The Old South."

Biographies. — H. Adams, "Life of Albert Gallatin"; J. T. Morse, "Life of John Quincy Adams"; D. C. Gilman, "Life of Monroe"; W. G. Sumner, "Life of Jackson"; E. M. Shepard, "Life of Van Buren"; C. Schurz, "Life of Clay"; A. B. Magruder, "Life of Marshall"; H. Adams, "Life of John Randolph"; H. C. Lodge, "Life of Webster"; T. Roosevelt, "Life of Benton"; A. C. McLaughlin, "Life of Cass"; Hermann von Holst, "Lie of Calhoun"; G. T. Curtis, "Life of Buchanan" (2 volumes); W. L. Garrison, "Life of W. L. Garrison"; Nicolay and Hay, "Life of Lincoln"; E. A. Pollard, "Life of Jefferson Davis"; F. Bancroft, "Life of Seward"; J. W. Shealian, "Life of Stephen A. Douglas"; Moorfield Storey, "Life of Charles Sumner"; Thurlow Weed, autobiography; W. Birney, "Life of J. G. Birney"; J. W. DuBose, "Life of Yancey"; William Jay, "Life of John Jay" (2 volumes); "Life and Times of Frederic Douglass," by himself; Kate M. Row-

land, "Life of George Mason" (2 volumes); Gaillard Hunt, "Life of James Madison"; W. C. Rives, "Life and Times of James Madison" (3 volumes); W. W. Henry, "Patrick Henry" (3 volumes); J. T. Austin, "Life of Elbridge Gerry" (2 volumes); C. J. Stillé, "Life and Times of John Dickinson, 1732–1808"; M. D. Conway, "Omitted Chapters of History Disclosed in the Life and Papers of Edmund Randolph"; T. C. Amory, "Life of James Sullivan" (2 volumes); E. P. Oberholtzer, "Robert Morris"; Octavius Pickering and C. W. Upham, "Life of Timothy Pickering" (4 volumes); Jared Sparks, "Life of Gouverneur Morris" (3 volumes); Charles Biddle, autobiography; James Parton, "Life and Times of Aaron Burr" (2 volumes); C. R. King, "Life and Correspondence of Rufus King" (6 volumes); C. H. Hunt, "Life of Edward Livingston"; C. C. Pinckney, "Life of General Thomas Pinckney," by his grandson; Lorenzo Sabine, "Life of Edward Preble"; W. W. Story, "Life and Times of Joseph Story" (2 volumes); A. S. Mackenzie, "Life of Stephen Decatur"; W. L. Stone, "Life and Times of Sa-go-ye-u-at-ha, or Red Jacket"; E. S. Ellis, "Life and Times of Colonel Daniel Boone"; Benjamin Drake, "Life of Tecumseh and of His Brother the Prophet"; S. B. Sanborn, "Life and Letters of John Brown"; Ann Mary Coleman, "Life of John J. Crittenden" (2 volumes); J. G. Washington, "Life of Joshua R. Giddings"; O. B. Frothingham, "Theodore Parker"; A. G. Lowell, "Life and Times of Wendell Phillips"; J. D. Shields, "Life and Times of S. S. Prentiss"; T. K. Lothrop, "William Henry Seward"; W. L. Mackenzie, "Life and Times of Martin Van Buren"; A. G. Riddle, "Life of Benjamin Wade"; G. T. Curtis, "Life of Daniel Webster" (2 volumes); B. H. Wise, "Life of Henry A. Wise of Virginia"; J. S. Jenkins, "Life of Silas Wright"; C. D. Mansfield, "Life of General Winfield Scott"; O. O. Howard, "General Taylor"; John Bigelow, "Memoir of the Life of John Charles Frémont"; A. M. Wilson, "Sam Houston and the War of Independence in Texas"; B. G. Chase, "Lowndes of South Carolina"; L. G. Tyler, "Letters and Times of the Tylers."

The Civil War and Reconstruction, 1861–1876. — T. A. Dodge, "Bird's-eye View of the Civil War"; Rossiter Johnson, "The Civil War"; J. Davis, "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government"; H. Greeley, "The American Conflict" (Vol. II.); James G. Blaine, "Twenty Years of Congress" (Vol. II.); Henry Wilson, "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power" (Vol. III.); S. G. Fisher, "Trial of the Constitution"; E. M. Whiting, "War Powers of the Constitution"; E. A. Pollard, "The Lost Cause"; J. S. Pike, "First Blows of the Civil War"; A. H. Stephens, "War Between the States"; H. McCulloch, "Men and Measures of Half a Century"; J. W. Burgess, "The Civil War and the Constitution" (2 volumes); "The Century War Book"; "Battles and Leaders" (4 volumes); J. W. Draper, "History of the Civil War" (3 volumes); E. McPherson, "Political History of the United States During the Rebellion"; Comte de Paris, "Military History of the Civil War" (4 volumes); J. C. Schwab, "Financial History of the Confederacy"; F. Phisterer, "Statistical Record of the Armies of the United States"; F. Moore, "The Rebellion Record"; S. W. Crawford, "The Story of Fort Sumter"; S. S. Cox, "Three Decades"; J. Jones, "Rebel War Clerk's Diary"; E. L. Livermore, "Numbers and Losses"; J. C. Ropes, "Story of the Civil War" (2 volumes); W. A. Dunning, "Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction"; Richard Taylor, "Destruction and Reconstruction"; E. B. Andrews, "The United States During the Last Quarter of a Century" (2 volumes); also "History of Our Own Time"; F. N. Thorpe, "Constitutional History of the United States"; E. G. Scott, "Reconstruction During the Civil War in the United States"; H. A. Herbert, "Why the Solid South"; H. W. Grady, "The

New South"; George F. Hoar, "Autobiography of Seventy Years"; George S. Boutwell, "Reminiscences of Sixty Years" (2 volumes); U. S. Grant, "Memoirs" (2 volumes); P. H. Sheridan, "Memoirs" (2 volumes); W. T. Sherman, "Memoirs" (2 volumes); John Sherman, "Recollections of Forty Years in the House, Senate and Cabinet" (2 volumes); J. Longstreet, "From Manassas to Appomattox"; G. B. McClellan, "My Own Story"; J. D. Long, "The American Navy" (2 volumes); C. A. Dana, "Recollections of the Civil War"; E. McPherson, "History of Reconstruction"; A. Roman, "Military Operations of General Beauregard"; William Allan, "The Army of Northern Virginia in 1862"; also his "History of the Campaign of General T. J. Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, Nov. 4, 1861–June 17, 1862"; R. B. Beath, "History of the Grand Army of the Republic"; John Bigelow, "France and the Confederate Navy"; C. B. Boynton, "History of the Navy During the Rebellion" (2 volumes); J. D. Bulloch, "Secret Service of the Confederate States in Europe, or How the Confederate Cruisers Were Equipped" (2 volumes); "Campaigns of the Civil War" (13 volumes), by various authors; C. C. Coffin, "Boys of '61"; also his "Drum Beat of the Nation"; J. A. Logan, "The Great Conspiracy"; J. T. Scharf, "History of the Confederate States Navy"; C. J. Stillé, "History of the United States Sanitary Commission"; General F. A. Walker, "History of the Second Army Corps in the Army of the Potomac"; J. S. Wise, "End of an Era"; D. M. Dewitt, "Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson"; J. W. Garner, "Reconstruction in Mississippi"; C. E. Chadsey, "The Struggle between President Johnson and Congress over Reconstruction"; J. W. Fertig, "The Secession and Reconstruction of Tennessee"; E. C. Woolley, "Reconstruction in Georgia"; W. L. Fleming, "Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama"; Porter Hollis, "Reconstruction in South Carolina"; J. L. M. Curry, "Civil History of the Government of the Confederate States, with Some Personal Reminiscences"; J. S. Pike, "The Prostrate State, or South Carolina Under Negro Government"; W. M. Bruce, "Alaska, Its History and Resources"; H. W. Elliott, "Our Arctic Province"; Charles Nordhoff, "The Cotton States in 1875."

Biographies.—"Life of Abraham Lincoln," by John T. Morse (2 volumes), by Ida M. Tarbell (2 volumes), by J. H. Barrett (2 volumes) and by Nicolay and Hay (10 volumes); "Life of Jefferson Davis," by E. A. Pollard, and "Memoir," by his wife (2 volumes); "Life of Charles Sumner," by Moorfield Storey; of "Thaddeus Stevens," by S. W. McCall; of "E. M. Stanton," by George C. Gorham; of "R. E. Lee," by R. E. Lee, Jr.; of "'Stonewall' Jackson," by R. L. Dabney; of "U. S. Grant," by Adam Badeau; of "S. P. Chase," by A. B. Hart and J. W. Shuckers; of "Samuel J. Tilden," by John Bigelow (2 volumes); of "L. Q. C. Lamar," by Edward Mayes.

Other valuable biographies for this period are: R. M. Johnston and W. H. Brown, "Life of Alexander H. Stephens"; B. P. Poore, "Life and Public Services of A. E. Burnside"; James Parton, "General Butler in New Orleans"; Loyall Farragut, "Life of David Glasgow Farragut"; J. M. Hopkins, "Life of Andrew H. Foote"; J. A. Wyeth, "Life of General N. B. Forrest"; F. A. Walker, "General Hancock"; G. F. R. Henderson, "Stonewall Jackson and the American Civil War" (2 volumes); B. R. Meade, "Life of General George G. Meade"; W. D. Foulke, "Life of O. P. Morton" (2 volumes); Henry Coppée, "General Thomas"; P. A. Stovall, "Robert Toombs, Statesman, Speaker, Soldier, Sage"; J. T. Vallandigham, "Life of C. L. Vallandigham"; O. J. Hollister, "Life of Schuyler Colfax"; W. M. Cornell, "Life and Public Career of Horace Greeley"; E. Cary, "George William Curtis"; C. F. Adams, "Charles Francis Adams," by his son.

INDEX

INDEX

A

Abbott, Josiah G.: member of the electoral commission, 913 *note*

Abercrombie, James: made second in command of British forces in America, 184; in expedition against Ticonderoga, 189

Abolition Movement: sentiment of the South, 450; opposition to nomination of Clay for Presidency, 520; opposition to Mexican War, 548; general treatment, 571; Webster opposes methods of societies, 606; influence of Uncle Tom's Cabin, 638; first movement charged to speeches of Seward and Lincoln, 671; responsible for John Brown's Raid, 674; abolition secured by purchase in the District of Columbia (1862), 766; abolition secured in territories (1862), 766; platform of Baltimore convention, 800

Abolition Party: organized, 580; demands emancipation of slaves in seceded states, 742

Abolitionist Party: joins Free Soil Party, 559

Abraham, Plains of: battles of (1759), 195; (1760), 197

Absolutism: sought by Holy Alliance, 446

Acadia: in treaty of Ryswick, 160; becomes Nova Scotia, 161; ceded to English, 162; boundary dispute, 163, 167

Acadians: expulsion of, 179; rejected by New England colonies, 181

Accessory Transit Company, 626

Act of 1660: provisions of, 202

Act of 1700: passed, 148

Act of 1744: passed, 148

Act of 1870: passed, 898

Adams, Charles Francis: presides over Buffalo convention, 558; protests against building of the *Alabama*, 881; retires from ministry to England, 882; in Geneva commission, 885; joins liberal movement, 890; candidate for presidential nomination (1872), 891

Adams, John (1735–1826), President of the United States, 1797–1801: hears Otis's speech against general search warrants, 205; defends soldiers accused of Boston massacre, 217; delegate to first Continental Congress, 223; delegate to second Continental Congress, 229; nominates Washington as commander in chief of army, 230; draws up Massachusetts constitution, 239; member of committee to draft a declaration of independence, 240; appointed member of peace commission, 280; sent as minister to England, 310; attempts to secure loans for the government, 313; minister abroad, 324; elected Vice President, 340, 357; elected President, 370; Federalist nominee for President, 381; epitomized, 475

Adams, John Quincy (1767–1848), President of the United States, 1825–1829: appointed on peace commission, 420; urges renewal of fishery privileges, 429; Secretary of State, 435; signs treaty for Florida purchase, 444; protests to Russia, 447; candidate for Presidency, 460; defends Jackson from court-martial, 462, 492; elected President, 493; difficulties of his administration, 496; sketch of, 497; negotiates commercial treaties, 471; political prosecution of, during administration, 473; character of, 474, 475; refuses to attend Jackson's inauguration, 481; leader of the Democratic-Republican Party, 519; champion of the aboli-

tionists, 578; attempts to remove the "gag rule," 579
Adams, Samuel: uses his eloquence in favor of rebellion, 215; outwits the governor of Massachusetts, 222; delegate to first Continental Congress, 223; Gage attempts to arrest, 226; delegate to second Continental Congress, 229; excepted from amnesty offered by Gage, 231; entertains idea of separation from England, 237; opposes Constitutional Convention, 324; not in favor of the Constitution, 336; defeated for Congress, 342, 343
African Company, Royal: see Royal African Company
Agriculture: in Connecticut colony, 101; in the New England colonies, 133; in the middle colonies, 136; in the Southern colonies, 136; a resource of the South, 726; in Tennessee, 831
Agriculture, Department of: created, 917
Aguinaldo, Emilio: leads revolt of Filipinos, 1037; captured, 1043
Ailly, Pierre d': believes Indian Ocean to be an inland sea, 23
Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of (1748), 166, 167
Alabama: admitted, 442, 452; Georgia cedes to the United States her claims to lands in, 469; unrepresented in second Democratic national convention, 509; separated from Georgia, 567; delegates withdraw from Democratic convention, 679; secedes, 689; Confederates seize Fort Morgan, 691; surrender of Confederate forces in, 814; end of carpet bag rule, 873; negro franchise, 873; yellow fever epidemic, 923
Alabama Claims: controversy, 881; settlement of, 883
Alabama Indians: location, 8
Alamance: battle of (1771), 217
Alamo, The: siege of, 533
Alaska: ceded by Russia, 878; seal fisheries of, 979; boundary dispute, 1054
Albany, New York: settled by Dutch, 102; named, 104; Lincoln makes speech at, 706; meeting of the Democracy, 816; popular respect to Lincoln's remains, 827; Roosevelt resists political corruption in, 1068
Albany Regency: in politics, 511
Albemarle, Duke of (Earl of Clarendon): made Carolina proprietor, 73
Albemarle, North Carolina: founded, 73
Albuquerque, Affonso de: founds the Portuguese empire in the East, 25
Alcohol: tax on, abolished, 1083
Aleutian Islands: Russian rights in, 980
Aleuts: population, 17
Alexander VI, Pope: establishes the Line of Demarcation, 32
Alexandria, Virginia: colonial governors meet at, 176; plundered by British, 427; Federal troops take possession, 731
Alger, Russell Alexander: candidate for Presidential nomination, 965; criticised for use of "embalmed beef," 1034
Algiers: treaty with, 364, 394
Algiers, Louisiana: fired by Confederates, 751
Algonquian Indians: independent of other families, 7
Algonquin Indians: translation of Bible into their language, 97; join in conspiracy of Pontiac, 199; hostility of, toward Iroquois, 175
Alien Acts: Federalists enact, 377
Allatoona: Johnston falls back to, 794
Allegheny River: bounds French claims, 168
Allen, Charles Herbert: governor of Porto Rico, 1041
Allen, Ethan: captures Ticonderoga and Crown Point, 228
"All of Oregon or none," 543
Altgeld, John P.: pardons anarchists, 962; protests against Cleveland's sending Federal troops to Chicago, 1003
Alton, Illinois: abolition riot, 575
Alverstone, Lord: in Alaskan boundary commission, 1055
Amadas, Philip: explores Virginia, 53
Ambrister: executed, 444
Amendments: see Constitution
America: first use of the name, 35
America, North: see North America
America, South: see South America

American Anti-Slavery Society: organized, 574
American Colonization Society: founded, 571
American Party, The: see Know-Nothing Party
American System: origin, 354
Amerigo Vespucci: see Vespucci, Amerigo
Ames, Fisher: in first Congress, 342
Ames, Oakes: censured by Congress, 896
Amherst, Jeffrey: at siege of Louisburg, 188; made commander-in-chief of British forces in America, 192; captures Crown Point and Ticonderoga, 193; captures Montreal, 197
Amiens, Peace of (1802), 396, 405
Amusements: in the colonies, 155
Anarchy: dangers of, discussed in Roosevelt's message, 1050
Anderson, Joseph: as delegate to Panama Congress, 468
Anderson, Robert: transfers his force from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, 703; refuses to return to Fort Moultrie, 704; refuses to surrender fort, 705; at bombardment of Fort Sumter, 710; surrenders Fort Sumter, 712; sent to organize Kentucky troops, 722
André, John: capture and death, 276
Andros, Sir Edmund: assails Connecticut independence, 93; governor of New England, 100; vigorous rule of, 105; extent of his power, 116
Anglicans: see Episcopalians
Anglo-Saxon Race: prejudice of, toward negro race, 874
Annapolis (Port Royal), Nova Scotia: settled, 50; named, 161
Annapolis, Maryland: interstate commerce commission at, 322
Anthracite Coal Strike: account of, 1051
Anti Costi: settlement of, 48
Anti-Federalist Party: origin of, 335; becomes Republican party, 356
Anti-Masonic Party: origin of, 408; holds first convention for Presidential nomination, 498; carry Vermont, 499
Anti-Trust Act: account of, 971
Antietam, Battle of: account of, 765; effect on emancipation, 766; followed by Emancipation Proclamation, 767
Antinomians: name of adherents of Mrs. Hutchinson, 95
Anville, Duc d': death of, 196
Apache Indians: seize herds of the Navajos, 11
Apostle to the Indians: see John Eliot
Appomattox Court House: Lee and Grant meet to arrange terms of surrender, 812
Aquidneck: see Rhode Island
Arbuthnot: executed, 444
Archdale, John: governor of the Carolinas, 74
Architecture: among the Aztecs, 7
Argonauts, American, 597
Argus, American frigate: captured by *Pelican*, 424
Arista, Mariano: demands that Taylor withdraw from disputed territory, 546; court-martialed, 547
Aristocracy of the South, 586
Aristocratic Class in America, 131
Aristotle: believes the earth to be a sphere, 22
Arizona: ceded to United States, 552; Gadsden treaty, 641; refused admission, 1054; admission to the Union considered, 1083
Ark: brings settlers to Maryland, 70
Arkansas: territorial government, 453; delegates withdraw from Democratic convention, 679; joins Confederacy, 720; reconstructed, 833; Brooks and Baxter struggle in, 872; end of carpet bag rule, 873; Presidential election of 1904, 1072
Arkansas River: Florida boundary, 445
Arlington, Lord: receives grant of Virginia with Culpepper, 64
Arlington Heights: Federal troops recapture, 731
Armada, Spanish: destroyed, 54; effect of defeat on Dutch navigation, 101
Armistead, Lewis Addison: wounded in Pickett's charge, 782
Armstrong, John: captures Kittanning, 184; in expedition against Fort Du Quesne, 190
Army: strength of, decreased by Jefferson, 387, 398; insufficiency of, in

War of 1812, 419; in President Roosevelt's message, 1073
Army of the Cumberland: commanded by Slocum, 804
Army of the Potomac: commanded by McClellan, 757; demoralized by change of commanders, 778; strength of, when Grant assumed command, 787
Army of the Tennessee: commanded by Howard, 804
Army of Virginia: under Pope's command, 762
Arnold, Benedict: joins American troops at Boston, 228; estimate of, 234; in expedition against Canada, 234; relieves Fort Stanwix, 254; quarrels with Gates, 255; defeats British at Freeman's Farm, 255; at battle of Bemis Heights, 255; treason of, 275; in English service, 277; devastates Connecticut, 285
Aroostook War, 530
Arthur, Chester A. (1830–1886), President of the United States, Sept. 19, 1881–1885: nominated Vice President, 929; accession to Presidency, 935; reconstructs cabinet, 936; candidate for President (1884), 942; vetoes Chinese bill, 958; concludes treaty with Nicaragua, 959
Articles of Confederation: adopted, 298; rejected, 321; defects, 325
Ashburton, Lord: negotiates settlement of Northeast Boundary Dispute, 531; refuses to negotiate settlement of Northwest Boundary Dispute, 542
Ashburton Capitulation, 531
Ashley-Cooper, Lord (Earl of Shaftesbury): made Carolina proprietor, 73
Asia: ancient connection with America, 3
Asiatic Squadron: at Hong Kong, 1028
Assemblies, Colonial: rise of, in executive and legislative power, 107; general treatment, 120; powers, 121
Astor, John Jacob: one of three early millionaires, 479; founds Astoria, 542
Astoria: founded, 542
Athapascan Indians: independent of other families, 7; location, 7
Atlanta, Georgia: objective point of Sherman's march, 786; Sherman's advance on, 794; siege of, 797; political effect of fall of, 801; International Cotton Exposition held at, 940
Atlanta Exposition, The, 1010
Atlantic Ocean: called the Sea of Darkness, 23
Audubon Park, New Orleans: Cotton Centennial held in, 940
Augusta, Georgia: important trading post, 81; captured by British, 272; recaptured by Americans, 272; Confederates seize arsenal, 691; threatened by Sherman, 807
Austin, Moses: receives grant of land in Texas, 532
Austria-Hungary: arbitration treaty of United States with, 1076
Avila, Pedrarias d': puts Balboa to death, 37
Ayllon, Vasquez de: attempts to conquer and settle Carolina and Virginia, 38; death, 38
Aztecs: sketch of, 6; turn against Cortes, 39

B

Babcock, Orville E.: sent to San Domingo, 879; member of the "Whisky Ring," 895
Bacon, Nathaniel: leads rebellion, 65
Bacon, Roger: believes Indian Ocean to be inclosed, 23
Bacon's Rebellion: see Bacon, Nathaniel
Badger, George Edmund: opposes Chase's speech on compromise measures, 607
Baez, Buenaventura: concludes treaty for annexation of San Domingo, 879
Bainbridge, William: commands frigate *Constitution*, 422; among naval heroes of War of 1812, 433
Baker, Edward D.: killed in Battle of Ball's Bluff, 757
Balance of Power, American: Calhoun pleads for, 604
Balboa, Vasco Nuñez de: discovers the Pacific, 37; death, 37
Baldwin, Abraham: in first congress, 342
Ball's Bluff: battle of (1861), 757
Balmaceda, José Manuel: Chilian president, 978

Baltimore, Maryland: British attack, 427; population in time of Jackson, 479; first national convention for nominating President, 498; Democratic convention (1840), 522; Democratic and Whig conventions, 536; Democratic convention (1848), 555; Democratic convention (1852) 619; Whig convention (1852), 620; convention of Constitutional Union Party, 680; Democratic convention (1860), 682; Sixth Massachusetts attacked by mob, 715; bridges destroyed, 716; placed under military government, 710; Lincoln nominated by convention at, 800; Lincoln's body carried through, 827; Democratic convention (1872), 892

Baltimore crew attacked in Valparaiso, 978

Baltimore, Cecilius Calvert, Lord: proprietor of Maryland, 69; proprietor of Delaware, 108; boundary dispute with Penn, 110, 112

Baltimore, Charles Calvert, Lord: governor of Maryland, 72

Baltimore, George Calvert, Lord: sketch of, 68

Baltimore and Ohio Railroad: first spike driven, 480

Bancroft, George: in American literature, 481

Bancroft, Hubert Howe: quoted on origin of American Indians, 3

Bank notes: depreciated character of State Bank issues, 505

Banking System, National: see National Banking System

Banks, Nathaniel Prentiss: commands Union forces in the Shenadoah valley, 750; takes Port Hudson, 778

Banks, State: growth of, 430

Baptists: persecuted in New England, 147; persecuted in Virginia, 140; divide into Northern and Southern wings, 604

Barbary States: troubles with, 321; levy blackmail, 393

Barclay, Commodore: commands British fleet, 423

Barker, Wharton: nominated for President, 1038

Barlow, Arthur: explores Virginia, 53

Barnburners: sketch of, 555; hold convention at Utica, 559

Barnwell, John: repels Tuscaroras, 75

Barré, Isaac: at siege of Quebec, 194

Bates, Edward: candidate for Presidential nomination (1860), 680; appointed Attorney-General, 708

Baton Rouge: Confederates seize arsenal, 691

Baum, Colonel: defeated at Bennington, 253

Baxter, Elisha: governor of Arkansas, 872 *note*

Bay Psalm Book: printed, 143

Bayard, James Asheton: appointed peace commissioner, 429

Bayard, Thomas Francis: in Congress (1869), 801; member of the Electoral Commission, 913 *note*; his influence over Democrats, 914; Secretary of State, 950 *note*; in Samoan dispute, 977; first American ambassador, 979

Bayard-Chamberlain Treaty, 961

Beaumarchais, Pierre Augustin Caron de: aids Americans, 205; death, 200

Beauregard, Pierre Gustave Toutant: at bombardment of Fort Sumter, 710; issues proclamation to Virginians, 731; at battle of Bull Run, 734; advises against attack on Washington, 736; at battle of Pittsburg Landing, 747; fails to follow up victory at Pittsburg Landing, 748; succeeded by Bragg, 774

Beck, James Burnie: elected senator, 916

Bedford: member of Constitutional Convention, 320

Bee, Bernard E.: at battle of Bull Run, 735

Beecher, Henry Ward: member of American Anti Slavery Society, 574; opposes Lincoln, 709; opposes election of Blaine (1884), 940

Behring Sea: seal fisheries dispute, 979; British vessels seized in, 980; Russian seizure of American vessels, 1055; term of settlement of dispute, 981

Béjar: battle of (1835), 533

Belknap, William Worth: impeached, 895

Bell, John: opposes Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 637; nominated for President by Constitutional Union Party, 680; joins secessionists, 719
Bellomont, Earl of: governor of New York, 106; extent of his power, 116
Bellows, Henry Whitney: president of the Sanitary Commission, 825
Belshazzar's Feast, 947
Bemis Heights: battle of (1777), 255
Benezet, Anthony: arouses Quakers against slavery, 130
Benjamin, Judah Philip: Confederate Attorney-General, 694
Bennington: battle of (1777), 253
Benton, Thomas Hart: quoted on J. Q. Adams's administration, 466; opposed to Panama Congress, 469; quoted on the distribution of public moneys, 505; attacks United States Bank, 502; quoted on settlement of Northwest Boundary Dispute, 544; opposes Mexican War, 554; altercation with Senator Foote, 608; votes against Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 637
Berkeley, Lord: proprietor of New Jersey, 108; sells interest to Quakers, 109
Berkeley, Sir John (Earl of Shaftesbury): made Carolina proprietor, 73
Berkeley, Sir William: governor of Virginia, 63; Charles I restores, 64; Charles II recalls, 66; opposed to printing presses, 143
Berlin: Samoan commission meets at, 977
Berlin Decree: issued, 407
Bernard, Montague: in Joint High Commission, 883
Beverly, Robert: historical writings of, 143
Bible, The: accepted as law in Salem colony, 89; constitution of New Haven colony, 92; translated into Algonquin, 97, 143; slavery contrary to, 130; supports slavery, 591; its place among Lincoln's books, 665; supplied to soldiers by Christian Commission, 825
Bienville, Celeron de: sent to establish French claims, 169
Big Black Ridge: Confederate defeat at, 777
Big Sunflower River: in Vicksburg campaign, 775
Bill of Rights: added to Constitution, 338
"Billion Dollar Congress," The, 975
Biloxi: French claim, 168
Biloxi Indians: location, 8
Birney, James Gillespie: nominated for President, 559, 580
Bissell, Wilson S.: Postmaster-General, 993 *note*
Black, Jeremiah Sullivan: advises Buchanan concerning garrisoning of Southern forts, 696
Black Eagle, The: see Logan, John A.
Black Hawk War: account of, 506
Black Warrior Affair, 642
Blackstone, Sir William: his writings source of American Constitution, 330
Bladensburg: American rout at, 426
Blaine, James Gillespie: denounces Republican attitude toward negro suffrage, 858; member of Congress (1869), 862; quoted on removal of Sumner, 880; candidate for President (1876), 906; opposed to Hayes, 915; elected senator, 916; quoted on Lamar's tribute to Sumner, 917; candidate for Presidential nomination (1880), 926; compared with Conkling, 926; in Garfield's cabinet, 932; his eulogy on Garfield, 934; succeeded by Frelinghuysen, 936; candidate for Presidential nomination (1884), 942; nominated for President (1884), 943; defeated for Presidency, 947; declines nomination (1888), 965; Speaker of House, 969; in Mafia dispute, 976; in Chilian dispute, 978; candidate for Presidential nomination (1892), 989; effort to abrogate Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, 1058
Blair, Francis Preston: opposes Emancipation Proclamation, 767; leader of Missouri Unionists, 721; in Hampton Roads conference, 809; nominated Vice President, 860
Blair, James: establishes College of William and Mary, 141
Blair, Montgomery: appointed Postmaster-general, 708

Blake, Joseph: governor of South Carolina, 77
Bland, Richard P.: candidate for Presidential nomination (1896), 1014
Bland-Allison Law: passed, 922; repealed, 974
Blennerhassett, Harman: in Burr conspiracy, 404
Blockade: question of, ignored in treaty of Ghent, 429
Blockade of Southern ports: Lincoln announces, 723; causes downfall of the Confederacy, 727
Blood Revenge: among the Indians, 13
Blount, James H.: special commissioner to Hawaii, 998
Blue Laws of Connecticut, 154
Blue Lodges: organized, 648
Blue Ridge: in Shenandoah Valley, 793
Boabdil: surrenders Granada, 29
Board of Trade: see Lords of Trade and Plantations
"Body of Liberties:" adopted in Salem, 89; recognizes witchcraft as capital offense, 91
Bogota: Colombian Congress meets at, 1059
Boies, Horace: candidate for Presidential nomination (1896), 1014
Bolivar, Simon: South American patriot, 468
Bonaparte, Napoleon: see Napoleon (I) Bonaparte.
Bonhomme Richard: fight with the *Serapis*, 291
Bonnie Blue Flag, The: sung for the first time, 688
Book of Mormon, the: created, 982
Books: first book printed in America, 143; number and kind in the colonies, 144; text-books published in the North, 589
Boonsboro: battle of (1862), 705
Booth, John Wilkes: assassinates Lincoln, 826
Borie, A. E.: in Grant's Cabinet, 861
Boscowen, Edward: besieges Louisburg, 188
Boston: settlement, 88; officers for 1690–1691, 123; population at outbreak of the Revolution, 127; a school established, 140; Church of England in, 147; tea thrown into harbor, 219; other colonies send supplies to, 222; siege of, 235; population in time of Jackson, 479; panic of 1837, 512; Garrison mobbed, 574; New England Anti-Slavery Society organized, 574; mob attacks Thompson, 575; Fugitive Slave Law disobeyed, 615; anti-slavery mass meeting, 636; fire of 1872, 902
Boston Latin School: founded, 140
Boston Massacre, 217
Boston Neck: fortified (1774), 225
Boston News Letter: founded, 144
Boston Port Bill: passed, 220
Boudinot, Elias: in first congress, 342
Boundary Disputes: arising from Louisiana Purchase, 400; in the northwest, 443; between Maine and New Brunswick, 514; western boundary of Texas, 600; between Alaska and Canada, 1054
Bouquet, Colonel: in expedition against Fort Du Quesne, 190
Bourbons: restoration of, in Spain, 445
Boutwell, George L.: in Grant's Cabinet, 862
Bowdoin, James: calls out the militia in Shays's Rebellion, 316; member of Massachusetts ratifying convention, 336
Bowie, James: at battle of Mission Conception, 533; death, 534
Bowling Green: Confederates hold, 742; Confederates abandon, 745
Boxer Outrages, 1047
Boyd, General: captures Fort George, 425
Braddock, Edward: commands British forces in America, 176; defeat of, 179
Bradford, William: elected governor of Plymouth, 85; early colonial author, 142
Bradley, Joseph P.: member of the Electoral Commission, 913 *note*
Bradstreet, John: captures Fort Frontenac, 189
Brady, Thomas Jefferson: implicated in "star route" frauds, 930
Bragg, Braxton: at battle of Pittsburg Landing, 747; succeeds Beauregard,

773; blunder at Knoxville, 785; succeeded by Johnston, 786; operations in East Tennessee, 783
Bragg, Edward Stuyvesant: quoted on popularity of Cleveland, 945
Brandywine: battle of (1777), 259
Brant, Joseph: at battle of Oriskany, 254; commands at Cherry Valley Massacre, 297
Brazil: Cabral discovers, 43
Breckenridge, John: Jefferson's letter to, regarding Louisiana Purchase, 397
Breckinridge, John Cabell: nominated for Vice President (1857), 653; nominated for President (1860), 682; heavy loss at Stone River, 774
Breed's Hill: battle of (1775), 232
Brewster, William: leader of Presbyterian refugees, 84
Briar Creek: battle of (1779), 272
Bristow, Benjamin F.: the "Whiskey Ring," 894; candidate for President (1876), 907
British East India Company: see East India Company, British.
British Guiana: boundary dispute with Venezuela, 1000
British Sugar Act: see Sugar Act, British
Brock, Sir Isaac: receives Hull's surrender, 420; death, 421
Brooke, Lord: proprietor of Connecticut Colony, 92
Brooke, John R.: military governor of Porto Rico, 1036
Brookfield: burned in King Philip's War, 97
Brooklyn, New York: election frauds (1884), 948
Brooklyn: in battle of Santiago, 1030
Brooks, James: censured by Congress, 896
Brooks, Preston Smith: assaults Senator Sumner, 650
Brown, Albert Gallatin: quoted on the necessity of slavery, 591; favors resistance to government, 611
Brown, Benjamin Gratz: leader of liberal movement in Missouri, 890; nominated for Vice President (1872), 891
Brown, Jacob: victory at Ogdensburg, 422; in War of 1812, 424; directs campaign on Niagara frontier, 425
Brown, John: aids slaves to escape, 617
Brown, John, of Ossawatomie: attacks settlers on the Ossawatomie, 651; anti-slavery leaders influence, 671; raid of, 673; convicted and hanged, 675; public sympathy for, 675
Brown University: founded, 140
Browne, John: sent back to England, 88
Browne, Samuel: sent back to England, 88
Bruinsburg: in Vicksburg campaign, 776
Bryan, William Jennings: nominated for President (1896), 1014, 1015; influences Democrats to vote for ratification of treaty with Spain, 1033; nominated for President (1900), 1037; protests against gold standard in Democratic platform, 1065; his activity in Democratic convention (1904), 1065
Bryant, William Cullen: in American literature, 481
Buchanan, Franklin: commands frigate *Tennessee,* 798; surrenders in Mobile Bay, 798
Buchanan, James (1791–1868), President of the United States, 1857–1861: candidate for Presidential nomination (1852), 619; letter to Pierce on annexation of Cuba, 624; appointed minister to England, 625; Ostend Manifesto, 628; attends English Court in citizen's dress, 639; nominated for Presidency, 653; election, 656; administration, 657; Kansas policy, 681; under Southern influence, 696; speech to Congress (1860), 697; answer to South Carolina commissioner, 705
"Buck and Breck," 655
Buckner, Simon Bolivar: at siege of Fort Donelson, 744; surrenders Fort Donelson, 745; nominated for Vice President (1896), 1015
Buell, Don Carlos: commands forces at Louisville, 743; at battle of Pittsburg Landing, 747; sent to Chattanooga, 773; succeeded by Rosecrans, 773
Buena Vista: battle of (1847), 548

Buffalo: Canadian Insurrection aided by volunteers in, 515; political convention (1848), 558; Lincoln makes speech at, 766; popular respect to Lincoln's remains, 827; Cleveland elected mayor, 945; McKinley shot during Exposition at, 1049
Buford, Colonel: attempts to colonize Kansas, 647
Bull Run: battles of (1861), 734; (1862), 763
Bulwer, Sir Henry Lytton: negotiates Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, 612
Bulwer-Clayton Treaty: see Clayton-Bulwer Treaty
Bunau-Varilla, M.: received as minister from Panama, 1060
Bunker Hill: battle of (1775), 232
Burchard Episode, 946
Bureau of Indian Affairs: see Indian Affairs, Bureau of
Burgesses, House of (Virginia Assembly): first legislature in America, 62; condition under Berkeley, 64; first summoned, 120; opposes Stamp Act, 211; appoints a committee of correspondence, 217
Burgoyne, John: arrives at Boston, 231; captures Ticonderoga, 252; defeated at Freeman's Farm, 255; surrenders, 256
Burial Customs: among Indians, 10
Burke, Edmund: speech in behalf of rights of colonists, 213; favors repeal of Stamp Act, 214
Burlingame, Anson: negotiates treaty with China, 919
Burlington: settled, 109
Burnett, David G.: elected President of Texas, 534
Burnside, Ambrose Everett: succeeds McClellan, 760, 769; sketch of, 769; resigns, 770; attacked at Knoxville, 785; orders arrest of Vallandigham, 816
Burr, Aaron: candidate for Vice President (1792), 357; nominated for Vice President (1796), 370; nominated for Vice President (1800), 381; schemes for Presidency, 382; nominated governor, 402; duel with Hamilton, 402; conspiracy of, 403
Butler, Andrew Pickens: Sumner criticises, 650
Butler, Benjamin Franklin: at battle of Bull Run, 734; takes possession of New Orleans, 752; at Fort Fisher, 808; at trial of President Johnson, 852; nominated for President (1884), 946
Butler, John: at Massacre of Wyoming Valley, 296
Butler, Pierce: in first Congress, 343
Butler, Walter: permits massacre of Cherry Valley, 297
Byles, Mather: notable divine, 139
Byrd, William: his diary, 143

C

Cabinet, United States: origin, 345
Cabot, George: member of Massachusetts ratifying convention, 330; first Secretary of the Navy, 375; president of the Hartford convention, 431
Cabot, John: his first voyage, 34; second voyage, 35
Cabot, Sebastian: accompanies his father on his first voyage, 34; later career, 35
Cabral: discovers Brazil, 43
Cahokia: in French claims, 108
Calhoun, John Caldwell: in Congress, 417; advocates tariff for the South, 438; favors internal improvements, 441; Secretary of War, 460; candidate for Vice President, 491; compared with Clay, 461; feud with Jackson, 472; elected Vice President, 493; becomes advocate of free trade, 472; argues state sovereignty, 473; author of doctrine of nullification, 491; incurs enmity of Jackson, 493; loses renomination for Vice President, 498; Secretary of State, 535; opposes Mexican War, 548, 554; introduces bill for prohibiting circulation of abolition literature, 577; quoted on necessity for slavery, 581; introduces his famous resolutions, 595; summary of his career, 603; his last speech in Congress, 603; death, 605; refused to

recognize anti-slavery senators, 608; advised Mississippi to call a Southern convention, 610
Calicut, India: first European factory founded at, 25
California: Sloat and Stockton ordered to seize, 548; acquisition of, 549; ceded to United States, 552; discovery of gold, 595; constitution adopted, 598; recommended for admission, 598; admission proposed in compromise of 1850, 601; admission to the Union, 609; Presidential election of 1856, 656; sends aid to the Sanitary Commission, 825; question of negro suffrage, 858; Presidential election of 1868, 861; influx of Chinese labor, 919; Kearneyism, 920; Presidential election of 1880, 931; furnishes arms to Chilian insurgents, 978; Presidential election of 1892, 992
Callander: prosecuted, 377
Calvert, Charles: see Baltimore, Charles Calvert, Lord
Calvert, George: see Baltimore, George Calvert, Lord
Calvert, Leonard: governor of Maryland, 69
Cam, Diogo: explores coast of Africa, 25
Cambon, M.: Spanish government makes overtures of peace through, 1031
Cambridge, Massachusetts: first printing press in America in, 143
Cambridge Elm, 234
Camden: battle of (1780), 274
Camden, Lord: quoted on colonial rights, 215
Cameron, Simon: in Republican convention, 680; Lincoln's Secretary of War, 708; hostile to Hayes, 915
Cameron, James Donald: member of the Senate, 916; urges Grant for third term, 925
Campaigns, Political: 1840, 522; 1845, 536; 1852, 621; 1856, 654; 1860, 683; 1866 (Congressional), 845; 1872, 893; 1884, 946; 1888, 966; 1892, 991; 1896, 1011, 1015; 1900, 1038; 1904, 1071
Campbell, Josiah R. P.: mediator between Lincoln and Southern committee, 709; in Hampton Roads Conference, 809
Campbell, William: captures Augusta, Georgia, 272; at battle of King's Mountain, 279
Camp Jackson, Missouri: captured by Unionists, 721
Campos, Martinez: sent to Cuba, 1022
Canada: ceded to England, 198; invaded by American troops (1775), 234; American sympathy for, 515; fugitive slaves transported to, 672; interferes in seal fisheries regulations, 979; Alaskan boundary dispute, 1054
Canals: Erie canal, constructed, 479; Ohio Canal constructed, 480; Chesapeake and Ohio Canal constructed, 480; early negotiations concerning a canal across Isthmus of Panama, 612; Secretary Hay's negotiations for the Panama Canal, 1058
Canby, Edward Richard Sprigg: sent against Modoc Indians, 904; death, 905
Canning, George: opposes intervention of Holy Alliance in South American affairs, 447
Cannon, Joseph G.: Speaker of the House, 1053; in Republican convention (1904), 1062
Canonicus: grants land to Providence, 94
Cánovas del Castillo, Antonio: assassinated, 1023
Canton, Ohio: McKinley buried at, 1049
Cape Breton: retained by French, 163; ceded to England, 198
Cape Charles: named, 54
Cape Cod: named, 54
Cape Henry: named, 58
Cape May: named, 102
Cape of Good Hope (Cape of Storms): doubled, 25
Carbonari, The: Ku-Klux-Klan compared to, 871
Carleton, Guy: at siege of Quebec, 194
Carlisle, John Griffen: Speaker of House, 969; Secretary of the Treasury, 993 *note*
Carmichael, William: sent as minister to Spain, 268

Carnegie Steel Company: strike of employees, 692
Carolina: named, 47; chartered by Charles II, 73; significance of history of, 79; see also North and South Carolina
Caroline: wrecked by Canadian militia, 515
Carpenter, Philo: aids slaves to escape, 617
Carpenters' Hall: first Continental Congress meets at, 223
Carpetbag Governments: in election of 1868, 861
"Carpet Baggers": description of, 864
Carricks Ford: battle of, 733
Carroll, Charles: last survivor of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, 480; president of American Colonization Society, 571
Carroll, Daniel: in first Congress, 343
Carteret, Sir George: proprietor of the Carolinas, 73; proprietor of New Jersey, 108
Cartier, Jacques: searches for the Northwest Passage, 46
Carver, John: elected governor by Pilgrims, 84
Casco: attack on, 158
Cass, Lewis: opposes Wilmot Proviso, 551; nominated for President, (1848), 555; candidate for Presidential nomination (1852), 619; objects to phraseology of Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 635; in Buchanan's Cabinet, 657
Castlereagh, Lord: see Stewart, Robert
Caswell, Richard: defeats Donald MacDonald, 236
Catawba Indians: location, 8; have survived the surrounding tribes, 17
Catherine of Russia: refuses to aid England against American colonies, 237
Catholicism: introduced by French among Indians, 51; efforts to convert Indians to, 174
Catholics: arrive in Maryland, 69; disagreement with Protestants of Virginia, 69; persecution of, affects prosperity of Maryland, 72; excluded from Georgia, 81; states in Rhode Island, 94; persecuted in New England, 148; disfranchised in many colonies, 148; charged with inciting people of Pennsylvania to join French, 149; persecuted in Virginia, 149
Cavaliers: arrival in Virginia, 64
Cavite: captured by Americans, 1029
Cedar Creek or Run: battle of Culpeper Court House at, 763; battle of (1864), 793; political effect of victory of, 801
Cemetery Ridge: at battle of Gettysburg, 789
Census of 1790, 355
Centennial, The, 903
Centerville: Union troops retreat to, 763
Central America: revolts against Spanish rule, 1021
Central Pacific Railroad: built, 902
Century, Progress of a, 1086
Cerro Gordo: battle of, 549
Cervera y Topete, Pascual: at Santiago, 1029; taken prisoner, 1030
Chaffee, Adna Romanza: in Santiago campaign, 1029
Champion Hill: battle of (1863), 777
Champlain, Samuel de: explorations of, 48; defeats the Iroquois, 50; resentment of Iroquois over his victory, 175
Champlain Lake: discovered, 50; Nicholson burns fort on, 162
Chancellorsville: battle of (1863), 771; confederate hopes raised by victory at, 778
Chandler, Zachariah: refuses to concede election to Tilden (1876), 900
Channing, William Ellery: member of American Anti-Slavery Society, 574
Chapultepec: storming of, 550
Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor: rewards Cortez, 40; his power and motto, 43
Charles VI, Holy Roman Emperor: death, 163
Charles I, King of England: attitude toward Virginia, 63; grants charter to Massachusetts Bay Colony, 87
Charles II, King of England: restoration of, 64; recalls Berkeley from Virginia, 66; gives grant of the Car-

olinas to favorites, 73; grants liberal charter to Rhode Island, 94; vacillating policy of, 104; his dislike of Quakers, 110
Charles IX, King of France: Carolina named for, 47
Charles, Cape: see Cape Charles
Charleston, South Carolina: permanently founded, 76; polling-place of colony, 78; tea stored in damp cellars, 219; siege of (1776), 236; population in time of Jackson, 479; President enforces customs collections, 494; Ordinance of Nullification suspended at, 496; abolition literature taken from the mails, 576; Democratic national convention, 678; secession convention, 684; Confederates seize arsenal, 691; United States property seized by State authorities, 704; rejoices over surrender of Fort Sumter, 712; threatened by Sherman, 807; evacuated, 808
Charlestown, Virginia: execution of John Brown at, 675
Charlotte, North Carolina: Confederate seize United States Mint, 692
Charter Colonies, 114
Charter Oak: story of, 100
Charters, Colonial: Carolinas, 74; Connecticut, 100; Georgia, 80; Maine, 95; Maryland, 68; Massachusetts Bay, 86; New Hampshire, 96; New Jersey, 109; New York, 105; Pennsylvania, 111; Plymouth, 83; Rhode Island, 94, 100; Virginia, 56
Chartres: French claims, 168
Chase, Salmon Portland: member of Buffalo convention (1848), 558; speech on compromise measures, 607; writes and signs address against Douglas, 633; answers Douglas's speech (1853), 634; leader of Republican Party, 653; in Republican convention, 680; Secretary of the Treasury, 708; favored for President, 799; opposes Legal Tender Act, 820, 900; establishes national banking system, 820; administers oath of office to Johnson, 830; presides over trial of President Johnson, 851; aspires to Presidency, 858
Chase, Samuel: impeached, 391
Chatham, William Pitt, Earl of: see Pitt, William, Earl of Chatham
Chattahoochie River: Sherman crosses, 795; Hood crosses enroute for Tennessee, 803
Chattanooga: battle of Chickamauga near, 783; effect of Confederate loss of, 785; estimated losses in battles around, 785
Cheeves, Langdon: in Congress, 417
Cherokee Indians: religious beliefs, 8; invent a system of writing, 12; friendly relations with Oglethorpe, 81; Jackson's stand against, 487; troubles with Georgia, 486; removed to Indian Territory, 488
Cherry Valley: massacre of, 297
Cherubusco: battle of (1847), 550
Chesapeake: attacked by the *Leopard,* 409; defeated by the *Shannon,* 423
Chesapeake and Delaware Canal: government aids, 442
Chesapeake and Ohio Canal: constructed, 480
Chester: meeting of first Pennsylvania legislature at (1682), 111
Cheyenne Indians: belong to Algonquian stock, 8
Chicago: its rank in Jackson's time, 479; Republican convention meets, 680; Democratic national convention (1864), 800; popular respect to Lincoln's remains, 827; Republican convention (1868), 857; branch of the Whisky Ring, 894; fire of 1871, 902; riots during railroad strikes, 919; Republican and Democratic Conventions (1884), 942; anarchist riot (1887), 961; World's Fair, 981, 1009; Democratic Convention (1892), 989; the Pullman car strike, 1002; Democratic convention (1896), 1012; Republican convention (1904), 1062
Chickahominy River: operations in Civil War near, 758
Chickamauga: battle of (1863), 783; Thomas at, 803
Chickasaw Bayou: Sherman turned back from, 775
Chickasaw Bluffs (Memphis): in French claims, 168
Chickasaw Indians: location, 8; Tecum-

seh seeks alliance of, 416; removed to Indian Territory, 488
Chief Justice of the United States: salary, 346; John Jay, the first, 346
Chili: revolution of 1891, 978
Chilkoot Pass: awarded to United States in Alaskan boundary dispute, 1054
China: Boxer outrages, 1047
Chinese: movement against, 910; immigration restriction in party platforms (1880), 931
Chinese Exclusion Act: passed, 920; campaign of 1888, 958; reënacted, 1048
Chippewa: battle of (1814), 425
Choate, Rufus: makes campaign speeches (1840), 524; quoted on influence of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," 638; his influence in election (1856), 657
Choctaw Indians: location, 8; Tecumseh seeks alliance of, 416; removed to Indian Territory, 488
Christian Commission, The: work of, 825
Christianity: introduced into Mexico, 39; among the Spanish Indians, 44; French attempts to convert Indians, 51; conversion of New England Indians, 97; resisted by Pokanokets, 97; requirement for civil rights in Penn's colony, 111
Church, Benjamin: captures King Philip, 98
Church of England: see Episcopal Church
Cibola, Seven Cities of: search for, 41
Cienfuegos: blockaded, 1027
Cincinnati: rank in Jackson's time, 479; Democratic convention (1856), 652; Lincoln makes speech at, 706; Liberal Republican convention, 860; branch of the Whisky Ring, 864; Republican convention (1876), 906; Democratic convention (1880), 930
Circuit Courts: created, 346
Civil Rights Act: passed, 844
Civil Service: under Jefferson, 301; reorganized by Jackson, 483; agitated, 937; under Grant and Hayes, 938; Pendleton Act passed, 938; under Cleveland, 1007
Civil War, The: main treatment, 684; slavery controversy, 561; election of Lincoln and secession of Southern States, 684; comparative resources, 724; first shot fired, 711; first battle at Philippi, 732; surrender of Fort Sumter, 712; campaigns in the West, 738; campaigns in the East, 752; emancipation of slaves, 766, 767; Vicksburg and Gettysburg campaigns, 775; last years of war, 780; political effects of, 801; cost of, 821; declared at end, 845; results to negro race, 874
Claiborne, William: trouble with Lord Baltimore, 71
Claiborne, William Charles Cole: governor of Mississippi Territory, 395; governor of Louisiana, 309
Clarendon, Earl of: see Albemarle, Duke of
Clarendon, George William Frederick, Earl of: unsatisfactory treaty concluded with, 882
Clark, Champ: in Democratic convention (1904), 1064
Clark, George Rogers: conquers Northwest Territory, 317
Clark, William: expedition of, 400
Clarke, John: settles at Aquidneck, 94; secures new charter for Rhode Island, 94
Clay, Cassius M.: joins liberal movement, 860
Clay, Clement Claiborne: farewell speech in the Senate, 629
Clay, Henry: member of Congress, 417; appointed on Texan commission, 429; favors tariff for West, 438; views Texas as part of Louisiana Purchase, 445; sympathy for South American republics, 449; opposes prohibition of slavery in Arkansas, 453; compromise proposed by, 455; champion of protection, 457; sketch of, 461; rivalry with Jackson, 493; offers tariff compromise, 496; nominated for President (1831), 498; leader of the Democratic Republican Party, 510; proposed nominee of Whig Party, 521; anger at defeat for nomination, 522; makes campaign speeches (1840), 523; quoted

on United States claims to Texas, 532; nominated for President (1844), 537; son killed at Buena Vista, 548; opposes Mexican War, 554; candidate for Presidential nomination (1848), 557; president of American Colonization Society, 571; returns to Congress (1850), 600; proposes compromise measures, 601; his speech in Congress (1850), 602; death, 620; statue in New Orleans, 976; interest in an isthmian canal, 1055
Clayton, John Middeton: negotiates Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, 613
Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (1850), 613; secures coöperation of Great Britain, 1056; annulled, 1058
Cleburne, Patrick R.: death, 803
Clergy: influence in New England, 139; influence of, in the colonies, 145; of the Southern Colonies, 149; made subject to laws in Virginia, 150; salaries paid in tobacco in Virginia, 150
Cleveland, Grover (1837——), President of the United States, 1885–1889, 1893–1897: early life, 944; nominated for President (1884), 944; inauguration (1885), 949; Civil Service Reform, 950, 1007; uses his veto power, 952; refuses to sign Chinese Exclusion Act, 958; refuses to submit treaty with Nicaragua to Senate, 959; defeated on tariff issue, 963; second nomination unanimous, 965; nominated for President (1892), 989; second inauguration, 993; recommends repeal of Sherman Silver Law, 994; complications with Hawaii, 998; the Venezuelan affair, 1000; subdues strike in Chicago, 1003; financial depression of 1894, 1005; checkmated by Republican Congress, 1007; at the opening of the World's Fair, 1010; his message to Congress concerning Cuban question, 1022; withdraws Nicaraguan treaty, 1056
Cleveland, Ohio: Lincoln makes speech at, 706; Frémont nominated by convention at, 799; popular respect to Lincoln's remains, 827; Garfield buried in, 934
Cliff-dwellers: description, 11
Clifford, Nathan: member of the Electoral Commission, 913 *note*
Clinch, Colonel: in East Florida, 444
Clinton, De Witt: defeated for President, 434; Erie canal projected by, 479
Clinton, George (d. 1761): appoints Johnson Colonel of Six Nations, 176
Clinton, George (1739–1812): governor of New York, 311; member of New York ratification convention, 337; receives Washington in New York, 341; absent from first Congress, 343; candidate for Vice President, (1792), 357; nominated for Vice President (1805), 401; elected Vice President, 402; nominated Vice President, (1809), 413
Clinton, Sir Henry: arrives at Boston, 231; sent to take possession of the Southern colonies, 236; captures Charleston, 272; succeeds Howe, 267; at battle of Monmouth, 262; sends Arnold to devastate Connecticut, 285
Clinton, Mississippi: race riot at, 873 *note*
Clymer, George: in first Congress, 342
Coahuila, Mexico: united with Texas, 532
Cobb, Howell: elected Speaker of House, 599; influence over President, 696; resigns from Cabinet, 704
Cobb, Thomas R. R.: death at Marye's Heights, 770
Cockburn, Sir Alexander: in Geneva commission, 885
Cod, Cape: see Cape Cod
Coddington, William: settles at Aquidneck, 94; founds Newport, 94
"*Codex Flatœnsis*," 19
Coffin, Levi: aids slaves to escape, 617; president of the underground railroad, 617
Cohabitation Act: passed 155
Cold Harbor: battle of Gaines Mills near (1862), 761; battle of (1864),

789; political effect of last battle, 801
Colfax, Schuyler: nominated Vice President, 857
Coligny, Gaspard de: sends out a colony, 47
Colon: northern terminus of Panama Canal, 1056
Colonial Congress: meets at New York (1690), 158
Colonies, American: classification of, 114; government of, 116
Colorado: the Grand Cañon discovered, 42; effect of Missouri Compromise, 456; part of, ceded to United States, 552; Northwest Territory includes part of, 631; discovery of gold, 901; Presidential election of 1892, 993; Presidential election of 1900, 1040; Presidential election of 1904, 1072
Columbia, District of: see District of Columbia
Columbia, South Carolina: nullification convention meets at, 493; secession convention at, 684; burned, 807
Columbia River: discovered, 541
Columbia University: founded, 140; graduates of, in Constitutional Convention, 323
Columbian Exposition, World's: preparations for, 981; held in Chicago, 1009
Columbus, Kentucky: Confederates hold, 743; abandoned by Confederates, 746
Columbus, Ohio: Lincoln makes speech at, 700; popular respect to Lincoln's remains, 827
Columbus, Bartholomew: sails around the Cape of Good Hope, 25; presents his brother's schemes to Henry VII of England, 29; accompanies his brother on his second voyage, 33
Columbus, Christopher: early history, 26; attempts to present his schemes to Spanish sovereigns, 28; his first voyage, 30; landing of, 31; honored by Ferdinand and Isabella, 32; his second voyage, 33; third voyage, 33; sent to Spain in chains, 33; fourth voyage, 34; death, 34
Commerce and Trade: Henry VIII places first restriction on, 34; in the Spanish-American colonies, 45; hampered in New France, 51; policy of England toward Virginia colonists, 66; importance in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, 101; colonies and the West Indies, 134; treaties between United States and foreign powers, 347; American carriers benefited by Anglo-French war, 360; destruction of American commerce in War of 1812, 430; considered by Panama Congress, 468; interrupted between North and South, 678
Committee of Correspondence, Secret: appointed by second Continental Congress, 238; work of, 265; name changed to Committee on Foreign Affairs, 265
Committee on Foreign Affairs: see Committee of Correspondence, Secret
Committees of Correspondence, 217
"Common Sense": published, 143
Commonwealth, The: effect on Virginia, 64
Communal Houses: found in the Columbia region, 10
Communal System: in Virginia colony, 61
Compact, The: signed by Pilgrims, 84
Compromise of 1850: proposed, 501
Compromises of the Constitution: representation, 327; apportionment of representation, 327, 509; foreign slave trade, 328, 560
Concord: battle of (1775), 227
Confederacy, The: secession of the Southern States, 684; seizes property of United States within seceding States, 691; organized, 694; Montgomery selected as capital, 693; permanent Constitution adopted, 695; preparations for war, 708, 738; capital transferred to Richmond, 718; enlistment of privateers, 723; strength and resources, 724; loss of New Orleans, 752; heights of its hopes, 770; effect of Gettysburg and Vicksburg, 782; strength of, opposed to the Army of the Potomac, 787; government removed to Greens-

boro, 813; disbandment of army, 814; finances, 819; cost of the war, 821; sufferings, 823
Confederate Flag: adopted, 694
Confederation, Articles of: see Articles of Confederation
Congregational Church: state church in Massachusetts, 101; in every New England town, 145; services, 146; supported by taxation, 148
Congress: fires on the *Merrimac,* 754; destroyed, 755
Congress of the Confederacy: powers of, 695
Congress of the United States: powers of, 331; prohibitions against, in Constitution, 331; character of the first Congress, 342; power to impose conditions in admitting states, 452; power over slavery, 581; extraordinary session of 1861, 715; denies seats to Southern members, 842; debate on reconstruction, 843; passes Reconstruction Acts, 846
Congresses, The Albany: (1690), 106; (1754), 174
Congressional Party: in Chili, 978
Conkling, Roscoe: candidate for Presidential nomination (1876), 907; opposed to Hayes, 915; urges nomination of Grant for third term, 925; feud with Blaine, 926; sketch of, 926; origin of feud with Garfield, 932; opposes appointment of Robertson, 933; resisted by Arthur, 936; responsible for Blaine's defeat in New York, 948
Connecticut: origin, 91; colonial constitution of, 92; trouble with Dutch, 92; trouble with Indians, 93; charter secured, 93; seeks confederation of New England, 96; agriculture, 101; Dutch relinquish claims, 103; colonial government of, 115; educational growth, 140; Episcopal Church in, 147; Congregational Church supported by taxation, 148; wearing of silk forbidden, 154; "Blue Laws," 154, in Colonial Congress, 158; quarrel with Pennsylvania over Wyoming Valley, 312; cedes Northwest Territory to the United States, 317; chooses delegates for Constitutional Convention, 323; ratifies the Constitution, 336; favors financial plans of Hamilton, 350; in War of 1812, 430; Hartford Convention, 431; measures toward abolition of slavery adopted, 564; abolition societies formed, 571; opening of schools to negroes prohibited, 575; state election of 1855, 646; Presidential election of 1884, 947; Presidential election of 1888, 967; Presidential election of 1892, 992
Connecticut Compromise, 327
Conspiracy of Pontiac: see Pontiac
Constantinople: captured by the Turks, 20
Constellation: built, 375
Constitution: built, 375; one of the largest boats in the navy, 419; destroys the *Guerriere,* 422; destroys the *Java,* 422; Jackson's carriage built of wood from, 511
Constitution, The: framing of, 324; sources of, 330; supremacy of, 332; ratified, 334; success of, 338; Eleventh Amendment ratified, 379; strict construction of, favored by Jefferson, 398; twelfth amendment, 403; amendments proposed by the Hartford Convention, 432; no power over slavery, 452; does not follow flag, 595; negro citizenship under, 660; adopted with changes by Confederacy, 694; fourteenth amendment, 823; provides a safeguard against the dangers of an interregnum, 830; thirteenth amendment, 841; fourteenth amendment, 844; fifteenth amendment, 845; Grant urges fifteenth amendment, 861; the fifteenth amendment in the South, 872; limits power of Congress over trade and commerce, 972
Constitutional Convention: origin of, 321; delegates chosen, 322; distinguished character of, 323; struggle over slavery question, 566
Constitutional Union Party: see Democratic Party (Northern)
Consular Service: reformed, 1084

Continental Congress, First: proposed, 222; meets at Philadelphia, 223; acts of, 224
Continental Congress, Second: meets in Philadelphia, 229; appoints George Washington commander-in-chief of the army, 230; recommends the adoption of constitutions by the colonies, 238; orders Fort Washington to be held, 244; recommends non-importation of slaves, 552
Contreras: battle of (1847), 550
Conway, Henry Seymour: favors repeal of Stamp Act, 214
Conway, Thomas: leader of Conway Cabal, 261
Conway Cabal: attempts to secure removal of Washington, 261
Conyngham, Gustavus: naval exploits of, 290
Cooke & Co., Jay: failure of, 896
Cooper, James Fenimore: in American literature, 481
Cooper, Peter: nominated for President (1876), 909
Cooper Union, New York: Lincoln's speech at, 681
Corinth, Mississippi: Federals capture, 750; Halleck's victory at (May, 1862), 762; battle of (Oct. 3–4, 1862), 774
Cornbury, Viscount: see Hyde, Edward
Corning, Erastus: opposes Lincoln's action in Vallandigham case, 816
Cornwallis, Charles: attempts to capture Washington at Trenton, 248; quoted on Washington's victory, 250; at battle of Brandywine, 259; captures Philadelphia, 259; at battle of Monmouth, 263; at capture of Charleston, 273; at battle of Guilford Court House, 281; retreats to Yorktown, 283; surrenders, 285; centennial of his surrender celebrated, 940
Coronado, Vasquez: searches for the Seven Cities of Cibola, 41; discovers the Grand Cañon of Colorado, 42
Corporation Colonies, 114
Corregan, Charles H.: Socialist Labor nominee for Presidency, 1067
Correspondence, Committees of: see Committees of Correspondence
Cortelyou, George Bruce: made head of department of Commerce and Labor, 1052; Parker's attack on, 1071
Cortes, Ferdinand: his conquest of Mexico, 38; Charles V rewards, 40; searches for the Seven Cities of Cibola, 41
Corwin, Thomas: makes campaign speeches (1840), 524
Cosa, Juan de la: with Columbus on his first voyage, 30 *note*
Cosby, Governor: consequences of suit of, 107
Cotton, John: in Salem Colony, 90; opposed to Hooker, 91; aids the founding of Boston Latin School, 140; early colonial author, 142; quoted on religious toleration, 147
Cotton Industry: in the Southern colonies, 136; growth of, during War of 1812, 436; effect of tariff on, 438; invention of the cotton gin, 450, 565; dependency of the Confederacy on cotton exports, 726
Cotton Boll Weevil: appropriation for extermination, 1053
Cotton Centennial: held at New Orleans, 940
Council for New England: makes Connecticut grant, 91
Council of the Indies: see Indies, Council of the
Countess of Scarborough: fight with the *Pallas*, 290
County, Southern: unit of representation, 124; officers of, 124
Court, Supreme: see Supreme Court
Courts, Circuit: see Circuit Courts
Courts, District: see District Courts
Cowpens: battle of (1781), 281
Cox, Jacob Dolson: in Grant's Cabinet, 861
Coxey, Jacob S.: leads army of unemployed to Washington, 1004
Crandall, Prudence: imprisoned, 575
Craven, Charles: governor of South Carolina, 77
Crawford, Samuel W.: quoted on bombardment of Fort Sumter, 711
Crawford, William Harris: candidate

for Presidency, 460; defeated for Presidency, 464
Crazy Horse: leader of Indian war, 905
Credit Mobilier: scandal concerning, 895; Garfield blamed for complicity in, 931
Creek Indians: location, 8; Tecumseh seeks alliance of, 416; Jackson's expedition against, 427; defeated at Horse Shoe Bend, 461; treaty with, 470; removed to Indian Territory, 488
Creswell, J. A. J.: in Grant's Cabinet, 861
Crime of '73, 899
Criminals: treaty with Great Britain for extradition of, 531
"Crisis": published, 143
Crisp, Charles Frederick: Speaker of the House, 995
Crittenden, Colonel: death, 625
Crittenden, John Jordan: quoted on Clay's farewell address, 601; proposes a slavery compromise (1860), 700
Crocket, Davy: death, 534
Cromwell, Oliver: restores Maryland to Lord Baltimore, 72
Crook, George: in expedition against Sitting Bull, 905
Crown Point: expedition planned against, 176; captured by English, 193; captured by Ethan Allen, 228
Crusades, The: summary of, 20
Cuba: discovered, 32; Treaty of Paris, 198; Pierce on annexation of, 624; Buchanan desires annexation of, 657; purchase recommended by Buchanan, 671; insurrection of 1868-1878, 888, 1022; insurrection of 1895, 1022; under protection of the United States, 1032, 1045; first general election, 1046; reciprocity treaty with the United States, 1053
Cullom, Shelby Moore: investigates charges against the railways, 956; chairman of Senate committee on Foreign Relations, 1076
Culpeper, Lord Thomas: receives grant of Virginia with Arlington, 64; governor of colony, 66
Culpeper Court House: battle of (1862), 763
Culp's Hill: in battle of Gettysburg, 780
Cumberland: fires on the *Merrimac*, 754
Cumberland, William Augustus, Duke of: names fort, 176
Cumberland Road: building of, 441
Cummings Point: battery opens fire on Fort Sumter, 711
Currency: tobacco used in Virginia colony, 136; system of decimal currency established, 320; craze for paper money, 321; Hamilton's views on, 349; Hamilton's plan for a national mint, 353; adoption of a gold and silver standard, 354; deranged by war of 1812, 438; national banking system established, 820; in platforms of 1868, 860; resumption policy, 897; the Bland-Allison Law, 922; attitude of Democratic convention (1904) toward gold standard, 1065
Curtis, Benjamin Robbins: dissents from Taney decision, 660
Curtis, George William: joins liberal movement, 890; refuses to support Blaine's nomination, 943; opposes election of Blaine (1884), 946
Cushing, Caleb: Attorney General, 624; counsel in Geneva commission, 885
Custer, George Armstrong: in expedition against Sitting Bull, 905
Cutler, Manasseh: plans government for Northwest Territory, 318
Czolgosz, Leon: President McKinley shot by, 1049

D

Dacres, Captain: commands *Guerriere*, 422
Dahlgren, John Adolf: commands Federal fleet, 805
d' Ailly, Pierre: see Ailly, Pierre d'
Dakotas, The: affected by Missouri Compromise, 456
Dale, Richard: commands squadron, 394
Dale, Sir Thomas: governor of Virginia, 60
Dallas, Alexander James: Secretary of Treasury, 439
Dallas, George Miffin: nominated for Vice President, 537; hung in effigy, 554

Dana, Francis: sent as minister to Russia, 268
Dane, Nathan: supports plan of government for Northwest Territory, 319; opposes ratification of the Constitution, 335
Daniel, John Warwick: chairman of Democratic convention, 1013
Dare, Virginia: first English child born in America, 53
Dark Horse: Polk first, 537
Darkness, Sea of: see Atlantic Ocean.
Dartmouth College: founded, 140; Supreme Court decision on, 440; Amos Kendall a graduate from, 485
Davenport, John: founds New Haven, 92
Davie, William R.: appointed envoy, 376
Davis, Charles Henry: captures Memphis, 750
Davis, Cushman Kellogg: member of Spanish-American peace commission, 1031
Davis, David: joins liberal movement, 890; candidate for Presidential nomination (1872), 891; proposed for a member of the Electoral Commission, 912; member of the Senate, 916
Davis, George Whitefield: military governor of Porto Rico, 1036; arranges judicial system and various departments for Porto Rico, 1040
Davis, Henry Gassaway: nominated for Vice President, 1066
Davis, Henry Winter, protests against Lincoln's actions, 838
Davis, Jefferson: in Mexican War, 554; quoted on the righteousness of slavery, 591; opposes compromise of 1850, 608; heads protest against admission of California, 609; Secretary of War, 624; Lincoln sworn into volunteer service by, 660; denounces John Brown's raid, 676; his resolutions on the slavery question, 678; parting address in Congress, 690; earlier career, 692; elected president of Confederacy, 692; inaugurated, 693; quoted on grievances of the South, 699; votes against Crittenden's compromise measure, 701; message concerning conduct of government at Washington to war commissioners, 710; call for troops, 717; his prophecy, 778; rejoices over secession of Virginia, 718; quoted on motives of Confederacy, 720; orders Johnston to aid Beauregard at Bull Run, 734; favors an advance on Washington after battle of Bull Run, 736; refuses to remove A. S. Johnston from command, 745; removes J. E. Johnston from his command, 795; plans new campaign with Hood, 802; in Hampton Roads Conference, 809; receives news of fall of Richmond, 810; flight from Richmond, 810; Greeley signs bail bond of, 892
Davis, Jefferson C.: captures Modoc band, 905
Davis, Reuben: secessionist leader, 701
Dawes, Henry Laurens: supports Hayes, 915
Day, William Rufus: member of Spanish-American peace commission, 1031
Dayton, William Lewis: nominated for Vice President (1856), 654; in Republican convention, 680
Deane, Silas: delegate to first Continental Congress, 223; sent to France to procure supplies for the army, 258; sent to Europe, 295; commissioned as minister to France, 295; signs Treaty of Versailles, 297
Dearborn, Henry: Secretary of War, 380
Debs, Eugene Victor: arrested, 1003; nominated President by Social Democratic party, 1067
Decatur, Stephen (1751–1808): commands squadron, 375
Decatur, Stephen (1779–1820): commands frigate *United States*, 422; naval hero in War of 1812, 433
Decatur, Illinois: Lincoln nominated by State convention at, 681
Decisions of the Supreme Court: see Supreme Court Decisions.
Declaration of Independence: main treatment, 236; advocated, 230; adopted, 241; its reception among the people, 241; written by Jefferson, 383; first draft contains slavery clause, 502

Declaration of Rights: drawn up by American colonies, 212; issued by first Continental Congress, 223
Declaration of Secession: South Carolina, 685
Declaratory Act: passed, 214
Deer Creek: in Vicksburg campaign, 776
Deerfield: burned in King Philip's War, 97; attacked in the French and Indian War, 160
Delaware: first settlements, 108; joined to Pennsylvania, 108; Penn grants separate legislature, 112; statistics at outbreak of Revolution, 126; status of society at outbreak of the Revolution, 132; land of Quakers and Lutherans, 149; refuses to surrender power of regulating commerce, 311; produce from, taxed by Pennsylvania, 311; fails to pay her share of national government expenses (1781), 313; chooses delegates for Constitutional Convention, 322; ratifies the Constitution, 335; opposes Lincoln's reëlection, 802; Presidential election (1868), 861; Presidential election (1892), 992; Presidential election (1896), 1018
Delaware, Thomas West, Baron: governor of Virginia, 60
Delaware Indians: belong to Algonquian stock, 8; negotiate with Penn, 111
Delaware River: Walloons settle on, 102; Washington crosses, 247
De Lesseps Company: see Lesseps, Ferdinand de
Demarcation, Line of: established, 32; King of France disregards, 46
Democratic party: origin, 434; rise of, 459; followers of Jackson so named, 498; its faith in Jackson, 501; second national convention, 509; convention at Baltimore (1840), 522; pleased with Tyler, 529; convention at Baltimore (1844), 536; convention meets at Baltimore (1848), 555; convention at Baltimore (1852), 619; convention at Cincinnati (1856), 652; dissension due to Lecompton policy, 663; disruption of Northern and Southern Democrats, 670; convention at Baltimore (1860), 682; national convention (1868), 858; theories of, sustained by Chief Justice Chase, 859; regains control in Southern States, 873, 932; gain South from carpet bag rule, 873; joined by conservative Republicans in South, 873; convention at Baltimore (1872), 892; convention at St. Louis (1876), 908; convention of 1880, 930; convention at Chicago (1884), 944; tariff issue of 1888, 963; platform in 1888, 966; "landslide election" of 1890, 975; convention at Chicago (1892), 989; platform (1892), 990; absorbs Populists, 1012; convention at Chicago (1896), 1012; platform (1900), 1038; convention of 1904, 1064
Democratic-Republican Party: assimilates Federal Party, 519
Democrats, Gold: convention at Indianapolis (1896), 1015
Democrats, Northern: denounce Emancipation Proclamation, 767
Denby, Charles: member of the Philippine commission, 1042
Denmark: approves cession of St. Thomas, 879
Department of Foreign Affairs: see State, Department of
Department of State: see State, Department of
Department of the Treasury: see Treasury, Department of the
Department of War: see War, Department of
Dependent Pension Bill: vetoed by President Cleveland, 952; effect on election (1890), 975
Depew, Chauncey Mitchell: agitated for Presidency, 965
De Soto, Hernando: see Soto, Hernando de
Detroit: in French claims, 168; besieged by Indians, 200; given up by England, 362; surrendered by Hull, 420; Harrison recaptures, 425
Devens, Charles: Attorney-General, 916
Dewey, George: commands Asiatic Squadron, 1028; at battle of Manila Bay, 1028; member of the Philippine commission, 1042
Diaz, Bartholomew: discovers Cape of Good Hope, 25

Dickinson, John: uses his eloquence in favor of rebellion, 216; delegate to first Continental Congress, 223; opposes a declaration of independence, 240; supposed author of the Articles of Confederation, 300
Diedrich, Admiral von: attempts to send a warship into the harbor of Manila, 1035
Dieskau, Baron: defeated and mortally wounded, 183
Dingley, Nelson: introduces a tariff bill, 1019
Dingley Tariff Act, 1019
Dinwiddie, Robert: claims under Indian treaties, 170; sends Washington to warn French fort, 170
Discovery: carries settlers to Virginia, 57
Dissenters: persecuted by Stuyvesant, 103
District Court: created, 346
District of Columbia: building of Washington, 380; center of domestic slave trade, 570; Quakers petition for abolition of slavery in, 572; Compromise of 1850 and, 601; slavery abolished, 600
Dix, John Adams: member of Buffalo convention (1848), 558; telegram to New Orleans custom officer, 715
Dixon, Archibald: proposes repeal of Missouri Compromise, 633
Doctrine of Implied Powers: see Implied Powers, Doctrine of
Dole, Sanford Ballard: provisional president of Hawaii, 997
Dominican Republic: proposed annexation of, 870
Donelson, Andrew Jackson: nominated for Vice President (1856), 672
Dongan, Thomas: yields liberty to people, 105
Dorchester Company: makes settlement at Glouster, 87
Dorchester Heights: occupied by Washington, 235
Dorsey, Stephen W.: implicated in "star route" frauds, 936
Doubleday, Captain: at bombardment of Fort Sumter, 711
Douglas, Stephen Arnold: candidate for Presidential nomination (1852), 610; introduces a bill for organizing Nebraska, 630, speech in favor of Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 634; introduces a bill providing for admission of Kansas, 650; indorses Dred Scott decision, 660; denounces Lecompton scheme, 662; sketch of, 664, 668; in Lincoln-Douglas Debate, 667; favored by North and West for President, 678; nominated for President (1860), 682; supports Lincoln in contest with South, 715; Johnson lays corner stone of monument to, 846
Douglass, Frederick: leader of negro race, 587; aids slaves to escape, 617
Dove: brings settlers to Maryland, 70
Dover, New Hampshire: founded, 95; attack on, 158
Dow, Neal: Prohibition Party nominee, 950
Draft Riots, 817
Dragon, The: see Drake, Sir Francis
Drake, Sir Francis: his buccaneering tour, 52; carries colonists from Roanoke Island to England, 53; in the war with Spain, 54
Dred Scott Decision: denounced by Republicans and Free Soilers, 660; not to be examined with Chief Justice's opinion, 661; repudiated in Republican platform (1860), 681
Dress: among the Indians, 11; regulated by law in Massachusetts, 154; of Washington at inauguration, 341; of Jefferson, 384; American diplomatic costume, 630
Drummond, William: first governor of Albemarle, 74
Duane, William John: resists Jackson, as Secretary of the Treasury, 503
Dudley, Thomas: deputy-governor under Winthrop, 88
Dueling: practised in the South, 500
Duke's Laws, The: provisions of, 104
Dunbar, Colonel: in Braddock's expedition, 177
Dunmore, Lord: burns Norfolk, Virginia, 230
Dustin, Hannah: story of, 150
Du Quesne, Marquis: governor of Canada, 172
Dutch: colonies, freedom in Mary

land, 72; emigrations of, from New York to South Carolina, 75; conflict with Connecticut settlers, 91; as navigators, 101; settlements of, 102; allied with England against Spain, 102; maritime supremacy of, 104; claims in Delaware, 107; included in Penn's colony, 113; large element in New York (1775), 126
Dutch East India Company: see East India Company, Dutch
Dutch Reformed Church: enforced by Stuyvesant, 103; established in New York, 148; disestablished, 148
Duties and Customs: States surrender power of import tax, 349; see also Taxation
Dwight, Theodore: Secretary of Hartford convention, 431

E

Early, Jubal Anderson: defeated at Opequan Creek, 792; sent against Washington, 792; his generalship, 793
East Florida: see Florida
East India Company, British: success of, 56; allowed a drawback on tea shipped to the colonies, 219
East India Company, Dutch: Hudson's voyages, 101
Eaton, John H.: in Jackson's Cabinet, 485
Eaton, Theophilus: founds New Haven, 92
Eaton Scandal, The: Jackson's efforts to silence, 499
Eden, Charles: governor of North Carolina, 75
Edict of Nantes: effect of revocation on American colonies, 76
Edmunds, George Franklin: in Congress organized 1869, 862; member of Electoral Commission, 913 *note;* as Presidential nominee (1880), 926; support transferred to Garfield, 929; candidate for Presidential nomination (1884), 943
Edmunds Act: passed, 983
Edmunds-Tucker Act: passed, 983
Education: encouraged in Virginia colony, 67; in New England colonies, 139; courses of study in colonial colleges, 142; forbidden to Southern slaves, 587; among the Southern upper class, 589; of negroes in South, 874
Edwards, Jonathan: his reputation, 139; his writings, 142
Eighth Georgia, The: loss at Gettysburg, 782
El Caney: battle of (1898), 1029
Electoral Commission, 911
Eliot, John: reduces Indian language to writing, 12; imprisoned, 88; aids in editing of Bay Psalm Book, 143; called Apostle to the Indians, 97
Elizabeth, Queen of England: encourages English seamen, 51; her commercial restrictions on colonists, 66
Elizabethtown, New Jersey: settled, 108; first assembly meets at, 108
Elkins Law: character of, 1052
Ellmaker, Amos: nominated for Vice President, 498
Ellsworth, Ephraim Elmer: killed, 731
Ellsworth, Oliver: in Constitutional Convention, 324; in first Congress, 343; plans organization of national judiciary, 346; administers oath to President Adams, 371; appointed envoy, 376
Emancipation: Frémont declares Missouri slaves free, 741; agitated as a war measure, 766; Confiscation Act (1862) effecting, 766; gradual, 766; importuned by delegations, 767
Emancipation Proclamation, The Preliminary: account of, 766
Emancipation Proclamation, The Final: issued, 767; Lincoln's justification for, 768; made permanent by thirteenth amendment, 841
Embalmed Beef Scandal, 1034
Embargo on American Shipping, 361, 410
Embree, Elihu: publishes first abolition paper in America, 573
Emerson, Ralph Waldo: in American literature, 481; member of American Anti-Slavery Society, 574
Emigrant-Aid Society: organized, 647
Empire State: see New York
Empire State of the South: see Georgia
Endicott, John: breaks up settlement of

Merrymount, 85; receives grant from Plymouth Company, 86
Endicott, William Crowinshield: Secretary of War, 950 *note*
Enfant, Major I': plans City of Washington, 350
Enforcement Acts: passed, 870; decision of Supreme Court respecting, 873
England: Northwest boundary dispute, 443; opposes intervention in South America, 446; Northeast boundary dispute, 514; prepares for war with United States (1861), 729; in joint intervention against Mexico, 875; appoints Behring Sea arbitrators, 980; Alaskan-Canadian boundary dispute, 1054
English: claims in Delaware, 107; dominate in colonies, 126; population of, in French and Indian war, 173; attitude towards Indians, 175
English, William H. E.: nominated Vice President, 930
English Bill, The: character of, 663
English East India Company: see East India Company, British
English Revolution: effect of, in America, 157
Episcopal Church: established in South Carolina, 78; in Portsmouth, 95; toleration of, after Restoration, 99; disfranchisement of members, 99; befriended by Andros, 100; opposed in New England, 147; established in New York, 149
Era of Good Feeling: begins with Monroe's election, 435; named, 459
Eratosthenes: believes the earth to be a sphere, 23
Erieson, Leif: see Leif Erieson
Eriesson, John: designer of the *Monitor*, 755
Erie Canal: increases industrial activity, 479
Erskine, Thomas, Baron Erskine: British minister, 415
Eskimauan Indian: independent of other families, 7
Española: founded, 33
Essex, American frigate: destroyed, 424
Estaing, Charles Hector, Comte d': bombards Savannah, 272
Ethnology, Bureau of, in Washington: its classification of Indians, 7
Eutaw Springs: battle of (1781), 282
Evangeline: Longfellow's story of, 187
Evarts, William Maxwell: counsel in Geneva commission, 885; Secretary of State, 916
Everett, Edward: makes campaign speeches (1840), 524; nominated for Vice President, 680; supports Lincoln in contest with the South, 715; address at Gettysburg, 783
Ewell, Richard Stoddard: Confederate commander at Gettysburg, 780; at fall of Richmond, 811
Excise, Resistance to: see Whiskey Rebellion
Ezra Church: Hood defeated at, 797

F

Fairbanks, Charles Warren: nominated Vice President, 1004
Fairfax, Lieutenant: in the Trent Affair, 729
Fairfax, Thomas, Baron Fairfax: employs Washington, 170
Fairmount Park: scene of Centennial Exposition, 903
Faneuil, Peter: engaged in African trade, 130
Fannin, Captain: at battle of Mission Concepción, 533; captured by Mexicans, 533
Farmers' Alliance Party: in election (1888), 966
Farragut, David Glasgow: opens the Lower Mississippi, 750; victory in Mobile Bay, 798; political effect of his victories, 801
Father of the Constitution: see Madison, James
Fava, Baron: Italian ambassador, 976
Fayetteville: Confederates seize arsenal, 691
Federal Bankruptcy Act, 1020
Federal City: see Washington, D. C.
Federal Hall, New York City: scene of first Presidential inauguration, 341
Federal Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization: created, 1083
Federalist, The: published, 335

Federalist Party: origin of, 335; strength in first congress, 343; growth, 355; John Adams leader of, 370; reach heighth of power, 376; unpopular enactments of, 376; New England chief seat of, 431; change grounds with Republicans in New England, 433; fall of party, 433; service to the nation, 433; last nomination of, 434; absorbed by Whigs, 434; change ground with Republicans on bank question, 439; end of, 459
Ferdinand of Aragon: at war with the Moors, 28
Ferguson, General: at battle of King's Mountain, 279
Feudalism: efforts of Dutch to establish, 102
Few, William: in first Congress, 343
Field, James G.: nominated for Vice President (1892), 991
Field, Stephen Johnson: member of the Electoral Commission, 913 *note.*
Fielden, Samuel: leader of Chicago anarchists, 961
"Fifty-four forty or fight," 543
"Fighting Bishop," The: see Polk, General Leonidas
Fillmore, Millard (1800–1874), President of the United States, July 9, 1850–1853: nominated for Vice President, 558; becomes President, 609; issues proclamation concerning execution of Fugitive Slave Law, 616; message to Congress (1851), 618; candidate for Presidential nomination (1852), 620; nominated for President (1856), 652
Financier of the Revolution: see Morris, Robert
Finns: as American colonists, 127
"First in war, first in peace and first in hearts of his countrymen," 380
Fish, Hamilton: in Grant's Cabinet, 862; in Joint High Commission, 883; protests against recognition of Cuban belligerency rights, 887
Fisheries: industry in New England, 134; question of, undecided by treaty of Ghent, 429; northeast dispute, 443; dispute with Russia, 447; value of in Alaska, 878; dispute settled by Geneva commission, 886
Fisher's Hill: battle of (1864), 792; political effect of victory, 801
Fitzpatrick, Benjamin: offered nomination for Vice President (1860), 682
Fitzsimmons, Thomas: in first Congress, 342
Five Forks: battle of, (1865), 810
Five Nations: see Iroquoian Indians
Flags, Confederate: see Confederate Flag
Fletcher, Benjamin: governor of New York, 106
Florida: discovered, 38; explored by De Soto, 42; settlement of St. Augustine, 48; boundary of, 364; annextion of West Florida, 443; troubles in territory of East Florida, 444; purchase of, 444; increases slave territory, 452; delegates withdraw from Democratic convention (1860), 679; secedes, 689; Confederates seize Forts Barancas and McRae, 691; Confederates seize Pensacola navy yard, 691; end of carpet bag rule, 873; Presidential election of 1876, 910; collapse of the "negro carpet bag" government, 915
Florida: built in English shipyard, 882
Floyd, John: receives Presidential vote in South Carolina, 499
Floyd, John Buchanan: advises against reënforcement of Southern forts, 696; influence over Buchanan, 696; resigns from Cabinet, 704; at siege of Fort Donelson, 744; escapes from Fort Donelson, 745; removed from command, 745
Flying Squadron, The: at Hampton Roads, 1028
Folger, Charles James: in Arthur's Cabinet, 936; candidate for governor of New York, 945
Foote, Andrew Hull: at capture of Fort Henry, 744; at siege of Fort Donelson, 744; at capture of Island Number Ten, 749
Foote, Samuel Augustus: resolution affecting public lands, 486, 618
Foote, Henry S.: altercation with Senator Benton, 608; elected governor of Mississippi, 511; censured by Mississippi legislature, 611
Foote Resolution, 618

Foraker Act: passed, 1040
Forbes, General: commands expedition against Fort Du Quesne, 190; death, 191
Force Act of Rhode Island, 314
Force Bill: passed, 496; obstructive procedure induced by, 969; account of, 970; effect on election (1890), 975
Ford's Theater: scene of Lincoln's assassination, 826
Foreign Affairs, Department of: see State, Department of
Forrest, Nathan Bedford: commands Confederate Cavalry, 803; joins the Ku-Klux-Klan, 871
Fort Barancas, Florida: seized by Confederates, 691
Fort Beau Lejour: captured by Monckton, 180
Fort Brown, Texas: seized by Confederates, 691
Fort Caswell, North Carolina: seized by Confederates, 691
Fort Christina: established by Swedes, 108
Fort Cumberland: named, 176
Fort Dearborn: destroyed by Indians, 420
Fort Donelson: Confederates hold, 742; siege of (1862), 744
Fort Du Quesne: erected by French, 172; expeditions planned against, 176, Braddock's march on, 177; captured and changed to Pittsburg (1755), 191
Fort Edward: Americans abandon, 253
Fort Erie: given up by England, 362; British repulsed at (1814), 430
Fort Fisher: capture of (1865), 808
Fort Frontenac: captured by English (1758), 190
Fort Gaines: guarding Mobile Bay, 798
Fort Gaspereau: captured by Monckton (1755), 180
Fort Genze: captured (1813), 425
Fort Harrison: Taylor at, 502
Fort Henry: Confederates hold, 742; Federals capture (1862), 744
Fort Jackson, Georgia: seized by Confederates, 691
Fort Jackson, Louisiana: seized by Confederates, 691; Farragut runs the fire of, 751; surrenders to Federals (1862), 752
Fort Johnson, South Carolina: opens fire on Fort Sumter, 711
Fort de Bœuf: founded, 171; reached by Washington, 171
Fort Livingston, Louisiana: seized by Confederates, 691
Fort McAllister: surrenders to Sherman (1864), 805
Fort McHenry: bombarded (1814), 427
Fort McRae, Florida: seized by Confederates, 691
Fort Macon, North Carolina: seized by Confederates, 691
Fort Meigs: battle of (1813), 425
Fort Mims: destroyed, 427
Fort Morgan, Alabama: seized by Confederates, 691; guarding Mobile Bay, 798
Fort Moultrie: troops sent to aid collector at, 494; Osceola confined in, 515; seized by Confederates, 691; dismantled, 703; South Carolina takes possession of (1890), 704
Fort Nassau: built by Kieft, 108
Fort Necessity: erected by Washington, 172
Fort Niagara: importance of, 182
Fort Orange: see Albany
Fort Pemberton: Grant turned at (1862), 770
Fort Pillow: Confederates evacuate, 750
Fort Pinckney, South Carolina: seized by Confederates, 691
Fort Pulaski, Georgia: seized by Confederates, 691
Fort St. Philip, Louisiana: seized by Confederates, 691; Farragut runs the fire of, 750; surrenders to Federals (1862), 752
Fort Smith: Confederates seize government property at, 720
Fort Snelling: Dred Scott taken to, 658
Fort Steadman: Lee assaults (1865), 810
Fort Stoddard, Alabama: Burr captured at, 404
Fort Sumter, South Carolina: seized by Confederates, 691; cost of building, 697; Major Anderson occupies, 703; women and children removed to

New York, 705; bombardment of (1861), 711; surrendered, 712; effect of bombardment on the North, 715; Lee offered Federal command at, 760
Fort Venango: founded, 170
Fort Wayne: Harmar's defeat at (1794), 365
Fortress Monroe: occupied by General Butler, 734
Forty-niners, 579
Foster, Murphy J.: Louisiana governor, 974
Fox, Charles: quoted on the battle of Guilford Court House, 282
Fox Indians: belong to Algonquian stock, 8; in Black Hawk war, 506
France: rivalry with Great Britain, 157; commercial treaty with United States, 347; American sympathy for, 357; resents attitude of United States, 372; interferes for Spain in South America, 446; settlement of spoliation claims, 507; occupies Mexico, 875; appoints Behring Sea arbitrator, 980; in general arbitration treaty, 1055; arbitration treaty with United States, 1076
Francis, David Rowland: Secretary of the Interior, 993 *note*
Francis, Joseph: Austrian emperor, 876
Franklin, Tennessee: Schofield's army entrenched at, 803
Franklin, Benjamin: agent for colonies, 122; aids in founding Academy of Pennsylvania, 141; early American author, 142; deputy postmaster-general of the colonies, 153; removed from office, 153; appointed postmaster-general by Congress, 153; proposes Plan of Union, 174; in Braddock's expedition, 177; interview with Grenville, 208; summoned before the bar of the House of Commons, 213; delegate to second Continental Congress, 229; opposed to independence of colonies, 237; member of committee to draft a declaration of independence, 240; member of Secret Committee of Correspondence, 265; commissioned as minister to France, 265; signs Treaty of Versailles, 267; opens negotiations for peace with England, 286; in Constitutional Convention, 323; suggests an opening prayer in Constitutional Convention, 326; religious belief of, 384; signs abolition petition, 572
Franklin, William Temple: prominent Tory of Philadelphia, 294
Frazier's Farm: battle near (1862), 761
Frederick the Great: forms alliance with England, 188; quoted on William Pitt, 188; praises Washington's military genius, 250; refuses to conclude alliance with the United States, 268
Frederick City: occupied by Lee (1862), 764
Fredericksburg: Burnside's defeat at (1862), 769
Freedmen's Bureau: established, 844; description of, 848
Freedom of Speech: Federalist enactments against, 378
Freedom of the Press: victory for, in colonies, 107; Federalist enactments against, 378
Freedom of worship: sought by colonists of Plymouth, 83
Freeman's Farm: battle of (1777), 255
Freeport, Illinois: Lincoln-Douglas debate at, 669
Free Soil Party: organized, 558; convention at Pittsburg (1852), 621; summons a constitutional convention in Kansas, 649; denounce Dred Scott decision, 660
"Free Speech, free soil, and Frémont," 655
Free Trade: see Taxation
Frelinghuysen, Frederick Theodore: member of the Electoral Commission, 913 *note*; succeeds Blaine, 936; effort to abrogate Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, 1058
Frelinghuysen, Theodore: nominated for Vice President, 537
Frémont, John Charles: elected senator from California, 598; nominated for President (1856), 652, 654; earlier career, 654; opposed by Choate, 657; commander of the Military District of the West, 741; relieved from command, 742; Union general in Shenandoah, 759; nominated for Presi-

dent (1864), 799; withdraws from Presidential campaign, 802
French and Indian War: Rival claims of British and French, 167; victory of French at Fort Necessity, 173; resources of belligerents, 173; Braddock's expedition, 176
French and Indian Wars: see King William's War; Queen Anne's War; King George's War; and French and Indian War.
French in America: colonies inferior to English, 157; population of, 157; Indians ally with, 157; claims in Mississippi Valley, 167; population in French and Indian War, 173; influence over Indians, 174
French War, Old: see French and Indian War
Freneau, Philip: edits the "National Gazette," 356
Friends, Society of: see Quakers
Frobisher, Sir Martin: his voyages, 52; in the war with Spain, 54
Frolic: captured, 422
Frontenac, Count Lewis de Buadede: governor of Canada, 158; defends Quebec, 158; attitude of, toward Indians, 175
Fry, Joshua: sent against French, 172; succeeded by Washington, 172
Frye, William Pierce: member of Spanish-American peace commission, 1031; elected president of Senate, 1050
Fugitive Slave Laws: 1. of 1703, 567; 2. proposed in Compromise of 1850, 602; passed, 610; operation, 614; violations of, in Ohio, 672; denounced in Western Reserve, 672; modification of, proposed, 701
Fulton, Robert: invents steamboat, 401
Fundamental Constitution or "Grand Model," devised by Locke, 74; religious freedom promised by, 76; suspended, 78
Fundamental Orders: character of, 92
Funeral Customs: in the colonies, 156
Fur Trade: important to French, 169 *note;* rivalry of French and English in, 169; of French, 174
Fur Seal Controversy, 1020

G

Gadsden Treaty (1853), 641
Gage, Thomas: in Braddock's expedition, 177, 179; boasts of fear of colonists, 220; sent to Boston, 221; fortifies Boston Neck, 225; attempts to arrest Adams and Hancock, 229; offers amnesty to all rebels, 231; reenforced, 231
Gaines, Edmund Pendleton: sent to Georgia to prevent surveys of Indian lands, 470
Gaines' Mills: battle of (1862), 761
Gallatin, Albert: appointed Secretary of Treasury, 388; ability of, 392; sent to St. Petersburg, 428; report on highway construction, 441; describes Jackson, 478
Galloway, Joseph: delegate to first Continental Congress, 223; prominent Tory of Pennsylvania, 204
Gama, Vasco da: his voyage to India, 25
Garden Mounds: location of, 5
Garfield, James Abram (1831–1881), President of the United States 1881—Sept. 19, 1881; member of the Electoral Commission, 913 *note;* candidate for Speaker of the House, 916; nominates Sherman, 928; Presidential candidate (1880), 929; sketch of, 929; resists Conkling, 933; assassination of, 934
Garland, Augustus Hill: member of the Senate, 916; Attorney-General, 950 *note*
Garrett, Thomas: aids slaves to escape, 617
Garrison, Cornelius: manager of San Francisco office of Accessory Transit Company, 620
Garrison, William Lloyd: leader of abolition movement, 573; attacked by mob, 574; aids slaves to escape, 617; joins liberal movement, 800
Gaspee Affair, The, 218
Gates, Horatio: in Braddock's expedition, 179; succeeds Schuyler in New York, 254; quarrels with Arnold, 255; plots in his favor, 291; appointed commander-in-chief of Southern forces, 274
General Court of Massachusetts: pow-

ers of, 119; directs establishment of public schools, 140; regulates dress, 154
Genêt, Edmond Charles: minister from France, 359
Geneva Arbitration, 884
Genoa: leader in commerce with the East, 22; birthplace of Columbus, 26
Gentlemen, Southern: political talents, 590; social character, 590
George II, King of England: loath to yield Louisburg, 166
George II, King of England: determines to force tax on colonists, 218; refuses to receive petition from American colonies, 237
Georgia: proprietary colony under Oglethorpe, 80; plan of government of, 80; first settlement, 81; dissatisfaction after departure of Oglethorpe, 81; becomes a royal colony, 81, 115; first representative assembly introduced (1752), 120; population at beginning of the Revolution, 126; Scotch-Irish settle in, 127; colonial newspapers, 144; Church of England established, 149; reduced to subjection to crown, 272; refuses to surrender power of regulating commerce, 311; fails to pay her share of national government expenses (1781), 313; chooses delegates for Constitutional Convention, 323; ratifies the Constitution, 336; troubles over Indian claims in, 469; trouble with Cherokees, 486; delegates oppose slavery clause in Declaration of Independence, 563; cedes territory to national government, 567; circulation of Garrison's paper forbidden, 574; secession, 688; Confederates seize Forts Pulaski and Jackson, 691; Sherman's march through, 802; legislature refuses seats to negro members-elect, 847; readmitted, 848; Democrats regain control, 873; the Atlanta Exposition, 1010
Gerard, Conrad A.: signs Treaty of Versailles, 267
Germain, Lord George: plans invasion of New York State, 251; fails to send dispatch to General Howe, 252
Germans: seek religious freedom in Maryland, 72; settle in North Carolina, 74; included in Penn's colony, 113; in New Jersey and Delaware, 126
Germantown: battle of (1777), 260
Germany: recognizes Samoan independence, 977; arbitration treaty with the United States, 1076
Gerry, Elbridge: in Constitutional Convention, 323; refuses to sign the Constitution, 334; opposes ratification in Massachusetts of the Constitution, 336; signs Declaration of Independence, 342; in first Congress, 342; sent to France by Washington, 373; elected Vice President, 434
Gettysburg: battle of (1863), 778; national cemetery dedicated, 783
Gettysburg Address, Lincoln's: text of, 783
Ghent, Treaty of: (1814), 429; disagreement of commission provided by, 443; provides for a commission to settle Northeast Boundary Dispute, 529
Ghost Dance: origin, 10
Gibbon, John: in expedition against Sitting Bull, 905
Giddings, Joshua Reed: member of Buffalo convention (1848), 558; aids cause of negro abduction, 617.
Gilbert, Sir Humphrey: his voyages, 52
Girard, Stephen: one of three early millionaires, 479
Gist, Christopher: accompanies Washington, 170
Gladstone, William Ewart: quoted on the Constitution, 330
Glasgow University: graduates of, in Constitutional Convention, 323
Godspeed: carries settlers to Virginia, 57
Goffe, William: repells attack on Hadley, 98
Gold: discovered in California, 595
Gold and Silver Ratio: as first established, 354; changed, 506; in Independent Treasury Bill, 514
Gold Coast: trade with New England, 136
Goliad: battle of (1836), 533

Gonzales: battle of (1835), 532
Good Hope, Cape of: see Cape of Good Hope
Gorges, Sir Ferdinando: appointed councilor, 57; secures grant for New Hampshire, 95; made palatine of Maine, 96; purchase of claims of heirs of, 96, 99
Gorman, Arthur Pue: defeats Force Bill, 971
Gosnold, Bartholomew: voyages of, 54
Gourges, Dominic de: his vengeance on the Spaniards, 48
Governors, Colonial: appointment of, 116; tenure of office of, 116; salary of, 116; powers of, 117; powers limited, 121
Granada: fall of (1492), 29
Grand Banks of Newfoundland: frequented by English fishermen, 51; fisheries off, 443
Grand Cañon of Colorado: discovered, 42
Grand Gulf: in Vicksburg campaign, 776
"Grand Model:" see "Fundamental Constitution"
Grand Pré Proclamation, 181
Grange Movement: rise of, 917
Grant, Ulysses S. (1822–1885), President of the United States, 1869–1876; in Mexican War, 554; sends troops into Kentucky, 742; commands forces at Cairo, Illinois, 743; captures Fort Henry, 744; captures Fort Donelson, 745; early life, 746; at battle of Pittsburg Landing, 747; with Rosecrans in North Mississippi, 773; in siege of Vicksburg, 775; receives surrender of Vicksburg, 778; ordered to Chattanooga, 784; made lieutenant general, 786; his theory of war, 787; changes plan against Lee, 788; tactics criticized, 790; urges Thomas to attack, 804; favors Lee's overtures for peace, 811; receives Lee's surrender, 812; approves Lincoln's reconstruction plans, 830; made full general, 846; quarrels with President Johnson, 850; Secretary of War *ad interim*, 850; nominated for President, 857; elected President, 860; inaugurated, 861; favors annexation of Dominican Republic, 879; settlement of Alabama claims, 881, 883; summary of his first term, 889; renominated for President (1872), 892; second inauguration, 894; approves the Resumption Act, 909; strengthens military forces about Washington, 911; urged for third term, 925; his efforts to check spoils system, 938; appoints canal commission, 1056; death, 962; Roosevelt's Presidential majority compared to that of, 1072
Granville, Lord: proprietor of South Carolina, 78
Grasse, Comte François Joseph Paul de: at siege of Yorktown, 284
Graves, Thomas: attacks French fleet in Chesapeake Bay, 285
Gray, Captain: discoveries of, 541
Gray, George: member of Spanish-American peace commission, 1031
Grayson, William: in first Congress, 343
Great Charter of Virginia: issued, 62; annulled, 63
Great Kanawha River: French claim of, 169
Great Lakes: French explorations, 167
Great Meadows: battle of (1757), 172
Great Northern Railroad: United States Supreme Court decision respecting, 972
Greeley, Horace: opposes nomination of Clay for Presidency, 520; favors Douglas's reelection, 604; quoted on right of secession, 714; Lincoln's letter to, 767; opposes Lincoln, 769; joins liberal movement, 840; early career, 891; nominated for President (1872), 891; end of his career, 893
Green, Beriah: president of American Anti-Slavery Society, 574
Green, Duff: in Jackson's "Kitchen Cabinet," 485
Green, Roger: founds Albemarle, 73
Greene, Nathaniel: estimate of, 234; sent to fortify Brooklyn Heights, 243; abandons Fort Lee, 245; at battle of Brandywine, 259; succeeds Gates in the South, 280; at battle of Guilford Court House, 281; at

battle of Hobkirk's Hill, 282; at battle of Eutaw Springs, 282
Greene's Cotton Factory: destroyed at Jackson, Miss., 776
Greensboro, North Carolina: Davis holds council with Confederate cabinet, 813
Greenville, Treaty of (1795), 366
Green Mountain Boys: revolt of, 96
Greenback Party: nominates Peter Cooper for President (1876), 909; nominates Weaver (1880), 930; nominates Ben Butler for President (1884), 946
Gregg, Maxcy: death of, 770
Grenville, George: attempts to enforce the Navigation Acts, 205; proposes the Stamp Act, 207; fall of his ministry, 212
Grenville, Sir Richard: his part in the colonization of Virginia, 53
Gresham, Walter Quinton: candidate for Presidential nomination, 965; Secretary of State, 993 *note;* death, 993 *note*, 1000
Grey, Sir George: in Joint High Commission, 883
Greytown: see San Juan, Central America
Gridley, Richard: at capture of Louisburg, 165
Grijalva, Juande: discovers Mexico, 38
Griswold, Roger: views on Louisiana Purchase, 398
Groveton: battle of (1862), 763
Grundy, Felix: in Congress, 417
Guadalupe Hidalgo, Treaty of (1848), 552
Guadeloupe: restored to France by Treaty of Paris, 198
Guam: ceded to the United States, 1032
Guanahani: see San Salvador
Guerriere: captured, 422
Guilford Court House: battle of (1781), 281
Guiteau, Charles: Garfield assasinated by, 934; probable insanity of, 935
Gustavus Adolphus: charters Delaware colony, 108
Guthrie, Oklahoma: established in one day, 985
Gwin, William M.: elected senator from California, 598

H

Habeas Corpus, Writ of: suspended by Andros, 100; Lincoln suspends, 738, 815
Hadley, Massachusetts: attack on (1675), 97, 146
Hahn, Michael: elected to Congress, 833; elected governor of Louisiana, 834
Haida Indians: their slate carving, 14
Hail Columbia: popularity of, 374
Hale, John Parker: nominated for President (1844), 559; nominated for President (1852), 621
Hale, Nathan: fate of, 278
Half-breeds, The: Republican faction so named, 934; succeeded by Stalwarts, 935
Half King, Indian Chief: accompanies Washington, 170; efforts of French to alienate, 175 *note*
Halifax: fisheries commission meet at, 884, 886
Halkett, Sir Peter: in Braddock's expedition, 179
Halleck, Fitz-Greene: in American literature, 481
Halleck, Henry Wager: gives permission to Grant to capture Fort Henry, 744; captures Corinth, 750; appointed general in chief, 762; sends Buell to Chattanooga, 773; commander in chief, 775
Hamilton, Alexander: graduates from King's College, 140; defends Joshua Waddington, 309; proposes the Constitutional Convention, 322; in Constitutional Convention, 324; writes for the Federalist, 335; member of New York ratification convention, 337; absent from first Congress, 343; Secretary of the Treasury, 344; proposes tax on whisky, 348; plans payment of public debts, 349; proposes a national bank, 350; plans for national currency, 353; retires from Cabinet, 357; favors neutrality, 358; defends Jay Treaty, 363; in command of army, 375; enmity between Jefferson and, 382; duel with Burr, 402

Hamilton, Andrew: extent of his reputation, 138
Hamlin, Hannibal: nominated for Vice President (1860), 682; in Congress (1860), 862; hostile to Hayes, 915
Hampden-Sydney College: W. H. Harrison educated at, 524
Hampton, Wade: at Columbia, 807
Hampton Roads Conference: failure of, 800
Hancock, John: guilty of smuggling, 205; president of Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, 225; Gage attempts to arrest, 226; delegate to second Continental Congress, 229; desires to be commander-in-chief of army, 230; excepted from amnesty offered by Gage, 231; opposed to Constitutional Convention, 324; not in favor of the Constitution, 336
Hancock, Winfield Scott: arrives at Gettysburg, 780; valor at Gettysburg, 782; wounded in Pickett's charge, 782; at Spottsylvania, 780; Presidential nominee, 930; sketch of, 930
Hanging Rock: battle of (1780), 274
Hanna, Marcus Alonzo: agitated for Presidency, 1063
Hapsburg, House of: ends, 163
Hardee, William J.: at battle of Pittsburg Landing, 747; at Stone River, 774; defends Savannah, 805; evacuates Charleston, 808
Harlem Heights: battle of (1776), 243
Harmar, General: sent against Indians, 365
Harper's Ferry, Virginia: John Brown's raid upon, 674; seized by Confederates, 717; Lee enters Maryland at, 764; captured by Confederates (1862) 765
Harris, Isham G.: heads secession movement in Tennessee, 710
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: convention for protection of manufacturers meets at, 472; Whig convention (1839), 520; Lincoln makes speech at, 706; Lee's objective point, 770
Harrison, Benjamin (1740–1791): delegate to first Continental Congress, 223; great-grandfather of President Harrison, 965
Harrison, Benjamin (1833–1901), President of the United States, 1889–1893; nominated President, 905; sketch of, 965; election, 967; pardons Mormon polygamists, 984; nominated for President (1892), 988; complications with Hawaii, 998
Harrison, William Henry (1773–1841), President of the United States, March 4–April 4, 1841: defeats Indians at Tippecanoe, 416; Perry's dispatch to, 423; victory at Fort Meigs, 425; recaptures Detroit, 425; his rise in War of 1812, 433; candidate for Presidential nomination, 510; nominated for President, 521; early life, 524; election, 524; inauguration, 525; death, 525
Harrison's Landing: McClellan's retreat to, 762
Hartford: founded, 91
Hartford: at the capture of New Orleans, 751; Farragut's flagship, 768
Hartford Convention: deathblow to Federalist party, 433
Harvard, John: first benefactor of Harvard University, 91; bequeathes property and library to college, 140
Harvard University: founded, 91, 140; early catalogues of, 131; graduates in Constitutional Convention, 323; John Adams a graduate from, 371; Roosevelt a graduate from, 1068
Haverhill: heroism of Hannah Dustin at, 150; attack on (1708), 161
Hawaii: revolution, 998; President Harrison concludes treaty with, 998; republic organized, 999; annexed to the United States, 1034
Hawkins, Sir John: visits the French colony on the St. John's, 47; in the war with Spain, 54
Hawthorne, Nathaniel: in American literature, 481
Hay, John: decides the principle in the settlements of the claims of the allied powers against China, 1048; the isthmian canal, 1058; concludes treaty with Panama, 1060
Hay Bond Commercial Reciprocity Treaty: rejected by Senate, 1077
Hay-Pauncefote Treaty: annuls Clayton Bulwer Treaty, 1058

Hay-Varilla Treaty: liberal concessions granted by, 1060
Hayes, Rutherford Birchard (1822–1893), President of the United States, 1877–1881: early career, 908; nominated for President (1876), 907; elected President (1876), 913; inauguration, 914; "star route" frauds, 936; civil service reform, 938
Hayne, Robert Young: attacks Foote's resolution, 489; views on nullification, 495
Hayti: discovered by Columbus, 32
Hearst, William Randolph: candidate for Presidential nomination, 1065
Heath, William: commands at West Point, 284
Helper, Hinton Rowan: author of "The Impending Crisis," 677
Henderson, David Bremner: elected Speaker of the House, 1050; retirement of, 1053
Hendricks, Thomas Andrews: nominated for Vice President (1876), 909; nominated for Vice President (1884), 944
Hennepin, Louis: explorations of, 51
Hennessy, D. C.: murdered by Mafia, 976
Henrietta Maria: names Maryland, 68
Henry, Cape: see Cape Henry
Henry VII, King of England: sends out Cabot, 34; his commercial restrictions on colonists, 66
Henry VIII, King of England: Protestant Reformation in England, 83
Henry, Prince, surnamed the Navigator: his career, 24
Henry, Guy Vernor: military governor of Porto Rico, 1036
Henry, Patrick: elevates the legal profession, 138; defeats clergy, 157; wins fame as an orator, 207; his speech before the House of Burgesses, 211; uses his eloquence in favor of rebellion, 216; delegate to first Continental Congress, 223; delegate to second Continental Congress, 229; his estimate of Washington, 230; opposed to Constitutional Convention, 324; opposes ratification of the Constitution, 336; absent from first Congress, 343
Henry Hill: in battle of Bull Run, 735
Hepburn Bill: proposed, 1075
Herbert, Hilary Abner: Secretary of the Navy, 993 *note*
Herkimer, Nicholas: at battle of Oriskany, 254
Hero of Quebec: see Wolfe, James
Hero of San Jacinto: see Houston, Sam
Herran, Pedro Alcantara: Colombian envoy, 1058
Hertel de Rouville: see Rouville, Hertel de
Hessians: hired by the king of England to subjugate the colonies, 237
Hewitt, Abram Stevens: successful candidate against Roosevelt for mayor of New York, 1069
Hiawatha, 8
Hieroglyphics: used by Aztecs, 7
Higginson, Thomas Wentworth: aids cause of negro abduction, 617
Hill, Benjamin H.: member of the Senate, 916
Hill, David Bennett: elected governor, 968; attempts to defeat nomination of Cleveland (1892), 990; recommended for chairman of Democratic convention (1896), 1013
Hill, David Harvey: in plan for invasion of North, 764
Hill, Isaac: in Jackson's "Kitchen Cabinet," 485
Hiram College: Garfield in faculty of, 930
Hispaniola: see Hayti
Hoar, Ebenezer Rockwood: in Grant's Cabinet, 861; in Joint High Commission, 883
Hoar, George Frisbie: member of Electoral Commission, 913 *note;* supports Hayes, 915; elected senator, 916; quoted on Grant's nomination for third term, 926; quoted on Garfield's speech, 928; fathers the repeal of the Tenure of Office Act, 951; drafts Presidential Succession Law, 953; drafts law for regulation of electoral count, 953
Hobart, Garrett Augustus: nominated for Vice President (1896), 1012

Hobkirk's Hill: battle of (1781), 282
Hobson, Richard Pearson: sinks the *Merrimac*, 1029
Holland: see Netherlands
Holly Springs: battle of (1862), 775
Holy Alliance: account of, 446
Homestead, Pennsylvania: strike of employees of Carnegie Steel Company, 992
Honduras: Columbus discovers the coast of, 34; Walker executed, 627; Louisiana Lottery removes to, 974
Hood, John Bell: succeeds Johnston, 795; endeavors to draw Sherman from Georgia, 802; defeated at Nashville, 803
Hood, Samuel, Viscount Hood: fails to find French fleet, 285
Hooker, General Joseph: sketch of, 770, 779; outgeneraled by Lee, 771; held from pursuit by Lee's rear guard, 778; succeeded by Meade, 779
Hooker, Thomas: founds Connecticut colony, 91; notable divine, 139
Hopkins, Stephens: quoted on Rhode Island trade with Africa, 135; refuses to take cognizance of any case arising from the Gaspee Affair, 218; delegate to first Continental Congress, 223
Hopkinson, Joseph: author of "Hail, Columbia", 374
Horman, Judson: Attorney-General, 993 *note*
Horse Shoe Bend: battle of (1814), 461
House of Burgesses: see Burgesses, House of
House of Representatives of the United States: composition of, 332; salary of members, 346; adopts the "twenty-first rule," 579
Houston, Sam: at battle of San Jacinto, 534; commander-in-chief of Texan army, 534; elected president of Texas, 534; opposes Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 637; refuses to join secession movement, 690
Howard, Oliver Otis: commands Hooker's right, 771; commands Army of Tennessee, 804; commands Sherman's right, 800; president of Freedman's Bureau, 849
Howard Association, 923
Howe, George Augustus, Viscount Howe: killed in expedition against Ticonderoga, 189
Howe, General Robert: commander of American forces in the South, 272
Howe, Samuel Gridley: in San Domingo commission, 880
Howe, William, Viscount Howe: at siege of Quebec, 104; arrives at Boston, 231; at battle of Bunker Hill, 232; evacuates Boston, 235; in battle of Long Island, 242; at battle of White Plains, 244; captures Fort Washington, 244; his army pillages college buildings at Princeton, 249; attempts to march across New Jersey (1777), 258; at battle of Brandywine, 259; reduces Forts Mercer and Mifflin, 260; recalled, 262
Hubbardton: battle of (1777), 252
Hudson, Henry: his treatment of the Indians, 50; enters Hudson and Delaware Bays, 101
Hudson Bay: ceded to English, 162
Hudson River: discovered and named, 101
Huguenots: make settlements in America, 47; arrive in Virginia, 67; attracted to Maryland, 72; settle in North Carolina, 74; settlement of, in South Carolina, 76; as American colonists, 127
Hull, Isaac: commands *Constitution*, 422
Hull, William: attacks Canadians, 420
Hülseman, Baron: protests against American interference with Hungary, 630
Human-sacrifice: practiced by the Aztecs, 7
Humboldt, Friedrich Heinrich Alexander von: quoted on origin of American Indians, 3
Hunkers, 555
Hunt, William Henry: in Garfield's Cabinet, 932 *note*; governor of Porto Rico, 1041
Hunter, Robert Mercer Taliferro: acts as intermediary for Confederacy, 708; in Hampton Roads Conference, 869

Hunter, William: deputy postmaster-general of the colonies, 153
Hunton, Eppa: member of the Electoral Commission, 913 *note*
Huron Indians: burial customs, 10
Husbandry, Patrons of: see Grange Movement
Hutchinson, Thomas: his house sacked by mob, 211; prominent Tory, 294; removes soldiers from Boston, 217
Hutchinson, Anne: sketch of, 89; in Rhode Island Colony, 94; adherents in New Hampshire, 95
Hyde, Edward, Viscount Cornbury (afterwards Earl of Clarendon): governor of New York, 107

I

Iberville River: Spanish boundary, 400
Iceland: visited by Columbus, 26
Idaho: admitted to the Union, 986; Presidential election of 1892, 993; Presidential election of 1900, 1040
Illinois: Connecticut gives up claim to, 317; admitted, 442; free state, 452; impetus to development, 480; not represented in second Democratic national convention, 509; abolition riot at Alton, 575; immigration of free negroes forbidden, 588; election of 1854, 645; Presidential election of 1856, 656; Lincoln-Douglas debates, 664; legislature opposes national government (1862), 818; Chicago fire (1872), 902; Blaine's campaign speeches (1884), 947; Mormons enter, 982; Presidential election of 1892, 992
Illinois Indians: belong to Algonquin stock, 8
Illuminés, The: Ku-Klux-Klan compared to, 871
Immigration and Naturalization, Federal Bureau of: created, 1083
"Impending Crisis:" indignation caused by, in South, 677
Imperialism, 1068, 1070
Implied Powers, Doctrine of: authority for, 331; advocated by Hamilton, 351
Impressment of American Seamen: practiced by England, 361, 468; ignored in treaty of Ghent, 429
Incas: found in Peru, 7
Indented Servants: see Servants, Indented
Independence: see Liberty
Independence, Declaration of: see Declaration of Independence
Independence Hall: Constitutional Convention meets at, 323; Lincoln's body rests in, 827
Independent Party or Mugwumps: support Cleveland (1884), 946
Independents: see Puritans
Indian Affairs, Bureau of: scandals in, 895
Indian Ocean: Ptolemy"s theory of, 23
Indian Springs, Treaty of (1825): concluded, 470; annulled, 470
Indian Territory: created, 488; Seminoles resist removal to, 507; receives Seminoles, 515; Oklahoma separated from, 985; refused admission as State, 1054; joined to Oklahoma, 1083
Indiana: Connecticut gives up claim to, 317; protests against Louisana, 399; admitted, 442; free state, 452; impetus to development, 480; election of 1854, 645; Presidential campaign of 1856, 655; boyhood home of Lincoln, 665; condemns Buchanan's Kansas policy, 670; legislature opposes national government (1862), 818; question of negro suffrage, 858; Presidential election of 1868, 861; Presidential election of 1876, 910; Presidential election of 1880, 931; Blaine's campaign speeches (1884), 947; Presidential election of 1884, 947; Presidential election of 1888, 966, 967; Presidential election of 1892, 992
Indianapolis: Lincoln makes speech at, 706; popular respect to Lincoln's remains, 827
Indians: theories as to the origin of, 3; physical characteristics, 9; religious instincts and beliefs, 9; burial customs, 10; habitations, 10; dress, 11; food and pursuits, 11; languages

and literature, 12; social and political organization, 12; status of the women, 13; industrial activity, 14; slavery among, 14; war-customs, 15; games and recreations, 16; personal characteristics, 17, 97, 174; population, 17; named by Columbus, 31; introduction of Christianity, 44; unfitted for hard labor, 44; Catholicism introduced by French, 51; friendly with early Virginians, 65; laws for protection in Pennsylvania, 111; influence of French over, 174; trouble with, in Northwest, 365, 416; land claims in Georgia, 469
Indies, Council of the: governs Spanish-American colonies, 43
Indigo Industry: in South Carolina, 137
Ingersoll, Jared: defeated for Vice President, 434
Ingersoll, Robert Green: nominates Blaine for President (1876), 906
Ingraham, Captain: demands Koszta's release, 640
Interior, Department of the: scandals of, 895
International Cotton Exposition: held at Atlanta, 940
Interstate Commerce Commission: provided for, 957; in Democratic platform (1904), 1065; in relation to railroads, 1075
Interstate Commerce Law: enacted, 917, 956; amendment to, 1050
Intolerable Acts: 220
Intolerance: in religious worship of New England, 147; in the Southern Colonies, 149
Invincible Armada: see Armada, Spanish
Iowa: affected by Missouri Compromise, 450; election of 1854, 645; condemns Buchanan's Kansas policy, 670
Iron Industry: begins in Pennsylvania, 136
Iroquoian Indians: independent of other families, 7; location, 8
Iroquois Indians: their long houses, 10; rights of their women, 13; defeated by Champlain, 50; friendly feeling toward English, 50; attack Schenectady, 158; become subjects of Great Britain, 162; aid colonists in French and Indian War, 163; in treaty of Utrecht, 168; hostility to Algonquins, 175
Irving, Washington: in American literature, 481
Isabella of Castile: at war with the Moors, 20; agrees to listen to Columbus's plans, 29
Island Number Ten: Federals capture (1862), 739; Pope distinguished by victory at, 762
Itajuba, Count d': in Geneva commission, 885
Italy: protests against execution of Italians in New Orleans, 976; appoints Behring Sea arbitrator, 980; arbitration treaty with the United States, 1076
Itata, Chilian Cruiser: seized by United States, 978
Iuka, Mississippi: capture of (1862), 774
Izard, Ralph: sent as minister to Tuscany, 208

J

Jack, Captain: captured and executed, 905
Jackson, Mississippi: Confederate stronghold in Vicksburg campaign, 776; secession convention at, 687
Jackson, Michigan: first Republican convention held at, 644
Jackson, Andrew (1767–1845), President of the United States, 1829–1837: invited to join Burr in colonization scheme, 303; defends New Orleans, 427; leads expedition against Creek Indians, 427; his rise in War of 1812, 433; drives Seminoles to Everglades, 444; first governor of Florida, 445; sketch of, as Presidential candidate, 461; his canvass for Presidency, 493; candidacy agitated throughout Adams's term, 474; account of administration, 477; sketch of, 477; as type of "new democracy," 480; policy of, 485; views on internal improvement, 488; feud with Calhoun, 492; opposes nullification, 492; proclama-

tion embodying views on nullification, 495; general admiration for, 499; reëlected President, 502; censured for war on United States Bank, 504; success in conducting foreign relations, 507; censure of, expunged from Senate journal, 508; his administration summarized, 508; retires to "the Hermitage," 508; denounces abolitionists, 576; interest in Panama Canal during administration of, 1055

Jackson, Hancock, of Missiouri: leader of secessionists in Missouri, 720; deposed, 721

Jackson, James: in first Congress, 342; British minister, 415

Jackson, Thomas Jonathan (Stonewall): wins his sobriquet, 735; in Shenandoah Valley, 759; at Culpeper Court House, 763; plans invasion of North, 764; defeats Howard, 771; in Shenandoah Valley, 792; death of, 771; sketch of, 772

James I, King of England: imprisons Raleigh, 54; charters London and Plymouth companies, 56; hostility toward Presbyterians, 83; death of, 63

James II, King of England: revocation of colonial charters by, 72; expelled from England, 72; colonial policy of, 100; receives grant in America, 104; abolishes charter of liberties, 105; revokes charter of New Jersey, 109; abdication of, 157

James, Captain George: fires first shot of Civil War, 711

James, Thomas Lemuel: in Garfield's Cabinet, 932 *note;* appointment opposed by Conkling, 933; exposes postal frauds, 937

James River: named, 58; in McClellan's operations, 761; Grant crosses, 791

Jameson, Colonel: receives André as a prisoner, 277

Jamestown: settlement, 58; burned by Nathaniel Bacon, 65

Java: destroyed by the *Constitution*, 422

Jay, John: graduates from King's College, 140; delegate to first Continental Congress, 223; delegate to second Continental Congress, 229; member of Secret Committee of Correspondence, 265; sent as minister to Spain, 268; appointed member of peace commission, 286; writes for the Federalist, 324; not delegate to Constitutional Convention, 324; absent from first Congress, 343; Chief Justice of the United States, 346; governor of New York, 347; concludes treaty with England, 362

Jay Treaty (1795): provisions of, 362; effect on France, 372

Jefferson, Thomas (1743–1826), President of the United States, 1800–1809: elevates the legal profession, 138; graduates from College of William and Mary, 142; delegate to second Continental Congress, 229; member of committee to draft a declaration of independence, 240; prepares the draft of the Declaration of Independence, 240; Republican nominee for President, 370; submits plan of government for Northwest Territory, 318; minister abroad, 324; his theory of the Union, 378; Secretary of State, 344; wins National Capital for the South, 350; opposes doctrine of implied powers, 352; hostility toward Hamilton, 356; urges Washington to accept reëlection, 357; candidate for Vice President, 357; views on nullification, 379; enmity between Hamilton and, 382; character, 383; administration, 383; religious belief, 384; inaugural address, 385; political philosophy of, summarized, 385; reëlected President, 402; characterization of, 411; last years, 413; advises on Monroe Doctrine, 447; Democratic banquet commemorating anniversary of, 492; quoted on slavery in Virginia, 564; commissions Taylor, 592

Jerry, runaway slave: rescued at Syracuse, New York, 616

Jessup, Colonel: sent to keep watch on Hartford Convention, 432; captures Osceola, 515

Jessup, Morris Ketchum: organizes

North American Indian Expedition, 3 *note*
Jesus, Society of (Jesuits): sends missionary explorers to America, 51, 174
Jewelry: among the Indians, 12
Jews: denied rights of Toleration Act, 72; as American colonists, 127; persecuted in New England, 147; denied suffrage in New York and South Carolina, 148
John II, King of Portugal: continues work of Henry the Navigator, 25; consulted by Columbus, 28
Johnson, Andrew (1808–1875), President of the United States, April 15, 1865–1869: nominated Vice President, 800; reviews Union troops before disbandment, 814; takes oath of office for President, 830; early life, 831; threatens vengeance on Southern leaders, 831; issues amnesty proclamation, 830; declares rebellion at an end, 845; lays corner-stone of monument to Douglas, 846; Congress abridges powers of, 846; quarrels with Grant, 850, 861; quarrels with Secretary Stanton, 850; impeached, 851; death, 855; summary, 855
Johnson, Hershel V.: nominated for Vice President, (1860), 682
Johnson, Sir Nathaniel: Governor of South Carolina, 77; excludes dissenters from Carolina assembly, 78
Johnson, Reverdy: concludes treaty with England, 882
Johnson, Richard Malcolm: Tecumseh slain by, 425; nominated Vice President, 510; elected Vice President, 511
Johnson, Dr. Samuel: president of King's College, 140
Johnson, Sir William: influence of, 175; knighted, 183; leads expedition against Crown Point, 183; captures Fort Niagara, 192; concludes treaty with Pontiac, 200
Johnston, Albert Sydney: commands forces at Bowling Green, 743; attempts to remove him from command, 745; at battle of Pittsburg Landing, 747; death, 748
Johnston, Joseph Eccleston: at battle of Bull Run, 734; advises against attack on Washington, 730; commands Confederate army, 757; wounded, 759; succeeded by Lee, 760; commands at Jackson, 770; succeeds Bragg, 786; generalship of, 794; opposes Sherman's march, 794; his removal, 795; Lee's effort to join, 810; surrenders to Sherman, 814
Joint High Commissions: 1. appointed for Alabama claims, 883; 2. appointed to settle fur seal controversy, 1020
Jones, John Paul: naval exploits of, 290
Jonesboro: Sherman seizes railroad at, 797
Juarez, Benito Pablo: Liberal leader in Mexico, 875, 877
Judiciary, Colonial, 121
Julian, George W.: nominated for Vice President, 621; joins liberal movement, 880

K

Kalb, Baron Johann de: his services to America, 290; sent to South Carolina, 274; death, 275
Kalm, Peter: predicts the Revolution, 201
Kanawha: see West Virginia
Kannaghunnut Island: awarded to United States, 1055
Kansas: as affected by Missouri Compromise, 450; part of Northwest Territory, 631; struggle for, 640; Missouri slave code adopted, 648; effect of Dred Scott decision, 661; account of trouble respecting slavery, 661; opposes negro suffrage, 858; Presidential election of 1892, 1033; Presidential election of 1900, 1040
Kansas-Nebraska Bill: main treatment, 629; modifies Missouri Compromise, 660
Kaskaskia: in French claims, 108
Kearney, Dennis: leader of Chinese agitation, 920
Kearneyism: see Kearney, Denni
Kearny, Philip: assembles volunteers at Leavenworth, 548; captures Santa Fe, 549; death of, 793

Kearsarge: sinks the *Alabama,* 881
Kellogg, William Pitt: in contest for governorship, 872 *note;* indictment of, 937
Kemper's Battery: at battle of Bull Run, 736
Kendall, Amos: as Jackson's literary adviser, 485; quoted on exclusion of abolition literature from the mails, 576
Kenesaw Mountain: battle of (1864), 795; political effect of repulse at, 801
Kennebec River: boundary of grant to Gorges and Mason, 95
Kent, James: American jurist, 481
Kentucky: Scotch-Irish and Germans settle, 156; admitted, 357, 567; riflemen of, at New Orleans, 428; slave state, 452; opposes protection, 472; votes for Clay as President, 499; state election of 1855, 646; native state of Lincoln, 665; Presidential election of 1860, 683; Confederates attempt to win adhesion of, 721; military operation in (1862), 742; Bragg's plan for invading, 773; opposes Lincoln's reëlection, 802; Presidential election of 1896, 1018; Presidential election of 1904, 1072
Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions: prepared by Jefferson, 378; sentiment of Hartford convention compared to, 432
Kerr, Michael: Speaker of the House, 807
Key, Francis Scott: author of "Star Spangled Banner," 427
Kickapoo Indians: belong to Algonquian stock, 8
Kidd, Captain William: account of, 106
Kinderhook, New York: birthplace of Van Buren, 511
Kieft, William: Dutch governor of New York, 103; disputes with Swedes, 108
King, Rufus: in Constitutional Convention, 323; member of Massachusetts ratifying convention, 336; in first Congress, 343; Federalist candidate for Vice President (1800), 403; Federal candidate for Vice President (1804), 414; nominated for President, 434
King, William Rufus: nominated for Vice President, 619
King George's War: cause of, 163; capture of Louisburg, 164; Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 166
King Philip's War: cause of, 97; cost of, 97
King William's War: origin of, 157
King's College: see Columbia University
King's Mountain: battle of (1780), 279
Kingston, Canada: in French claims, 168
Kirkwood, Samuel J.: member of the Senate, 916; in Garfield's cabinet, 932 *note*
Kitchen Cabinet: Jackson's advisors so named, 485
Kittanning: destroyed by English, 184
Klondike: discovery of gold, 1021
Knights of Labor, 961
Know-Nothing Party: methods, 644; decline, 646; convention at Philadelphia (1856), 652
Knox, Henry: estimate of, 234; Secretary of War, 344; made major general, 375
Knoxville, Tennessee: battle of (1863), 785
Knyphausen: at battle of Brandywine, 259
Kosciusko: his services to America, 269
Kossuth, Louis: visits America, 640
Koszta, Martin: affair of, 640
Kremer, Congressman: charges Adams and Clay with corruption, 465
Ku-Klux-Klan: account of, 868
Ku-Klux-Klan Act: decision of Supreme Court respecting, 873
Kwakiutl Indians: social organization, 13

L

Labor Party: Presidential election of 1888, 966
Labrador: fishery rights secured off, 443
Laconia Company: organized, 95
Lafayette, Marie Jean Paul Roch Yves Gilbert Motier, Marquis de: at battle of Monmouth, 263; his services to America, 269; out-maneuvers Cornwallis, 283

Lake Champlain: campaign fails at, 421; McDonough's victory on (1814), 423
Lake Erie: War of 1812 operations on, 423
Lake George (Lake Sacrament): battle of (1755), 183
Lake of the Woods: established as boundary, 443
Lake Sacrament: see Lake George
Lakeview Cemetery, Cleveland: Garfield buried in, 934
Lamar, Lucius Quintus Cincinatus: his influence over Democratic Party, 914; member of the Senate, 916; his tribute to Senator Sumner, 916; affronts Conkling in Senate, 927 *note;* Secretary of the Interior, 950 *note*
Lamar, Mirabeau Bonaparte: vice president of Texas, 534
Lamont, Daniel Scott: Secretary of War, 993
Lancaster: Congress meets at, 262
Lancaster, Treaty of (1744), 168, 170
Lane, Joseph: nominated for Vice President (1860), 682
Lane, Ralph: governor of Roanoke Island colony, 53
Langdon, John: in first Congress, 342
Languages: Indian, 12
Lanier, Sidney: at the opening of the Centennial Exposition, 903
La Salle, Robert Cavelier, Sieur de: explorations of, 51
Las Quasimas: battle of (1898), 1020
Laud, William, Archbishop: severity of, in England, 88
Laudonnière, Renè de: attempts to plant a colony on the St. John's River, 47
Lauray Valley: devastated by Sheridan, 793
Laurel Hill: battle of (1861), 733
Laurens, Henry: sent as minister to the Netherlands, 268; appointed member of peace commission, 280; quoted on slavery, 562
Law, Practice of: in the colonies, 138
Lawrence: Perry's flagship, 423
Lawrence Abbot: vituperates government, 513
Lawrence, Amos: one of three early millionaires, 479
Lawrence, James, death, 424
Lawrence, Kansas: sacked (1861), 651
Lawton, Henry Wade: in Santiago campaign, 1029; death, 1037
Lecky, William Edward Hartpole: quoted on the Boston Tea Party, 220
Lecompton Constitution: account of, 662
Lee, Arthur: commissioned as minister to France, 265; signs Treaty of Versailles, 297; sent to Berlin, 268
Lee, Charles: appointed major-general, 231; disobeys Washington's orders, 245; earl career, 245; captured by British, 247; exchanged, 263; at battle of Monmouth, 263; court-martialed, 263; expelled from the army, 263; death and burial, 264
Lee, Fitzhugh: appointed major-general, 1028
Lee, Henry: member of Virginia ratifying convention, 337; in Jackson's "Kitchen Cabinet," 485; quoted on slavery in Virginia, 564
Lee, Richard Henry: delegate to first Continental Congress, 223; delegate to second Continental Congress, 220; proposes a declaration of independence, 238; opposed to Constitutional Convention, 324; opposes ratification of the Constitution, 335; member of Virginia ratification committee, 330; in first Congress, 342; his eulogy of Washington, 380
Lee, Richard Henry: at the opening of the Centennial Exposition, 903
Lee, Robert Edward: in Mexican War, 554; captures Brown at Harper's Ferry, 674; sketch of, 760; plans invasion of North, 764; withdraws from Maryland after Antietam, 765; generalship praised, 771; second invasion of North, 778; makes overtures for peace, 811; surrenders Confederate army, 811
Lee, Stephen D.: at Chickasaw Bayou, 770
Lee, William: sent to Austria, 268
Leesburg: battle of (1862), 757
Legal Tender Act: passed (1862), 810; before the Supreme Court, 900

Leif Ericson: his discovery of America, 19
Leisler, Jacob: heads revolution, 105; execution of, 106
Leland Stanford University; suffers from San Francisco earthquake, 1084
Leon, Ponce de: see Ponce de Leon
Leopard: attacks the *Chesapeake,* 409
Lesseps, Ferdinand de: president of French canal construction company, 1056
Lewis, Meriwether: expedition of, 400
Lewis, William B.: supports Jackson, 463; familiar adviser of Jackson, 485
Lewis & Clark Expedition: main treatment, 400; claim for Oregon territory, 542
Lexington, Massachusetts: battle of (1775), 226
Lexington, Virginia: seat of Virginia Military Institute, 772
Liberal Republican Movement: see Republican Movement, Liberal
Liberty, colonial sloop: seized by authorities for smuggling, 205
Liberty, Sons of: organized, 212
Liberty Party: see Abolitionist Party
"Liberty and union, now and forever, one and inseparable," 490
Library of Congress: burned by British in 1814, 427
Life Insurance Regulations, 1081
Liliuokalani, Queen of Hawaii: dethroned, 997
Lima, University of, 45
Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865), President of the United States, 1861–April 15, 1865; compared with Jackson, 477; on Dred Scott decision, 660; put forward for Senator, 664; sketch of, 665, 668; in Lincoln-Douglas debates, 667; defeated by Douglas, 670; in Republican convention, 681; attracts Eastern Republicans, 681; candidate for President (1860), 681; nominated for President (1860), 682; inauguration, 706; his proclamation after the fall of Sumter, 715; declares Southern ports to be blockaded, 723; disavows act of Captain Wilkes, 729; fears for safety of Washington, 730; orders McClellan to West Virginia, 732; recognizes Pierpoint as governor of Virignia, 732; orders Federal advance into Virginia, 734; his message to Congress (July 4, 1851), 738; opposes Frémont's abolition policy, 742; urges McClellan to pursue Lee, 765; Emancipation Proclamation, 766; quoted on surrender of Vicksburg, 778; calls upon State militia for defense against Lee's invasion, 779; address at Gettysburg, 703; appoints Grant lieutenant-general, 786; his reëlection, 799; in Hampton Roads Conference, 809; attitude toward overtures for peace, 809; suspends writ of *habeas corpus,* 815; controversy with Taney, 816; the Vallandigham case, 817; assassination, 826; funeral, 827; estimate of, 827; plan for reconstruction of South, 833; last public speech, 839
Lincoln, Benjamin: commands militia in Shays's Rebellion, 316; appointed to command of Southern forces, 272; drives Prevost out of South Carolina, 272; surrenders Charleston to British, 273
Lincoln, Robert Todd: in Garfield's Cabinet, 932 *note;* retained by Arthur, 936
Lincoln-Douglas Debates: account of, 664
Line of Demarcation: see Demarcation, Line of
"*L' Insurgente,*" French frigate: captured, 375
Literature: in New England Colonies, 142
Little Belt, British frigate: captured by *President,* 416
Little Big Horn River: massacre of (1876), 905
Little Fort Valley: devastated by Sheridan, 793
"Little Giant": see Douglas, Stephen A.
Little Rock, Arkansas: Confederates seize arsenal, 691, 720
Little Round Top: in battle of Gettysburg, 780

Livingston, Edward: delegate to second Continental Congress, 229
Livingston, Robert R.: delegate to second Continental Congress, 229; member of committee to draft a declaration of independence, 240; administers oath to Washington, 341; minister to France, 390
Locke, John: devises "Fundamental Constitution," 73; his Constitution compared with Gorges's Charter, 96; his writings a source of United States Constitution, 330
Lodge, Henry Cabot: in Alaskan boundary commission, 1055; aids in reform of the Consular Service, 1084
"Log cabin and hard cider," 523
Logan, John Alexander: urges Grant for third term, 926; nominated for Vice President, 943
Logtown, Treaty of (1752): concluded, 168; English claims based on, 170
Lome, Dupuy de: his letter concerning President McKinley, 1024
London Company: James I charters, 56
Londonderry, Robert Stewart, Marquis of: see Stewart, Robert
Long Island: battle of (1776), 243
Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth: in American literature, 481
Longstreet, James: at Bull Run, 763; in plan for invasion of North, 764; his corps detached from Lee's army, 771; at Gettysburg, 780; retrieves Rosecrans's mistake at Chickamauga, 783; in battle of the Wilderness, 788
Lookout Mountain: battle of (1863), 785
Loose Constructionists: origin, 351
Lopez, Narciso: his filibustering expedition to Cuba, 625
Lords of Trade and Plantations: sketch of, 117
Los Angeles, California: Chinese riots at, 920
Lost Colony, 53
Lotteries: used to support colonial colleges, 142; legislation against, 973
Loudon, Earl of: made commander-in-chief of forces in America, 184; plans attack upon Louisburg, 180
Louis XIV, King of France: James II befriended by, 157; befriends Philip of Anjou, 160
Louis XVI, King of France: and the French Revolution, 358
Louisiana: Acadians in, 181; part of, ceded to Spain, 168; purchased, 395; uncertain boundaries of, 443; citizenship insured in purchase, 445; slavery in, 451; admitted, 451, 568; slave state, 451; question of slavery raised, 453; outbreak against Spanish in New Orleans, 625; delegates withdraw from Democratic convention, 679; secession, 689; Confederates seize Forts St. Philip, Jackson and Livingston, 691; Confederates seize United States mint at New Orleans, 692; reconstruction policy of Lincoln, 833; despoiled by carpet bag governor, 867; reconstruction effects in, 867; governorship contests in, 872 *note*; end of carpet bag rule, 873; negro franchise in, 873; Presidential election of 1876, 910; collapse of the "negro carpet bag" government, 915
Louisiana Plan of Reconstruction, 839
Louisiana Purchase: importance of, in American history, 399; raises slavery question, 568
Louisiana Purchase Exposition: Congress passes bill for loan to, 1053
Louisiana State Lottery: account of, 973
Louisiana Territory: in Missouri Compromise, 455; its plan of government used as the model for governing canal zone, 1082
Louisburg: established, 163; captured by Pepperell, 164; fall of, 195; restored to French, 199; capture of (1758), 188
Louisville, Kentucky: objective point of Bragg's invasion, 773; exposition at, 940
Lovejoy, Elijah Parish: death, 575
Lovell, James: plots against Washington, 291
Lowell, James Russell: in American literature, 481; quoted on effect of bombardment of Fort Sumter, 715
Lower California: Walker attempts to make a republic of, 626

Lowndes, William: in Congress, 417
Ludlow Commission, The: appointed by Congress, 1057
Lumber Industry: in New England, 135; in North Carolina, 137
Lundy, Benjamin: publishes abolitionist paper, 574
Lundy's Lane: battle of (1814), 426
Lutherans: not tolerated in New York, 148
Lyman, Phineas: in French and Indian War, 183
Lynch, John R.: leader of negro race, 587
Lyon, Matthew: prosecuted under Sedition Act, 378
Lyon, Nathaniel P.: leader of Missouri Unionists, 721; in campaign of 1861–1862, 740; killed, 741

M

McClellan, George Brinton: sent to West Virginia, 732; campaign in West Virginia, 733; commands Army of Potomac, 757; complains of lack of support, 762; recalled from Peninsular campaign, 762; reëinstated in command of Army of the Potomac, 764; welcomed by Maryland, 764; at Antietam, 765; succeeded by Burnside, 766; denounces Emancipation Proclamation, 767; final removal from command, 769; Lincoln's estimate of, 769; reëinstatement agitated, 790; nominated for President, 800; in Democratic Presidential nomination, 1065
McClernand, John Alexander: at siege of Fort Donelson, 744
McClure, Alexander Kelly: joins liberal movement, 890
McCook, Alexander McDowell: at Stone River, 774
McCulloch, Benjamin: in Missouri campaign, 740
McCulloch, Hugh: Secretary of the Treasury, 898
MacDonald, Donald: Caswell defeats, 236
MacDonald, Sir John Alexander: in Joint High Commission, 883
McDonough, Thomas: wins victory on Lake Champlain, 423; among naval heroes of War of 1812, 433
McDowell, Irwin: plans battle of Bull Run, 734; defeated by Jackson, 760
McDuffie, George: quoted on the necessity of slavery, 591
McIntosh, Indian Chief: concludes treaty, 470
McKane, John Y.: conviction of, 948
McKean, Thomas: delegate to first Continental Congress, 223
McKenzie, William Lyon: leads Canadian Insurrection, 515
McKinley, William (1843–1901), President of the United States, 1897-Sept. 14, 1901: enters Congress, 916; offers protective tariff bill, 968; nominated for President (1896), 1012; elected President (1896), 1018; inaugurated (1897), 1018; financial legislation, 1019; fur seal controversy, 1020; the war with Spain, 1021; nominated for President (1900), 1038; second election, 1040; appoints a commission for the Philippine Islands, 1042; second inauguration, 1049; shot by assassin, 1049; death of, 1049; characterization of, 1049
McKinley Tariff Law: enacted, 969; effect on election (1890), 975; attacked by Congress, 995
McLane, Louis: transferred by Jackson, 503
McLean, John: candidate for Presidential nomination (1856), 654; dissents from Taney's decision, 660
McPherson, James Birdseye: in Sherman's march to Atlanta, 794; killed at Peach Tree Creek, 797; political effect of death of, 801
McVeagh, Wayne: in Garfield's cabinet, 932 *note*
Macedonian, the frigate: captured, 422
Mackinaw: captured by Indians, 200; given up by England, 362; fall of, 420
Macon Bill No. 2: passed, 415
Madeira: discovered, 24
Madison, James (1751–1836), President of the United States, 1809–1817: proposes interstate commerce commission, 321; in constitutional con-

vention, 324; his journal of the Constitutional Convention, 324; his compromise for revenue quotas, 328; favors the Constitution, 335; writes for the Federalist, 335; in first Congress, 342; member of Virginia ratification committee, 336; author of Virginia Resolutions, 370; his views on nullification, 379; appointed Secretary of State, 388; nominated President, 413; character of, 414; elected president, 434; declines third term, 434; vetoes internal improvements, 441; advises on Monroe doctrine, 447; his views on internal improvement, 488; quoted on slavery in Virginia, 564; president of American Colonization Society, 571
Madison, Mrs.: rescues the Stuart portrait of Washington, 427
Madrid: American legation building threatened at, 887
Mafia, The: in New Orleans, 976
Magaw, Colonel: attempts to hold Fort Washington, 244
Magellan, Ferdinand (Fernao de Magalhoes): seeks the Pacific Ocean, 37; death, 37
Magellan, Straits of: see Straits of Magellan
Magoffin, Beriah: attempts to keep Kentucky neutral, 721
Magruder, John Bankhead: at battle of Bull Run, 734; Confederate commander, 758
Maine: origin, 95; absorbed by Massachusetts, 96; coast of, occupied by British in War of 1812, 426; dispute over admission, 455; trouble with New Brunswick over boundary, 514; election of 1854, 645; election of 1880, 931; election of 1896, 1018; election of 1904, 1072
Maine: blown up, 1024
Malden: besieged by Hull (1812), 420
Malietoa: Samoan chief, 977
Mallery, Congressman: reports Woolen Bill, 472
Mallory, Stephen: Confederate Secretary of War, 604
Malvern Hill: battle of (1862), 761
Manassas, Battles of: see Bull Run, Battles of
Mangum, William Person: supported by South Carolina, 510
Manhattan Island: purchased from Indians, 102; colonial population, 104
Manila: captured by Americans, 1029
Manila Bay: battle of (1898), 1028
Manners and Customs: dress of Washington at inauguration, 341; presidential etiquette of Washington, 371; dress of Jefferson, 383; rude sports of frontier life, 477; period of social and intellectual transition, 480; scene at Jackson's inauguration reception, 482
Manning, Daniel: Secretary of the Treasury, 950 *note*
Mansfield, Joseph King Fenno: killed at Antietam, 765
Mansfield, William Lord: opposes repeal of Stamp Act, 214; favors the "intolerable" acts, 220
Mantanzas: bombardment (1898), 1028
Manua Islands: annexed to the United States, 1034
Manufacture: in New England, 134; Hamilton's plans for its protection, 354; growth of, under shipping embargo, 430; American compared with British, 430; demands for protection of, 471; resource of the North, 726
Marblehead: becomes the port of entry for Massachusetts, 220
Marblehead: United States vessel, 1050
Marbois, François: in purchase of Louisiana, 300
Marcy, William Learned: Secretary of State, 624; instructs ministers abroad as to dress, 630; demands release of Kossta, 641
Maria Theresa, Holy Roman Empress: accession of, 103
Maria Theresa: in battle of Santiago, 1030
Marietta, Georgia: Johnson entrenched on Kenesaw Mountain at, 794
Marietta, Ohio: founded, 310, 364
Marion, Francis: sketch of, 273
Markham, William: first governor of Pennsylvania, 111

Marlow, Christopher: his "Faust," 36
Marquette, Jacques: sent to explore America, 51
Marriage Laws: among the Aztecs, 7
Marshall, ——: discovers gold in California, 595
Marshall, John: elevates the legal profession, 138; graduates from College of William and Mary, 142; member of Virginia ratifying convention, 337; sent to Paris by Washington, 373; announces Washington's death to Congress, 380; Chief Justice, 389; acquits Aaron Burr, 404; domination of Supreme Court, 434; death, 658
Martin, Luther: refuses to sign the Constitution, 334; opposes the ratification of the Constitution by Maryland, 336; absent from first Congress, 343
Martinique: restored to France by Treaty of Paris, 198
Marye's Heights: occupied by Lee at Fredericksburg, 769
Maryland: founded, 68; first representative assembly introduced (1647), 120; Catholics denied franchise, 148; Church of England established, 149; ratifies Articles of Confederation, 302; insists on the ceding of Northwest Territory, 317; commissioners appointed to decide Potomac commercial policy, 321; Annapolis Convention, 322; chooses delegates for Constitutional Convention, 323; ratifies the Constitution, 336; opposes financial plans of Hamilton, 350; rank as to population, 479; abolition societies formed, 571; state elections of 1855, 646; Presidential election of 1856, 656; Sixth Massachusetts attacked by mob in Baltimore, 715; excitement over transportation of troops through, 716; Confederates attempt to win adhesion of, 721; trouble over suspension of writ of *habeas corpus*, 739; Lee's army enters, 764; alarm over Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania, 779; Sheridan saves from invasion, 792; Presidential election of 1896, 1018; Presidential election of 1900, 1040; Presidential election of 1904, 1072
Mason, George: draws up bill of rights for Constitution of Virginia, 239, 564; refuses to sign the Constitution, 334; member of Virginia ratification committee, 336; quoted on slavery in Virginia, 564
Mason, James Murray: appointed Confederate representative at London, 728
Mason, John: defeats Pequots, 93; receives grant with Gorges, 95; claims of heirs, 95
Mason, John Young: reads Calhoun's last speech, 603; quoted on value of escaped slaves, 618; minister to France, 625; Ostend Manifesto, 628; chairman of Senate Committee to investigate John Brown's raid, 675
Mason and Dixon's Line: ends boundary dispute, 110
Masonic Order: and the William Morgan charge, 498
Massachusetts: Gosnold explores the coast, 54; under council for New England, 87; Charles I charters, 87; charter transferred to New England, 87; "Salem Witchcraft," 91; aids Connecticut settlement, 91; absorbs New Hampshire, 95; absorbs Maine, 96; New England Confederation, 96; status of, in New England Confederation, 97; boundary enlarged, 101; end of confusion of civil and religious rights in, 101; charter changed (1691), 115; powers of the General Court, 118; first representative assembly introduced (1634), 120; Franklin acts as agent to England, 122; early anti-slavery agitation, 130; Scotch-Irish manufacture linens, 134; fishery industry, 134; evades Sugar Act, 135; rum trade (1750), 135; Harvard College and public schools established, 140; religious intoleration in, 147; Congregational Church supported by taxation, 148; suffrage laws, as a colony, 148; establishes a postal system, 152; dress regulated by law, 154; blasphemy made a capital offense, 156; in Colonial Congress,

158; equips Louisburg expedition, 164; passes resolutions setting forth rights of the colonists, 210; Boston Massacre, 217; Boston Tea Party, 219; English Parliament passes the five "intolerable" acts, 220; appoints place of meeting for first Continental Congress, 222; Regulating Act impossible of enforcement, 226; adopts a constitution of government, 238; suffers from paper currency craze, 315; cedes Northwest Territory, 317; appoints delegates for Annapolis convention, 322; chooses delegates for Constitutional Convention, 323; ratifies the Constitution, 336; favors financial plans of Hamilton, 350; attitude toward War of 1812, 430; volunteer service in War of 1812, 431; Hartford Convention, 431; approves resolutions of Hartford Convention, 433; protection question, 472; supports Webster for Presidency, 510; Presidential election of 1848, 559; abolition of slavery, 563; failure of Fugitive Slave Law, 616; Presidential election of 1854, 645; state election of 1855, 646; Emigrant-Aid Society organized, 647; Sixth Massachusetts attacked by mob in Baltimore, 715; Boston fire (1872), 902; Presidential election of 1904, 1072

Massachusetts Indians: belong to Algonquian stock, 8

Massachusetts Regiment, Eighth: garrisons Washington, 730

Massachusetts Regiment, Sixth: attacked by mob in Baltimore, 715

Massasoit: treaty with Pilgrims, 85

Massillon, Ohio: Coxey's army formed at, 1004

Mataafa: Samoan chief, 977

Matamoras: Mexican troops mobilized at, 546; battle near (1846), 546; under military rule, 548

Mather, Cotton: notable divine, 130; early American author, 142; quoted on tolerance of Rhode Island, 147

Mather, Increase: sent to England, 100; notable divine, 130

Mathews, Stanley: joins liberal movement, 890; supports Hayes, 915; member of the Senate, 916

Maumee River: Wayne's victory on (1794), 366

Maximilian (Ferdinand Maximilian Joseph): in French occupation of Mexico, 870; executed, 877

May, Cornelius: first governor of Dutch, 102

May, Samuel J.: member of American Anti-Slavery Society, 574; heads negro rescue at Syracuse, 616

Mayas: found in Mexico, 6

Mayflower: brings Pilgrims from Southampton, 84

Maysville Road: national pike vetoed by Jackson, 488

Meade, Bishop: complains of his clergy, 150

Meade, George Gordon: succeeds Hooker, 779; sketch of, 779; fails to follow Lee's retreat, 782

Mechanicsville: battle of (1862), 761; McClellan's complaint before battle of, 762

Medical Profession: in the colonies, 139

Menendez de Aviles, Pedro: destroys French colony on the St. John's, 47

Memminger, Christopher Gustavus: Confederate Secretary of the Treasury, 694

Memphis: convention at (1853), 589; captured by Federals (1862), 750; Sherman embarks at, 775; yellow fever epidemic, 923

Memphis & Charleston Railroad: Federals gain control of, 750

Mercer, Fort: captured by British, 260

Mercer, Hugh: killed at battle of Princeton, 240

Merrimac: Confederate ironclad, 754; destroys the *Cumberland* and the *Congress*, 754; naval duel with *Monitor*, 756; burned by Confederates, 759

Merrimac: sunk by Hobson, 1029

Merrimac River: boundary of grant to Gorges and Mason, 95

Merry, English Minister: Burr's correspondence with, 404

Merryman Case: 816

Merrymount: character of settlement, 85

Metal Age, 16
Methodists: divide into Northern and Southern wings, 604
Mexican War: cause, 544; war declared by Congress, 547; summary of, 552; opposed by Lincoln, 666; Lee's service in, 760; Burnside serves in, 769; Bragg a leader in, 773; Meade's service in, 779; Lee and Grant in, 812; Hancock's service in, 930
Mexico: description of Indians found in, 6; discovered, 38; Cortes conquers, 39; rebels against Spain, 445; neutrality toward, 515; becomes a republic, 532; refuses to sell Texas, 532; slavery abolished, 532; prepares for war with the United States, 545; Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, 552; Gadsden Treaty, 641; occupied by French, 875; settlement of disputes with United States, 1055; arbitration treaty with the United States, 1076
Mexico, City of: besieged by Cortes (1521), 39; rebuilt, 40; captured by Americans, 550
Michigan: relics of the Mound Builders in, 5; part of Massachusetts, 317; negro rescues, 616; first Republican Convention held at Jackson, 644; opposes negro suffrage, 858; Blaine's campaign speeches (1884), 947; Presidential election of 1892, 992
Middletown: settled, 108
Mifflin: captured by British, 260
Mifflin, Thomas: plots against Washington, 261
Milan Decree: issued, 407
Miles, Nelson Appleton: in Porto Rico, 1030; the "embalmed beef" scandal, 1034
Militia: President's power to call established, 366
Miller, Samuel Freeman: member of the Electoral Commission, 913 *note*
"Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute," 374
Mills, Roger Quarles: introduces tariff revision bill, 964
Mills Bill, The: in Democratic platform 1888, 966
Mill Spring: Confederates hold, 742
Milwaukee: branch of the Whisky Ring, 894
Minesota Mine, 6
Minneapolis: Republican convention (1892), 989
Minnesota: affected by Missouri Compromise, 456; admitted, 664; opposes negro suffrage, 858; in election (1904), 1072
Minnesota: Federal frigate, 755
Minuit, Peter: governor of Dutch, 102; purchases Manhattan Island from Indians, 102; founds Wilmington, 108
Minutemen: organized, 226; at battles of Lexington and Concord, 227
Miquelon: retained by France in Treaty of Paris, 198
Miramon, Miguel: head of Church party in Mexico, 875
Missionary Ridge: Confederates occupy, 784; Sherman sent to take, 785
Mission Conception: battle of (1835), 533
Missions: see Christianity
Mississippi: admitted, 442, 452; slave state, 452; included in land ceded by Georgia, 469; makes judiciary elective, 480; separated from Georgia, 567; first legal execution, 585; protests against exclusion of slavery from territories, 610; senators advocate secession (1850), 611; movement toward invasion of Cuba, 643; military appropriation following John Brown's raid, 676; delegates withdraw from Democratic convention (1860), 679; secession, 688; operations of Civil War in northern part of, 773; sends "carpet bag" representatives to Congress, 812; surrender of Confederate forces, 814; prohibitions against freedmen, 843; under military rule, 847; readmitted, 848; Presidential election of 1868, 860; readmitted to representation, 863; reconstruction effects, 864; end of carpet bag rule, 873; negro franchise, 873; yellow fever epidemic, 923
Mississippi River: De Soto crosses, 42; navigation of, disputed, 321; navi-

gation privileges secured, 364; right of navigating, 395; Treaty of Ghent, 420; in campaign against Vicksburg, 775
Mississippi Valley: explored by French, 51; development of, 442
Missouri: seeks admission, 442, 453, 508; bill to admit, 453; dispute over constitution, 455; organized as a territory, 508; Blue Lodges organized, 648; interferes with elections in Kansas, 648; Presidential election of 1860, 683; Confederates attempt to win adhesion of, 721; operations of 1861–1862, 740; Frémont places under martial law, 741; Liberal Republican Movement originates in, 840; railroad strikes (1877), 919; Mormons migrate to, 682; Presidential election of 1904, 1072
Missouri Compromise: account of, 450; adopted, 455; effects on North and South, 456; attempt to repeal it, 631; declared unconstitutional by Taney's decision, 660; modified by Kansas-Nebraska Act, 669
Mobile, Alabama: Confederate stronghold, 798
Mobile Bay: Farragut's victory in (1864), 798; political effect of victory, 801
Modoc Indians: at war with the United States, 904
Mohican Indians: treaty with Plymouth, 92
Molino del Rey: battle of (1847), 550
Mollie Maguires, The, 918
Monckton, Robert: victories of over French 180
Monitor: described, 755; naval duel with *Merrimac*, 756
Monmouth: battle of (1778), 263
Monocacy: battle of (1864), 792
Monongahela River: bounds French claims, 168
Monroe, James (1758–1831), President of the United States, 1817–1825: graduates from College of William and Mary, 142; member of Virginia ratification committee, 379; recalled from France, 373; appointed to act in Louisiana Purchase, 396; envoy to Great Britain, 400; candidate for Presidency, 413; nominated for President, 434; sketch of, 434; veto on Cumberland Road, 441; advocates protective tariff, 450; sentiment prevents unanimous reelection, 450; views on internal improvements, 488
Monroe Doctrine: compared with Washington's Farewell Address, 869; account of, 448; status of, 448; French occupation of Mexico, 870, 877; the Venezuelan affair, 1000; in Republican platform (1904), 1093; Roosevelt's conception of, 1067, 1073, 1077
Montana: affected by Missouri Compromise, 450; part of Northwest Territory, 631; discovery of gold, 901; admitted to the Union, 685; Presidential election of 1900, 1040
Montauk, Long Island: recuperation camp for soldiers established, 1030
Montcalm Gozon de Saint-Véran, Louis Joseph, Marquis de: made commander of French forces in America, 184; captures Fort William Henry, 186; defends Quebec, 193; death, 197
Monterey, California: siege of (1847), 548; a constitutional convention meets at, 568
Montesquieu, Baron de la Brède et de: his writings a source of United States Constitution, 330
Montezuma: submits to Cortes, 30
Montgomery, Alabama: first Confederate congress meets at, 692; capital of Confederacy, 693
Montgomery, Richard: captures Montreal, 234; death, 235
Monticello: home of Jefferson, 384, 413
Montojo, Admiral: at battle of Manila Bay, 1028
Montreal: attempt to settle, 46; plan to attack, 158; failure of attack on (1690), 158; in French claims, 168; surrenders to English (1760), 197; captured by General Montgomery (1775), 234
Monts, Sieur de: makes settlements in America, 40
Moore's Creek: battle of (1776), 236
Moravians: in American colonists, 127

More, James: repels Tuscaroras, 74
Morey Letter, The, 931
Morgan, Daniel: estimate of, 234; in the Southern campaign, 279; at battle of Cowpens, 281; at battle of Guilford Court House, 281
Morgan, William: and Masonic order, 498
Mormons: account of, 981
Morocco: immunity purchased from, 394
Morris, Gouverneur: graduates from King's College, 140; in Constitutional Convention, 324; prepares final draft of Constitution, 334; plans a decimal system of currency, 353
Morris, Lewis: buys books in London, 144
Morris, Robert: made Superintendent of Finance, 293; career of, 313; in Constitutional Convention, 324; in first Congress, 342; offered office of Secretary of the Treasury, 344
Morris Island: battery fires on *Star of the West*, 704
Morrison's Brigade: at siege of Fort Donelson, 744
Morristown, New Jersey: Washington establishes winter-quarters at, 250
Morton, J. Sterling: Secretary of Agriculture, 993 *note*
Morton, Levi Parsons: nominated Vice President, 965
Morton, Oliver Perry: war governor of Indiana, 818; candidate for President (1876), 907; member of the Electoral Commission, 913 *note;* chairman of Chinese immigration committee, 921
Morton, Thomas: names Merrymount, 85
Motley, John Lathrop: recalled as minister to England, 881
Moultrie, Fort: attacked by English, 236
Mound Builders, 5
Mount Teneriffe: eruption of, frightens Columbus's crew, 30
Mount Vernon: commerce commission meets at, 321; home of Washington, 340; Washington retires to, 368; Confederates seize arsenal, 691
Moya, Marchioness de: aids Columbus, 29
Mugwumps: see Independents
Muhlenberg, Frederick: in first Congress, 342
Muhlenberg, John Peter Gabriel: in first Congress, 342
Mumford, William B.: executed, 753
Munro, Colonel: surrenders Fort William Henry, 186
Murfreesborough: battle of (1863), 774
Murray, William Vans: minister to Holland, 376
Muscovy Company: success, 56; sends colonists to Virginia, 57
Muskhogean Indians: independent of other families, 7; location, 8
Muskingum River: French claims of, 169

N

Nantes, Edict of: see Edict of Nantes
Nantucket: fishery industry at outbreak of the Revolution, 134
Naples: intervention of Austria in, 446
Napoleon (I) Bonaparte, Emperor of the French: concludes treaty, 376; cedes Louisiana, 396; defeated at Waterloo, 405; defeated at Trafalgar, 406; issues Berlin Decree, 407; issues Milan Decree, 407; issues Bayonne Decree, 411; issues Rambouillet Decree, 415; abdication of, 425
Napoleon III, Emperor of the French: in French occupation of Mexico, 876; proposes intervention in Civil War, 878
Narragansett Indians: belong to Algonquian stock, 8; join King Philip's War, 97
Narvaiz, Pamfilo de: explores southern United States, 40
Nashville: convention of 1850, 611; Confederates abandon, 746; battle of (1864), 803
Nashville: fires first shot of Spanish-American War, 1026; United States vessel, 1059
Natchez, Mississippi: prehistoric bones found at, 4

National Bank: see United States Bank
National Banking System: established, 820
National Meat Inspection Law: passed (1906), 1083
National Pure Food Law: passed (1906), 1082
National Quarantine Law: passed (1906), 1082
National Republican Party: see Republican Party, National
National Silver Party: convention in St. Louis (1896), 1015
Naturalization Act: Federalists enact, 376
Naturalization, American: ignored by Great Britain, 408
Naturalization, Federal Bureau of Immigration and: created, 1083
Nauvoo, Illinois: founded, 982
Navajo Indians: dependent on their herds, 11; famous for their necklaces and ear-pendants, 14; skillful in textile work, 14; present condition, 17
Navy Island: seized in Canadian Insurrection, 515
Navigation Acts: character of, 67; passed (1651), 204; evaded by Virginia colonists, 66; not rigidly enforced, 67; galling to Maryland colonists, 72; Randolph sent to enforce, 99; evaded, 104; changes (1660), 202; George Grenville attempts to enforce, 205
Navy: Washington advises increase of, 373; reduced by Jefferson, 393, 408; insufficiency of, in War of 1812, 419; success of, in War of 1812, 423; development of, during Cleveland's administration, 1008
Navy Department: created, 375
Neale, Thomas: authorized to take charge of postal business of colonies, 153
Nebraska: affected by Missouri Compromise, 456; bill for organizing introduced in Congress, 630; part of Northwest Territory, 631; Presidential election of 1900, 1040
Negroes: see Slavery
Negro Plot, 132
Nelson, Horatio, Viscount Nelson: victory at Trafalgar, 400
Nelson, Samuel: in Joint High Commission, 883
Nelson, William: organizes Kentucky troops, 722
Neolithic Age, 3
Netherlands: commercial treaty with the United States, 347; king of, asked to decide Northeast Boundary Dispute, 531
Neutral Rights: in treaty of Ghent, 429
Nevada: ceded to United States, 552; Presidential election of 1880, 931; Presidential election of 1900, 1040
New Amsterdam: see New York City
New Berne: massacre at, 74
New Brunswick: boundary dispute with Maine, 514
New England: explored and named by Cap. John Smith, 87; population at outbreak of the Revolution, 127; manufacturing and maritime industries, 134; shipbuilding, 135; literature and arts, 142; colonial newspapers, 144; Congregational Church in every town, 145; social life, 155; opposition of, to War of 1812, 430; granted immunities in War of 1812, 431; immigration to Ohio from, 442; accepts high tariff on raw material, 473; condemn Buchanan's Kansas policy, 670; enthusiastic reception of Lincoln's speeches, 681
New England Anti-Slavery Society: organized, 574
New England Confederation: formation of, 60; articles of, 60; status of Massachusetts in, 67; dissolved, 97; decline of, after Restoration, 99
New France: summary of, 51
New Hampshire: Gosnold explores the coast, 34; origin, 95; first settlements, 95; dissensions of, 95; made separate royal province, 95; forms Vermont, 95; colonial government of, 115; Scotch Irish manufacture linens, 134; educational growth, 140; Congregational Church supported by taxation, 148; aid in capture of Louisburg, 164; adopts a constitution of government, 238; quarrel

with New York over Vermont, 312; paper currency riots, 316; disorders in colony, 321; appoints delegates for Annapolis Convention, 322; choses delegates for Constitutional Convention, 323; ratifies the Constitution, 336; opposes financial plans of Hamilton, 350; attitude toward War of 1812, 431; in Hartford Convention, 431; measures toward abolition of slavery adopted, 563; education of negroes prohibited, 575; state election of 1855, 646; Presidential election of 1892, 992
New Haven: origin of, 92; included in Connecticut Charter, 93; in New England Confederation, 96; Yale College founded at, 140; suffrage laws, 148
New Jersey: early history, 108; under jurisdiction of Andros, 100; Franklin acts as agent to England for, 122; statistics at outbreak of Revolution, 126; status of society at outbreak of the Revolution, 132; Princeton and Rutgers Colleges founded, 141; early churches, 148; Washington retreats across, 246; mutiny of soldiers (1781), 306; taxes lighthouse at Sandy Hook, 312; choses delegates for Constitutional Convention, 322; ratifies the Constitution, 336; measures for gradual emancipation adopted, 564; abolition societies formed, 571; Presidential election of 1856, 656; Presidential election of 1860, 683; opposes Lincoln's reëlection, 802; Presidential election of 1868, 861; Presidential election of 1876, 910; Presidential election of 1880, 931; Presidential election of 1884, 947; Presidential election of 1888, 967; Presidential election of 1892, 992
New Jersey Plan, 326
New Madrid, Missouri: captured (1862), 749
New Mexico: Kearny takes possession for the United States, 549; ceded to United States, 552; organized as a territory, 599; boundary dispute with Texas in Compromise of 1850, 601; refused admission, 1054; admission to the Union considered, 1083
New Netherlands: see New York
New Orleans: prehistoric skeleton found at, 4; in French claims, 168; ceded to Spain, 198; battle of (1815), 427, 461; resolution of appropriation for painting to commemorate battle of, 474; population in time of Jackson, 479; outbreak against Spanish, 626; Confederates seize United States mint, 692; capture of (1862), 751; taxation rate following Reconstruction, 867; governorship contest in, 868 *note;* branch of the Whisky Ring, 894; outbreak of yellow fever epidemic (1878), 923; Cotton Centennial held at, 940; State Lottery, at, 973; Italians lynched in, 976
New Panama Company: organized, 1057
New Salem, Illinois: Lincoln made postmaster of, 666
New Sweden: founded, 108
New Testament: see Bible
New York City: founded, 102; population at outbreak of the Revolution, 127; negro massacres (1711 and 1741), 132; becomes center of trade and commerce, 136; stage-line to Philadelphia established, 151; mails with Philadelphia established, 152; inauguration of Washington, 341; proposed for Capital, 350; population in time of Jackson, 479; becomes metropolis, 480; anti-slavery mass meeting, 636; visit of Louis Kossuth, 640; Lincoln makes speech at, 706; demonstrations over fall of Richmond, 811; draft riots, 818; popular respect to Lincoln's remains, 827; Democratic convention (1868), 858; Tweed Ring, 897; centennial anniversary of the inauguration of the national government, 987
New York Regiment, Seventh: garrisons Washington, 730
New York State: Champlain explores, 50; under jurisdiction of Andros, 100; exploration of Hudson, 101; settlements of Dutch, 102; struggle for liberty in, 103; surrendered to English, 104; secures liberal charter, 105; statistics at outbreak of Revolution, 126; patron system,

132; peltry trade, 136; public schools and colleges established, 140; colonial newspapers, 144; Catholics denied franchise, 148; Dutch Reformed Church established, 148; Acts of 1700 and 1744 passed, 148; Episcopal Church established, 148; establishes a monthly mail between New York City and Boston, 152; in Colonial Congress, 158; Parliament suspends function of legislature (1767), 215; cedes to United States her claims to western lands, 302; quarrels with New Hampshire over Vermont, 312; taxes produce from New Jersey and Connecticut, 311; gives up claims to Northwest Territory, 317; chooses delegates for Constitutional Convention, 323; rejects impost amendment to Articles of Confederation, 322; ratification of National Constitution, 337; rank as to population, 479; panic of 1837, 512; sympathizes in Canadian insurrection, 515; two delegations sent to Democratic convention (1848), 555; election of 1848, 559; measures for gradual emancipation adopted, 564; abolition societies formed, 571; negro rescue at Syracuse (1851), 610; Presidential election of 1854, 645; state election of 1855, 646; condemns Buchanan's Kansas policy, 670; meeting of the Albany Democracy, 816; Presidential election of 1868, 861; election of 1874, 897; Presidential election of 1876, 910; Blaine's campaign speeches (1884), 947; Presidential election of 1884, 947; Presidential election of 1888, 967; Mormonism originates in, 982; Presidential election of 1892, 992

New York Trespass Act: passed, 308

Newark, Ohio: settled by New Englanders, 108

Newcastle, Henry Pelham Pelham Clinton, Duke of: unpopularity of his ministry, 187

Newfoundland: ceded to English, 162; fishery privileges granted to the United States, 443, 959; Hay-Bond Treaty proposed with, 1077

Newport, Rhode Island: founded, 91; center of rum and negro trade, 137

Newport, Christopher: in command of Virginia settlers, 57; conference with Powhattan, 58

Newspapers: in the colonies, 144; influence of New York *Tribune*, 709; suppressed during Civil War, 817

Niagara: expedition planned against, 176; captured by English (1758), 192; given up by England, 362

Niagara: American frigate, 423

Niagara Falls: Whig demonstration (1852), 621

Nicaragua: early negotiations concerning a canal, 613; Walker attempts to form a republic in, 626; canal treaty with the United States, 650; grants concession for canal construction, 1055; failure of American construction company, 1057

Nicholls, Francis T.: elected governor of Louisiana, 872 *note*

Nicholson, Colonel: captures Port Royal, 161; burns fort near Lake Champlain, 162

Nicola, Colonel: invites Washington to assume dictatorship, 306

Nicolls, Sir Richard: sent with king's troops, 104

Niña: fitted out for Columbus, 29

Ninety-Six: battle of (1780), 274; recaptured by Americans, 282

Ninth Virginia Regiment: loss at Gettysburg, 782

Non-Intercourse Resolution: passed by first Continental Congress, 224

Nootka Sound Convention, 541

Norfolk, Virginia: burned (1775), 230; Confederates seize navy yard, 692, 717; evacuated, 757

North, The: strength and resources, 724; preparations for war, 730; opposition to the Civil War, 794, 815; finances, 810; cost of the war, 821; effect of Lincoln's death, 830

North, Frederick, Earl of Guilford: becomes chancellor of the exchequer, 210; resigns premiership, 280

North America: Cabot discovers, 35

North Anna River: Lee withdraws to, 780

North Atlantic Squadron: at Key West, 1028
North Carolina: first colony planted in, 73; united with South Carolina, 74; separated and made royal province, 77; Scotch-Irish settle in, 127; lumber and naval stores produced, 137; colonial newspapers, 144; Church of England established, 149; claims right of imposing taxes (1765), 210; battle of Alamance, 217; instructs her delegates to concur in a declaration of independence, 239; invaded by Cornwallis, 279; fails to pay her share of national government expenses (1781), 313; appoints delegates for Annapolis Convention, 322; chooses delegates for Constitutional Convention, 322; ratifies the Constitution, 338; slavery regarded with disfavor, 564; cedes Tennessee to government, 567; abolition societies formed, 571; Confederates seize Forts Caswell and Macon, 691; Confederates seize United States mint at Charlotte, 692; secedes, 718; provisional governor appointed, 840; reconstruction, 868; Democrats regain control, 873; negro franchise, 873
North Dakota: part of Northwest Territory, 631; admitted to the Union, 985; Presidential election of 1892, 992
North Mountain: in Shenandoah Valley, 793
Northcote, Sir Stafford: in Joint High Commission, 883
Northeast Boundary Dispute: commission appointed to determine, 430; settlement, 531
Northeastern Fisheries: controversy with Great Britain, 959
Northern Pacific Railroad: United States Supreme Court decision respecting, 972
Northfield: burned in King Philip's War, 97
Northmen: visit America, 19
Northwest Boundary Dispute: 541; arbitrated by Emperor of Germany, 884; United States claims sustained, 886
Northwest Passage: Sebastian Cabot searches for, 35; Verrazano searches for, 46; Cartier searches for, 46
Northwest Territory: basis for English claims, 60; ceded by the various states, 317; government of, 318; English military posts held in, 358; slavery controversy, 631
Norway: arbitration treaty with the United States, 1076
Nova Scotia: named, 161; ceded to England, 198
Nullification: doctrine originates in Kentucky, 378; Hayne's speech on, 489; in South Carolina, 489, 491; ordinance of, passed, 493; Jackson's proclamation concerning, 494

O

Oberlin College: assists "underground railroad," 672
Ogden, Utah: meeting of the Central and Union Pacific Railroads, 902
Ogdensburg: battle of (1812), 421
Ogeechee River: guarded by Fort McAllister, 805
Oglethorpe, James: proprictor of Georgia colony, 80; founds Savannah, 81; friendly relations with Indians, 81; trouble with Spanish, 81; death of, 81
O'Hara, General: delivers Cornwallis's sword to Washington, 285
Ohio: Connecticut gives up claim to, 317; admitted to the Union, 318; first settlement in, 364; northern part ceded by Indians, 366; population increases, 442; flourishing condition following admission, 442; as free state, 452; impetus to development of, 480; negro rescues, 616; election of 1854, 645; condemns Buchanan's Kansas policy, 670; violations of Fugitive Slave Law, 672; opposes negro suffrage, 858; election of 1874, 897; Presidential election of 1880, 931; Blaine's campaign speeches (1884), 947; Presidential election of 1892, 992
Ohio Canal: constructed, 480
Ohio Company: organized, 170, 318
Ohio Valley: French claims in, 167

Oklahoma, State of: obstructive procedures against bill for organization of, 969; opening of, 981; population (1890), 985; refused admission, 1054, 1077; admitted to the Union, 1083
Oklahoma City: founded, 985
"Old Abe": see Lincoln, Abraham
Old French War: see French and Indian War
"Old Fuss and Feathers": see Scott, Winfield
"Old Hero": see Jackson
Old North Church: signals for Paul Revere hung in tower, 226
Old South Meeting House: town-meeting at, prohibits landing of tea, 219
Old Testament: see Bible
Olive-Branch Petition, 237
Olney, Richard: Attorney-General, 993 *note;* Secretary of State, 993 *note*, 1000; in Democratic Presidential nomination, 1065
Omaha: convention of People's Party (1892), 991
Omnibus Bill, 609
Opechancanough: massacres colonists, 63; death of, 63
Opequan Creek: battle of (1864), 792
Oregon: disputed territory, 443; Northwest Boundary Dispute, 541; Presidential election of 1868, 861; Presidential election of 1876, 910
Oregon: joins the blockading fleets at Santiago, 1029; in battle of Santiago, 1030
"Original Package" Law: enacted, 972
Oriskany: battle of (1777), 254
Osceola, Chief of Seminoles: leads rebellion, 507; captured, 515
Osgood, Herbert Levi: classifies American colonies, 114
Ossawatomie Creek: John Brown's attack on settlers, 651, 673
Ostend Manifesto, 628, 879
Oswald, Richard: negotiates treaty with America, 286
Oswego: captured by French, 184; captured by Indians, 200; given up by England, 362
Otis, Elwell Stephen: military governor of the Philippines, 1037; member of the Philippine Commission, 1042
Otis, James: his speech against general search warrants, 206; proposes a general congress of the colonies, 212
Overseers, Southern, 580
Oxford University: graduates of, in Constitutional Convention, 323

P

Pacific Ocean: discovered by Balboa, 37; as Florida boundary, 445
Packard, S. B.: elected governor of Louisiana, 872 *note*
Paducah, Kentucky: occupied by Federals, 742
Pago Pago Harbor: ceded to United States, 977
Pakenham, Sir Edward Michael: British commander, 427; death of, 428
Paine, Thomas: influence of, 143; publish his pamphlet "common sense," 239
Palo Alto: battle of (1846), 547
Paleolithic Age, 3
Pallas: fight with the *Countess of Scarborough*, 291
Palma, Thomas Estrada: President of Cuba, 1046
Palmer, John McCauley: nominated for President (1896), 1015
Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Viscount: quoted on the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, 531
Panama: southern terminus Panama Canal, 1070; revolts from Colombia, 1059
Panama Canal: early negotiations concerning, 612; account of, 1055; Congress declares in favor of the lock type, 1084
Panama Congress: account of, 468, 1055; United States delegation fails to reach, 468
Pan-American Exposition: McKinley shot at, 1049
Panics, Financial: (1819), 438; (1833), 503; (1837), 512; (1873), 897; (1893), 994
Paper Money: see Currency
Paris: Behring Sea arbitration meets at, 980; canal commission held at, 1059
Paris, Treaties of: (1763), 197; (1783), 288; (1898), 1032

Parker, Captain: at battle of Lexington, 226
Parker, Alton Brooks: declares for gold standard, 1066; Democratic nominee for President, 1065; compared with Roosevelt, 1068; sketch of, 1069
Parker, Sir Peter: joins General Clinton, 236
Parker, Theodore: member of American Anti-Slavery Society, 574; quoted on the rescue of Shadrach, 615
Parliament, English: its powers over colonies, 122
Parmount, Philemon: appointed teacher of Boston school, 140
Parson's Cause: 206
Pascatacacy, Emperor of: visited by Governor Calvert, 70; hospitality toward Maryland settlers, 70
Patagonian Indians: tallest race in the world, 9
Patrons of Husbandry: see Grange Movement
Patroon System: in New York, 132
Patterson, Robert: at battle of Bull Run, 734; relieved from command, 735
Patterson, William: submits plan of government to Constitutional Convention, 326
Pattison, Robert Emory: candidate for Presidential nomination (1896), 1014
Paulding, John: aids in capture of André, 277
Pauncefote, Sir Julian: in Behring Sea controversy, 980
Pawnee Indians: number of, 17
Payne, Henry B.: member of the Electoral Commission, 913 *note*
Payne, Lewis: stabs Secretary Seward, 826
Peach Tree Creek: battle of (1864), 797
Peking, China: foreign legations besieged in, 1047
Pelican: vessel belonging to Drake, 52
Pelican, British frigate: captures *Argus*, 424
Peltry Trade: in New York and Pennsylvania, 136
Penaquid: attack on, 158
Pemberton, John Clifford: commands Vicksburg, 776; surrenders Vicksburg, 778
Penalties: see Punishments
Pendleton, Edmund: delegate to first Continental Congress, 223
Pendleton, George Hunt: nominated for Vice President (1864), 800; candidate for Presidency (1868), 858; introduces Civil Service Reform Bill, 938
Pendleton Act: introduced, 938; enforced by Cleveland, 951
Peninsular Campaign: account of, 757; Hooker distinguished for bravery in, 770; Hancock in, 930
Penn, William: boundary dispute with Lord Baltimore, 72; proprietor of Delaware, 108; joins Delaware with Pennsylvania, 108; purchase of New Jersey, 109; sketch of, 110; secures grant from king, 110; plans Philadelphia, 111; treaty with Indians, 111; deprived of colony by English Revolution, 112; returns to America, 112; death, 112
Pennington, William: elected Speaker of the House, 677
Pennsylvania: founded, 110; named, 110; charter, 111; Franklin acts as agent to England for, 122; statistics at outbreak of Revolution, 126; agitation among Quakers against slavery, 130; status of indented servants, 131; races and religions at outbreak of the Revolution, 133; peltry trade, 136; beginning of iron industry, 136; public school system as a colony, 141; colonial newspapers, 144; religious tolerance of, 149; first Continental Congress meets at Philadelphia, 223; battle of Germantown, 260; meeting of second Continental Congress at Philadelphia, 229; Cornwallis captures Philadelphia, 259; British evacuate Philadelphia, 262; mutiny of soldiers (1781), 306; levies tax on produce from Delaware, 311; quarrel with Connecticut over Wyoming Valley, 312; chooses delegates for Constitutional Convention, 322; Constitutional Convention meets at Philadelphia, 323; ratification of the national Constitution, 335; whisky tax opposed, 348; United States Bank

established in Philadelphia, 352; United States mint established at Philadelphia, 354; Jackson eulogized by legislature, 462; protectionist tendencies, 476; rank as to population, 479; opposition to tariff act of 1840, 554; partial abolition of slavery, 563; abolition societies formed, 571; abolitionists send petition to Congress, 572; abolition riot in Philadelphia (1838), 575; abolition pamphlets destroyed at Philadelphia, 576; President Taylor visits, 594; negro rescues, 616; election of 1854, 645; Presidential campaign of 1856, 655; condemns Buchanan's Kansas policy, 670; Davis's prophecy concerning, 778; Lee's invasion of, 778; alarm over Lee's invasion, 779; Early's invasion of, 792; Sheridan saves from invasion, 792; Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia, 903; railroad strikes (1877), 917; the "Mollie Maguires," 918; strike of employees of Carnegie Steel Company, 992

Pennsylvania, University of: founded, 141

Pensacola, Florida: British expelled from, 428; Spanish settlers aid Seminoles, 444; Confederates seize navy yard, 692

Pensions: dependent bill vetoed by Cleveland, 971; American and foreign compared, 971; dependent bill passed, 971

People's Party: convention at Omaha (1892), 991

Peoria: branch of the Whisky Ring, 894

Pepperell, William: commands Louisburg expedition, 164

Pequot Indians: belong to Algonquian stock, 8; war in Connecticut, 93

Percy, Lord: at battle of Lexington, 227

Perdido River: as French boundary, 400

Perez, Father Juan: aids Columbus, 20

Perry, Oliver Hazard: victory on Lake Erie, 423; among naval heroes of War of 1812, 433

Perryville, Kentucky: battle of (1862), 773

Persecutions, Religious: Quakers prohibited after Restoration, 99; of Dissenters in New York, 103; of Quakers, 110; in New England, 147; in Virginia, 149

Personal Liberty Laws: passed, 602; repeal agitated, 700

Peters, Hugh: early American writer, 142

Petersburg, Virginia: siege of (1864–1865), 791

Petition of Right, English: effect on New World, 88

Petition, Right of, American: discussed in Congress, 571

Pettigrew, James Johnston: at Gettysburg, 782

Petty, William, Marquis of Landsdowne (Earl of Shelburne): opens negotiations for peace with colonies, 280; becomes premier of England, 280

Philadelphia: laid out by Penn, 111; second legislature meets at (1683), 111; mails with New York established, 153; population at outbreak of the Revolution, 127; influence of the bar, 138; stage-line to New York established, 151; tea returned to England, 210; first Continental Congress meets at, 223; second Continental Congress meets at, 229; captured by British (1777), 250; British evacuate, 262; Washington's march through, 284; Bank of North America established, 293; mutinous soldiers annoy Congress (1783), 307; Constitutional Convention meets at, 323; Washington's triumphal entry, 341; made National Capital, 350; Bank of the United States established, 352; United States mint established, 354; second Bank of United States established, 430; population in time of Jackson, 479; denounces veto of United States Bank, 502; Whig convention (1848), 550; American Anti-Slavery Society organized, 574; abolition riot (1838), 575; mails searched for abolition pamphlets, 576; anti-slavery mass meeting, 630; Know Nothing convention at (1856), 652; Lincoln makes speech at, 709; objective point in Lee's plan, 764; Lincoln's

body taken to Independence Hall, 827; Democratic convention (1866), 845; National Republican convention (1872), 892; the Centennial Exposition, 903
Philip, King: war of, 97; death, 98
Philip V, King of France: aspires to Spanish throne, 160
Philip II, King of Spain: approves action of Menendez, 47; fits out the Invincible Armada, 54
Philippi, West Virginia: battle of (1861), 732
Philippine Islands: visited by Magellan, 37; Treaty of Paris, 198; battle of Manila Bay, 1028; surrender of city of Manila, 1029; discussed in the peace conference, 1031; ceded to the United States, 1032; description of, 1036; under American rule, 1036; provisional government established, 1042; government established, 1043; navigation laws extended to, 1053
Phillips, Wendell: member of American Anti-Slavery Society, 574; aids slaves to escape, 617; quoted on right of secession, 714; joins liberal movement 890
Phipps, Sir William: commands fleet, 158
Pickens, Andrew: leader in the Revolution, 273
Pickering, John: impeached, 391
Pickering, Timothy: proposes secession of Eastern states, 401
Pickett, George Edward: leads charge at Gettysburg, 781
Piedmont: intervention of Austria in, 446
Pierce, Franklin (1804–1869), President of the United States, 1853–1857: in Mexican War, 554; nominated for President, 619; election, 622; sketch of his earlier life, 623; inauguration, 623; signs Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 637; receives Kossuth, 640; message of 1854, 649
Pierpoint, Francis H.: elected governor of Virginia, 732
Pike, Zebulon Montgomery: explorations of, 401
Pike's Peak: discovered and named, 401
Pilgrims: brought from Leyden in *Speedwell*, 84; sail from Southampton in *Mayflower*, 84; landing at Plymouth, 84; second arrival of, from Leyden, 84; found Plymouth colony, 84
Pillow, Gideon Johnson: in Mexican War, 554; at siege of Fort Donelson, 744; escapes from Fort Donelson, 745; removed from command, 745
Pinckney, Charles: member of South Carolina ratifying convention, 336; absent from first Congress, 343
Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth: in Constitutional Convention, 324; member of South Carolina ratifying convention, 336; absent from first Congress, 343; minister to France, 373; made major general, 375; Federal nominee Vice President, 381; Federalist candidate President, 403
Pinckney, Henry Laurens: introduces resolutions against abolition petition, 577
Pinckney, Thomas: concludes treaty with Spain, 364; nominated Vice President, 370; Federal candidate for Presidency, 413
Pinkney, William: envoy to Great Britain, 409; minister to Great Britain, 416; quoted on slave labor, 589
Pinta: fitted out for Columbus, 29
Pinzon, Francisco Martin: raises false cry of "Land," 30
Pinzon, Martin Alonzo: aids Columbus, 30
Pious Fund: in Mexican dispute, 1055
Piracy: on Atlantic coast, 106
Piscataqua River: boundary between grants of Gorges and Mason, 95
Pitcairn, John: at battle of Lexington and Concord, 226; killed, 233
Pitt, William, Earl of Chatham: becomes premier (1766), 188, 215; sends a fleet to capture Louisburg, 188; resigns premiership, 197; speech in behalf of rights of colonists, 213; opposes the surrender of the colonies, 270; death, 270
Pittsburg, Pennsylvania: name changed from Fort Du Quesne, 191; Free Soil Convention (1852), 621; Republican convention (1856), 653;

Lincoln makes speech at, 706; railroad strikes of 1877, 919
Pittsburg Landing: battle of (1862), 747
Plains of Abraham: see Abraham, Plains of
Plassey: battle of (1757), 187
Plato: believes the earth to be a sphere, 22
Platt, Thomas Collier: joins Conkling faction, 933
Plattsburg: battle of (1814), 426
Plumer, William: votes against Monroe for reason of sentiment, 459
Plymouth Company: James I charters, 56; makes grant to Pilgrims, 86; earlier colonies unsuccessful, 86;
Plymouth Colony: founded by Pilgrims, 84; friendly relations with Indians, 85; secures grant from Plymouth Company, 86; government of, 86; incorporated with Massachusetts, 86; in New England Confederation, 96; in Colonial Congress, 158; suffrage laws, 147
Pocahontas: rescues Captain Smith, 59
Poe, Edgar Allan: in American literature, 481
Pokanokets: resist conversion, 97
Poland, Luke Potter: investigates the *Credit Mobilier*, 896
Political Campaigns: see Campaigns, Political
"Polk, Dallas, and the tariff of 1842," 538
Polk, James Knox (1795–1849), President of the United States, 1845–1849: nominated for President, 537; elected, 538; early career, 540; Northwest Boundary Dispute, 541; war with Mexico, 544; message to congress (1846), 547; party schemes of, 556; proposition to buy Cuba rejected, 628; Alaska purchase proposed in administration of, 877
Polk, Leonidas: enters Kentucky, 743; at battle of Pittsburg Landing, 747; death, 705
Polo, Marco: his career, 24
Polygamy: in Mormon religion, 982; first act of Congress respecting, 983
Ponce, Porto Rico: captured by American forces (1898), 1030
Ponce de Leon, Juan: accompanies Columbus on his second voyage, 33; discovers Florida, 38
Pontiac: leads his braves against Braddock, 200; plans his conspiracy, 200; concludes peace with Sir William Johnson, 200; death, 200
Pontiac, Conspiracy of: see Pontiac
"Poor Richard's Almanack," 143
Pope, John: captures Island Number Ten, 749; commands Army of Virginia, 762; Federal losses during command, 763
Popham, Sir Francis: appointed councilor, 57
Populist Party (the People's Party): in election of 1890, 975; absorbed by the Democrats, 1011; convention at St. Louis, 1015; convention at Springfield, 1067
Porter, David Dixon: commands ironclads at Vicksburg, 770; at Vicksburg, 777; captures Fort Fisher, 808
Porter, Fitz-John: blamed for defeat at Groveton, 763
Porter, Peter Buel: in Congress, 417
Port Gibson: taken (1862), 776
Port Hudson: taken by Banks (1863), 778
Port Royal, Nova Scotia: see Annapolis, Nova Scotia
Port Royal, South Carolina: settled, 47; fate of, 76
Portland Channel: in Alaskan boundary settlement, 1055
Porto Rico: captured by American forces (1898), 1030; ceded to the United States, 1032; description of, 1035; government provided for, 1040
Portsmouth, New Hampshire: founded, 95; Russo-Japanese Peace Conference at, 1070
Portsmouth Peace Conference: see Russo-Japanese Peace Conference
Portugal: arbitration treaty with the United States, 1070
Portuguese: discover Madeira, 24
Post Office, Department of: scandals of, 895, 1054
Postal Facilities: in the colonies, 152
Potomac River: Lee crosses, 770
Pottawottomie Indians: belong to Algonquian stock, 8

Pottery: found in the mounds of the Mound Builders, 6
Poughkeepsie, New York: ratification convention meets at, 337; Lincoln makes speech at, 706
Powhatan: his conference with Smith, 58
Prentiss, Benjamin Mayberry: at battle of Pittsburg Landing, 747
Prentiss, Seargant Smith: makes campaign speeches (1840), 523
Presbyterians: tolerated in Virginia, 67; attitude of James I toward, 83; persecuted in Virginia, 149; divide into Northern and Southern wings, 604
Prescott, Richard: exchanged, 263
Prescott, William: at battle of Bunker Hill, 232
Presque Isle (Erie): founded, 170
President: captures frigate *Little Belt,* 416
Presidential Succession Law, 953
President-Maker: see Weed, Thurlow
President of the Confederacy: term of office, 695
President of the United States: election and powers, 332; election of first, 340; official title, 346; salary, 346; nomination by Congressional caucus abandoned, 460
Prevost, Augustine: devastates South Carolina, 272
Pribylov Islands: sealing industry of, 878; in seal fisheries dispute, 979
Price, Sterling: in Missouri campaign, 740; at battle of Corinth, 774; attacked by Rosecrans at Iuka, 774
Prideaux, General: killed at the bombardment of Fort Niagara, 192
Prigg vs. Pennsylvania, 581, 600
Primogeniture, Law of: abolished by Jefferson, 383
Princeton, New Jersey: battle of (1777), 249
Princeton University: founded, 141; pillaged by Howe's army, 249; graduates of, in Constitutional Convention, 323
Pring, Martin: explores New England coast, 54
Printing: first press in America, 143
Privateers: Davis calls for, 723
Proctor, Redfield: reports conditions existing in Cuba, 1024
Proctor, Henry R.: British general, 424
Progress of a Century, 1086
Prohibition Party: first organized, 909; nominates Neal Dow, 930; nominates J. P. St. John for President (1884), 945; in election of 1888, 966; nominates John Bidwell for President (1892), 991; Presidential nomination for 1904, 1067
Prophet, The: Shawnee chief, 416
Proprietary Colonies, 114
Protection: favored by Middle States and West, 456; versus free trade, 456; loses hold on South, 457; convention of manufacturers at Harrisburg recommend, 472; of raw materials, 473; retained in tariff revision (1883), 939; Democratic faction favors, 963
Providence Plantations: formation of, 94; see also Rhode Island
Province Colonies, 114
Prussia: commercial treaty with United States, 347
Ptolemy, Claudius: his theory of the extent of Asia, 23
Public Debt: payment of, 348; in Republican platform (1868), 858; Grant urges sound money payment of, 861
Public Lands: Foote's resolution affecting sale of, 489; proceeds from sales distributed among States, 529
Public Office: views of Adams on political removals from, 475; eligibility restrictions removed, 480; increased number made elective, 480; clamor for, at Jackson's accession, 481; Jackson's "spoils system," 481; see also Civil Service Reform.
Public Schools: see Schools, Public
Pueblo Indians: description, 10; famous for their jewelry and wood-carving, 14; pottery among, 15; skillful in textile work, 15
Pugh, George E.: resents attitude of Southern Democrats, 679
Pulaski, Count Casimir: his services to America, 269; death, 272
Pullman Car Strike, 1002

Punishments: religious persecutions in New England, 147; crimes in the colonies, 156; see also Constitution, The
Puritan: placed in commission, 1008
Puritans: strength of, in England, 64; bigotry of, in Maryland, 72; withdraw from Church of England, 83; in Portsmouth, 95; end of absolute dominion of, 101; persecuted in Virginia, 149
Putnam, Israel: serves in expedition against Ticonderoga, 189; joins troops at Boston, 228; appointed major-general, 231; in battle of Long Island, 243
Putnam, Rufus: organizes Ohio Company, 318; plans government for Northwest Territory, 318
Pythagoras: announces his theory of a spherical earth, 22

Q

Quakers: attracted to Maryland, 72; persecutions of, in Salem colony, 90; persecution of, prohibited, 99; purchase New Jersey, 109; characteristics of, 110; oppose slavery in Pennsylvania, 130; persecuted in New England, 147; not given suffrage in Massachusetts or Plymouth, 148; not tolerated in New York, 148; persecuted in Virginia, 149; petition Congress against slavery, 572
Quartering Act: passed, 221
Quebec: settled, 50; slow growth of, 51; plan to capture, 158; in French claims, 168; captured by English (1759), 193; French attempt to recapture, 197; attacked by Montgomery and Arnold, 235; meeting of the Joint High Commission, 1021
Quebec Act: passed, 221
Quebec, Hero of: see Wolfe, General James
Queen Anne's War: origin, 160; Indians attack Deerfield, 160; Port Royal taken by English, 161; failure of expedition on Quebec, 162; Treaty of Utrecht and terms, 162
Queenston: battle of (1812), 421
Quetzalcoatl: Mexican god, 39
Quincy, Josiah: defends soldiers accused of Boston Massacre, 217; condemns War of 1812, 431; quoted, 150; suggests secession, 508
Quitman, John Anthony: favors secession of the South, 611; plans invasion of Cuba, 643
Quo Warranto, Writ of: used to deprive colonies of their charters, 115

R

Railroads: early construction, 480; Supreme Court decision respecting merger, 971; effect of trans-continental, on settlement of West, 985; abuses of, discussed in President Roosevelt's message, 1075
Railway Rate Regulation Bill: passed (1906), 1082
Raleigh, Sir Walter: receives royal patent, 52; his attempts at colonization, 53; imprisonment and death, 54
Rambouillet Decree: issued, 415
Randall, Samuel Jackson: Speaker of the House, 914; leader of protective tariff Democrats, 693
Randolph, Edmund: his plan proposed to Constitutional Convention, 325; quoted on the determination of the members of the Constitutional Convention, 333; refuses to sign the Constitution, 334; favors adoption of Constitution, 336; made Attorney-General, 344
Randolph, Edward: sent to enforce Navigation Acts, 99
Randolph, John: quoted on Jefferson's Embargo Act, 410; quoted on election of J. Q. Adams as president, 475; on "tariff of abominations," 473; opposes slave trade in District of Columbia, 570; quoted on Southern fear of negro uprisings, 587
Randolph, Peyton: graduates from College of William and Mary, 142; delegate to first Continental Congress, 223; quoted on slavery in Virginia, 564

Rapidan River: in Wilderness campaign, 787
Rappahannock River: crossed by Hooker's army, 771; division line of Northern and Southern armies, 782
Rawdon, Lord (Francis Rawdon Hastings): at battle of Hobkirk's Hill, 282
Raymond, Mississippi: battle of (1863), 776
Read, George: delegate to first Continental Congress, 223
Reading, Pennsylvania: riots at, during railroad strikes, 919
Reagan, John Henninger: Confederate Postmaster General, 694; fathers bill for regulating freight charges, 956
Reconstruction: Lincoln's plan, 833; Wade-Davis Bill, 837; debate in Congress, 843; aftermath in Grant's administration, 863; effects in South, 864; mistakes of, summarized, 874
Reconstruction Acts: passed, 846; denounced in Democratic platform (1868), 860
Red River: as Florida boundary, 445
Reed, Thomas Buchanan: enters Congress, 916; chosen Speaker of House, 969; his war on dilatory motions in House, 969; candidate for Presidential nomination (1896), 1012
Reed, William Brackett: negotiates treaty between China and the United States, 919
Referendum, The: in Rhode Island charter, 94; introduced, 481; in Kansas election, 662
Regulating Act: passed, 220; impossible of enforcement in Massachusetts, 226
Reid, Whitelaw: nominated for Vice President (1892), 989; member of Spanish-American peace commission, 1031
Religion: beliefs among the Indians, 9; important in Virginia colony, 67; conflict of, in Carolina, 78; disputes regarding, in Salem Colony, 90; in the colonies, 145
Religious Freedom: toleration in Maryland, 71; granted by Carolina charter, 76; in Rhode Island, 94; insured in New York, 105
"Remember the Alamo," 534
Removals from Office: power granted President, 345
Renaissance, The: summary of, 21
Reno, Jesse Lee: killed at Antietam, 765
Reno, Marcus R.: in expedition against Sitting Bull, 905
Rensselaer, Stephen van: see Van Rensselaer
Representation: settled in Constitutional Convention, 328
Representatives, House of: see House of Representatives
Republican Movement, Liberal: formed, 889; convention at Cincinnati, 890
Republican Party: origin, 356; Jefferson leader of, 370; prosecution of, under Sedition Act, 377; rise from old Republican party, 434; division into Democrats and Whigs, 434; change ground with Federalists on bank question, 439; become Federalistic, 459; national party formed, 519; organized, 644; convention at Pittsburg, 653; denounce Dred Scott decision, 660; gain ground in North, 671; national convention at Chicago (1860), 680; divided on Emancipation Proclamation, 768; convention at Chicago (1868), 857; Reconstruction in South, 865; division of radical and conservative in South, 873; convention at Philadelphia (1872), 892; convention at Cincinnati (1876), 906; convention of 1880, 925; lose vote of South, 932; support Civil Service Reform Bill, 937; tariff question, 939; convention at Chicago (1884), 942; national convention of 1888, 965; demonstrations over success (1888), 968; convention at Minneapolis (1892), 989; platform (1892), 990; convention at St. Louis (1896), 1012; platform (1900), 1038; convention of 1904, 1062
Resaca: attack at (1864), 794
Resaca de la Palma: battle of (1846), 547

Restoration, The: effect on Virginia, 64; accepted by Connecticut, 93; effect on the Confederation, 97, 99
Resumption Act, 898
Revere, Paul: rides to Lexington, 226
Revolution, Financier of the: see Morris, Robert
Revolution, The American: causes, 201; the Stamp Act passed, 210; opposition to Stamp Act in America, 211; Sons of Liberty formed, 212; legislation in Parliament, 213; repeal of Stamp Act, 214; quartering of British troops in Boston, 221; the Boston Massacre, 217; Burning of the Gaspee, 218; Boston Tea Party, 219; Boston Port Bill and abrogation of Massachusetts charter, 220; General Gage appointed governor of Massachusetts, 221; first Continental Congress, 222; Lexington and Concord, 227; Ticonderoga and Crown Point, 228; second Continental Congress, 229; battle of Bunker Hill, 231; Washington chosen to command Continental Army, 230; siege of Boston, 235; Declaration of Independence signed, 241; battle of Long Island, 243; retreat across New Jersey, 244; battle of Trenton, 248; battle of Princeton, 249; Burgoyne's invasion and struggle for the upper Hudson, 251; Brandywine, Germantown and Valley Forge, 257; British occupy Philadelphia, 259; Charles Lee and battle of Monmouth, 262; British evacuate Philadelphia, 262; French Alliance, 265; British success in the South, 271; campaign in South under Gates, 274; Arnold's treason, 275; General Greene in South, 280; surrender of Yorktown, 285; Treaty of Peace signed, 288; naval encounters, 290; compared to War of 1812, 435; effect on slavery question, 592
Revolution, The French: effects Washington's second administration, 357
Reyes, Rafael: president elect of Colombia, 1059; sent to plead Colombian cause, 1060
Reynolds, John Fulton: killed at Gettysburg, 779
Rhett, Robert Barnwall: opposes Slade in Congress, 578
Rhode Island: founded, 94; receives liberal charter, 94; religious freedom, 94, 147; snubbed by New England Confederation, 96; favored after Restoration, 99; colonial government, 114; evades Sugar Act, 135; rum trade (1750), 135; educational growth, 140; franchise denied Catholics, 148; colonial suffrage laws, 148; jealousy of Connecticut, 164; The Gaspee Affair, 218; opposes amendment to Articles of Confederation, 313; suffers from paper currency craze, 314; appoints delegates for Annapolis Convention, 322; refuses to send delegates to Constitutional Convention, 323; ratifies the Constitution, 338; attitude toward War of 1812, 431; in Hartford Convention, 431; rebellion of 1841, 530; measures toward abolition of slavery adopted, 564; abolition societies formed, 571; state election of 1855, 646; Presidential election of 1892, 992
Riall, Sir Phinehasor Phineas: British commander, 429
Ribaut, Jean: attempts to plant colony in Carolina, 47
Rice Industry: in South Carolina, 137
Richard II, King of England: statute of, restricting exports, 69
Richardson, William Alexander: chairman of Committee on Territories, 637
Richmond, Virginia: population in time of Jackson, 479; made capital of Confederacy, 718; McClellan's plan of attack on, 757; Lee takes command at, 761; Grant begins operations against, 791; demonstrations following Hampton Roads Conference, 809; fall of (1865), 810; Lincoln visits, 826
Rich Mountain: battle of (1861), 733
Rights, Declaration of: see Declaration of Rights

Riley, Bennett: governor of California, 598
Rio Grande: becomes boundary between Mexico and Texas, 552
Ripon, George Frederick Samuel Robinson, Marquis of: in Joint High Commission, 883
Rittenhouse, David: orrery of, destroyed, 249
River Raisin: massacre at (1813), 424
Roanoke: at the battle between the *Merrimac* and the *Congress*, 755
Roanoke Island: attempts to colonize, 53
Robertson, W. H.: opposed by Conkling, 933
Roberval: attempts to settle Montreal, 46
Robinson, John: leads Presbyterian refugees, 84
Rochambeau, Count: joins Washington, 283
Rochambeau, Marquis: in centennial of Conwallis's surrender, 940
Rochester, New York: speech of Senator Seward at, 671; popular respect to Lincoln's remains, 827
Rockingham, Charles Watson Wentworth, Marquis of: becomes premier, 212; favors repeal of Stamp Act, 214; fall of his ministry, 215
Rockingham County, Virginia: devastated by Sheridan's army, 793
"Rock of Chickamauga": see Thomas, George Henry
Rocky Mountains: dispute of boundary beyond, 443
Rodgers, John: commands squadron, 375
Rodney, Cæsar: delegate to first Continental Congress, 223
"Rogue's Harbor": name given to Albemarle, 74
Roosevelt, Theodore (1858—), President of the United States, Sept. 14, 1901—: in Santiago campaign, 1029; controversy between Sampson and Schley, 1035; nominated for Vice President (1900), 1037; campaign tour (1900), 1040; becomes President, 1050; nominated for President (1904), 1063; second election, 1067; sketch of, 1068; in Russo-Japanese Peace Conference, 1079; proposes Federal regulation of life insurance companies, 1081
Root, Elihu: in Roosevelt's cabinet, 1052; in Alaskan boundary commission, 1055; in Republican convention (1904), 1062; aids in reform of Consular Service, 1084
Rose, Sir John: in Alabama claims controversy, 883
Rosecrans, William Starke: with Grant in north Mississippi, 773; made major-general, 774; sketch of, 774; succeeds Buell, 773; operations in East Tennessee, 782; mistake at Chickamauga, 784; succeeded by Thomas, 784
Ross, Robert: British commander, 426; killed in attack on Baltimore, 427
Round Top: in battle of Gettysburg, 780; held by Sickles, 780
Rousseau, Jean Jacques: his influence on American Constitution, 330
Rousseau, Lovell Harrison: organizes Kentucky troops, 722
Rouville, Hertel de: attacks Salmon Falls, 158; in Queen Anne's War, 160
Royal African Company, 128; British sovereigns members of, 562
Royal Colonies, 114
Ruffin, Edward: fires second shot of Civil War, 711
Rule of 1756: enforcement sought by England, 361; debars neutrals from colonial trade, 406
Rum Trade: in New England, 135; with Indians, 175
Rush, Benjamin: plots against Washington, 261; Jefferson's letter to, 300
Rush, Richard: minister to England, 447
Russell, Lord John: quoted on Polk's inaugural address, 543; refuses arbitration of claims controversy, 882
Russell, Jonathan: appointed on peace commission, 429
Russellville, Kentucky: secessionists hold convention at, 722
Russia: attitude toward Northwest, 447; allusion to, in Monroe Doctrine, 449; settlement of dispute with, 449; treatics with the United States

(1824 and 1825), 541; offers to mediate between United States and Great Britain, 428; cedes Alaska, 878; Alaskan purchase ends dominion of, in America, 878; friendly attitude during Civil War, 878; Behring Sea rights of, 980; disputes with, over Behring Sea, 1055
Russian-American Company: charter expires, 877
Russo-Japanese Peace Conference (1905): held at Portsmouth, N. H., 1079
Russo-Japanese War, 1079
Rutgers, Elizabeth: sues Joshua Waddington, 309
Rutgers College: founded, 141
Rutledge, Edward: delegate to first Continental Congress, 223; member of South Carolina ratifying convention, 336
Rutledge, John: delegate to first Continental Congress, 223; in Constitutional Convention, 324; member of South Carolina ratifying convention, 336
Ryswick, Treaty of (1697): nature of, 159

S

Sabbath Day: New England observance of, 145
Sabine River: as Florida boundary, 445
Sac Indians: in Black Hawk War, 500
Sackville Episode: in campaign of 1888, 967
Sacramento: center of gold-miners, 506
Sagasta, Praxedes Mateo: recalls Weyler, 1023
St. Augustine: founded, 43, 48; attacked by Oglethorpe, 81
St. Clair, Arthur: surrenders Ticonderoga, 252; court-martialed, 252; governor of Northwest Territory, 319; defeat of, 365
St. Croix River: disputes as to location, 362, 530
St. John, John Pierce: nominated for President (1884), 936
St. John's River: discovered, 47; made boundary between Maine and Canada, 531
St. Lawrence: Federal frigate, 755
St. Lawrence, Gulf of: fishery privileges granted to the United States, 950
St. Lawrence River: as boundary of Nova Scotia, 167; as British boundary, 199
St. Leger, Barry: attempts to capture Fort Stanwix, 254
St. Louis: Confederates attempt to gain possession of arsenal, 721; headquarters of the Whisky Ring, 894; Democratic convention (1876), 908; labor disturbances, 961; Republican convention (1896), 1012; Populist convention (1896), 1015; National Silver Party convention (1896), 1015; Democratic convention (1904), 1064
St. Lucia: restored to France by Treaty of Paris, 168
St. Marks: Spanish settlers aid Seminoles, 444
St. Mary's: first settlement in Maryland, 70
Saint Pierre: commands Fort le Boeuf, 171
St. Pierre: retained by France in Treaty of Paris, 168
St. Thomas Island: failure of proposed purchase, 879
Salary Grab, The, 856
Salem: arrival of settlers under Endicott, 87; removal of Winthrop from, 88; government of colony, 88; religious dissension in, 89; persecutions for witchcraft, 89; becomes seat of government of Massachusetts, 220
Salisbury, Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoigne Cecil, Marquis de: refuses to recall Lord Sackville, 967; the Venezuelan affair, 1000
Salmon Falls: attack on (1690), 158
Salt Lake: Mormon empire founded at, 682
Salvagers: as American colonists, 127
San Juan: visited by Magellan, 37
San Juan Dispute, The, 977
Sandys, ——: welcomes Englishmen, 85
Sandys, William Thomas: commands North Atlantic Squadron, 1028; controversy with Schley, 1035

San Antonio: army stores given to Confederates, 691
San Domingo: settled, 33; failure of expedition to, 397; see also Dominican Republic
San Francisco: growth in 1849, 597; destroyed by earthquake, 1084
San Ildefonso, Treaty of (1800), 395
San Jacinto: battle of (1836), 534
San Jacinto: in the Trent Affair, 729
San Jacinto, Hero of: see Houston, Sam.
San Juan, Central America: waterway communication seized by Central American States, 627; bombardment of (1854), 642
San Juan Hill: battle of (1898), 1029; Roosevelt distinguished at, 1069
San Miguel: founded, 38
San Salvador: discovered by Columbus, 31
Sanborn, Benjamin H.: John Brown aided by, 673
Sandys, Sir Edwin: appointed councilor, 57
Sangamon River: Lincoln family settle on, 666
Sanitary Commission, The: work of, 825
Santa Anna, Antonio Lopez de: attempts to change form of Mexican government, 532; orders garrison of the Alamo to be shot, 534; defeated at San Jacinto, 534; captured, 534; defeated at Buena Vista, 548; at battle of Cerro Gordo, 549
Santa Fé: founded, 43; occupied by Kearny, 549
Santa Maria: fitted out for Columbus, 29; wrecked, 32
Santee: battle of the (1780), 278
Santiago, de Cuba: Virginius trial at, 887; naval battle of (1898), 1030; surrenders to General Shafter (1898), 1030
Santo Domingo: Roosevelt urges treaty with, 1077
Saratoga: battle of (1777), 255
Sargent, John: nominated for Vice-President, 498
Savage Station: battle of (1862), 761
Savannah: founded by Oglethorpe, 81; only town during colonial period of Georgia, 81; captured by British (1778), 271; population in time of Jackson, 479; captured by Sherman (1864), 805
Saybrook: established, 92
Saye and Sele, William Fiennes, Viscount: proprietor Connecticut colony, 92; secures charter for Connecticut, 93
Sayle, William: brings settlers from Barbadoes, 75
"Scalawags": meaning of term, 864
Schenck, Robert Cumming: in Joint High Commission, 883
Schenectady: attack on (1690), 158
Schley, Winfield Scott: commands Flying Squadron, 1028; in battle of Santiago, 1030; controversy with Sampson, 1035
Schofield, John McAllister: in Sherman's march to Atlanta, 794; attacked by Hood, 803; joins Sherman at Goldsboro, 808; Secretary of War, 855; retires from Cabinet, 861; retained in Grant's Cabinet, 861
Schools, Public: established in Massachusetts, 140; in the South, 589
Schurman, Jacob Gould: member of the Philippine commission, 1042
Schurz, Carl: joins liberal movement, 890; Secretary of the Interior, 916; opposes election of Blaine (1884), 946
Schuyler, Philip: appointed major-general, 231; abandons Fort Edward, 253; censured, 252; relieved from command of army of New York, 254; in first Congress, 343
Sclopis, Count: in Geneva commission, 885
Scotch: included in Penn's Colony, 113
Scotch-Irish: arrive in Virginia, 67; aid settlement of Pennsylvania, 113; in Pennsylvania and other colonies, 126
Scott, Dred: famous case of, 658
Scott, Winfield: in War of 1812, 421, 424, 433; victory at Chippewa, 425; sent to Canadian border, 515; proposed as nominee for Whig Party, 521; at battle of Cerro Gordo, 549; sent to Mexico, 549; opposes peace commissioner, 551; candidate for

President, 557; receives Presidential nomination (1852), 620; in the campaign of 1852, 621; advises the garrisoning of Southern forts, 696; protects Lincoln at inauguration, 707; approves plan of battle for Bull Run, 734; succeeded by McClellan, 757; early army comrade of Lee, 760
Scranton, Pennsylvania: riots at, during railroad strikes, 919
Seal Fisheries: dispute in Behring Sea, 979
Sea of Darkness: see Atlantic Ocean
Search Warrants, General: issued by British Government to be used in colonies, 205
Secession: threats of disunion in Constitutional Convention, 326; agitated in New England in War of 1812, 431; threatened by Georgia on account of interference in land surveys, 471; agitated on account of protective tariff, 472; suggested by the opposition to admission of Louisiana, 568; Calhoun's speech of 1850, 604; proposed by Nashville convention (1850), 611; advocated in Mississippi, 611; in campaign of 1856, 655; South threatens, 678; campaign of 1860, 683; of Southern States, 684; Greeley quoted on right of, 714
"Secretary Dynasty," 463
Sectional feeling: on land question, 489; increased by Jackson's methods, 499; exemplified in attitude toward execution of John Brown, 675; see also Civil War
Sedgwick, John: retreats before Lee, 771
Sedition Acts: Federalists enact, 377
Selectmen: election and duties of, 123
Seminary Ridge: in battle of Gettysburg, 780; Lee masses forces on, 780
Seminole Indians: location, 8; removed to Indian Territory, 488, 515; trouble with, 506; Indian Territory acquired from, 985
Seminole War, The First: in East Florida, 444
Seminole War, The Second: account of, 507; cost of, 515; Taylor defeats Indians, 592
Semmes, Raphael: commands the *Alabama*, 881
Senate of the United States: composition, 332; salary of members, 340
Senegal: ceded to England, 108
Separatists: see Puritans
Serapis: fight with the *Bonhomme Richard*, 201
Sergeant, John: as delegate to Panama Congress, 468
Serpent Mound, 5
Servants, Indented: status of, 130
Seven Cities of Cibola: search for, 41
Seven Days' Battles (1862): account of, 761
Seven Pines: battle of (1862), 758
Seventh of March Speech, Webster's, 605
Sevier, John: at battle of King's Mountain, 279
Sewall, Arthur: nominated for Vice President (1896), 1014
Sewall, Samuel: first anti-slavery agitator in Massachusetts, 130
Seward, William Henry: opposes nomination of Clay for Presidency, 520; influence over Taylor, 594; speech on compromise measures, 607; aids slaves to escape from South, 617; proposes repeal of Missouri Compromise, 633; answers Douglas's speech (1853), 634; leader of Republican Party, 653; favors Douglas's reelection, 664; speech at Rochester, 671; his principles blamed for John Brown's raid, 676; sketch of, 686; quoted on Buchanan's speech of Dec. 4, 1860, 698; Lincoln's Secretary of State, 708; denies that the Confederacy is an independent nation, 709; disavows act of Captain Wilkes, 720; quoted on Sherman and Farragut, 801; in Hampton Roads Conference, 809; attempted assassination of, 820; advises Johnson as to reconstruction of the South, 832; prepares veto message for Tenure of Office Act, 853; and French occupation of Mexico, 870; concludes Russian

Treaty, 878; ambitious for American expansion, 878; alarm over the *Alabama*, 882; negotiates treaty with China, 919
Seymour, Horatio: governor of New York, 779; in Democratic convention, 800; nominated President, 859
Shadrach: rescued by Boston mob, 615
Shafter, William Rufus: in Santiago campaign, 1029; receives surrender of Santiago, 1030
Shaftesbury, Earl of: see Berkeley, Sir John
Shannon, British frigate: defeats *Chesapeake*, 423
Sharpsburg: battle of Antietam near (1862), 765
Shawnee Indians: belong to Algonquian stock, 8; trouble in Northwest, 416
Shays, Daniel: leads insurrection, 315
Shays's Rebellion, 316, 321
Shelburne, Lord: see Petty, William
Shelby, Isaac: at battle of King's Mountain, 279
Shenandoah: built in English shipyard, 882
Shenandoah Valley: settled by Scotch-Irish, 67; occupied by General Patterson, 734; campaign in, 759; Jackson's military genius in, 772; Sheridan's campaign in, 791; political effect of devastations in, 801
Shepherdstown: Lee arrives at, 779
Sheply, General: military governor of Louisiana, 833
Sheridan, Philip Henry: sent to attack Lee's flank, 788; in Shenandoah Valley, 791; defeats Early at Opequan Creek, 792; criticised for devastations, 793; at Five Forks, 810; sent to Texas, 877
Sherman, John: in contest for Speaker of the House, 677; Secretary of the Treasury, 916; prepares for resumption of specie payments, 922; Presidential nominee, 926; nominated by Garfield, 928; loses Presidential nomination to Garfield, 929; candidate for Presidential nomination, 965; prepares Anti-trust Act, 971; the fur seal controversy, 1020
Sherman, Roger: delegate to first Continental Congress, 223; member of committee to draft a declaration of independence, 240; in Constitutional Convention, 324; in first Congress, 342
Sherman, William Tecumseh: at battle of Pittsburg Landing, 747; in siege of Vicksburg, 775; at Vicksburg, 777; his Georgia campaign, 786; expells inhabitants of Atlanta, 797; political effect of his victories, 801; official report of his march through Georgia, 806; approves Lincoln's reconstruction plans, 836
Sherman Silver Law: account of, 974; causes panic of 1893, 994
Shiloh, Battle of: see Pittsburg Landing
Shipbuilding: in New England, 135
Shippen, Miss Margaret: engaged to Benedict Arnold, 275
Shirley, William: plans capture of Louisburg, 164; son killed at Fort Duquesne, 179; plans attack on Fort Niagara, 182
Sickles, Daniel Edgar: at Gettysburg, 780
Sigsbee, Charles Dwight: advises against haste in the *Maine* Affair, 1024
Silliman, Benjamin: American scientist, 481
Simms, William Gilmore: novelist, 76
Sims: case of, 616
Siouan Indians: independent of other families, 7; early migrations, 8
Sioux Indians: war with the United States, 905
Sitklan Island: awarded to United States, 1055
Sitting Bull: leader of Indian war, 905
Six Nations: see Iroquois Indians
1660, Act of: see Act of 1660
Skrellings: name given to natives of America by Northmen, 20
Slade, William: champion of the abolitionists, 578
Slaves, Slavery and Slave Trade: among the Indians, 14; introduced in Virginia, 61; brought to South Carolina, 75; use of Indians as slaves, 77; law against fugitive slaves in New England Confedera-

tion, 96; practiced in Penn's colony, 112; statistics at the outbreak of the Revolution, 126, 128; status at outbreak of the Revolution, 128; slave trade compromise of the Constitution, 328; proposal to prohibit it in the Northwest Territory, 318; prohibited in Northwest Territory, 319; Louisiana Purchase affects, 399; suppression of slave trade agreed to in treaty of Ghent, 430; fugitives seek refuge in East Florida, 444; comparison of conditions in North and South, 450; effect of cotton gin, 450; growth of sentiment against, 452; agreement between Great Britain and United States for suppression of Slave Trade, 531; abolished in Mexico, 532; controversy over annexation of Texas, 535; Presidential election of 1848, 559; rise of the controversy, 561; question in territories, 594, 595; prohibited in California, 568; compromise of 1850, 601; Calhoun's idea of slavery, 604; Dred Scott case, 658; constitutionality of exclusion from territories, 659; citizenship of the negro under Federal Constitution, 660; plenary powers of Congress, 660; Lecompton Constitution, 662; feeling in Kansas, 663; Lincoln's utterances respecting slavery, 667; John Brown's convictions concerning, 673; Helper's view of the system, 677; Confederacy forbids importation of slaves, 695; abolished by purchase in District of Columbia, 760; abolished in Territories, 766; Confiscation Act (1862), 766; Emancipation Proclamation (preliminary), 767; abolished by thirteenth amendment, 841; negro suffrage question, 858, 932; negro suffrage endorsed by Chase, 859; negro suffrage in Democratic platform (1868), 860; influence of carpet bag rule in South, 864; the Ku-Klux-Klan, 868; rights of the negro in South, 874; Force Bill, 970

Sliddell, John: sent to Mexico, 544; appointed Confederate representative at Paris, 728

Sloat, John Drake: sent to seize California, 548

Slocum, Henry Warner: commands Army of the Cumberland, 804; commands Sherman's left, 806

Sloughter, Henry: appointed governor, 106

Smith, Adam: publishes his "Wealth of Nations," 201

Smith, Adamson: in first Congress, 342

Smith, Caleb: Lincoln's Secretary of the Interior, 708

Smith, Charles Ferguson: at siege of Fort Donelson, 744

Smith, Edmund Kirby: at battle of Bull Run, 735; surrenders the forces of the West, 814

Smith, Gerrit: member of American Anti-Slavery Society, 574; heads negro rescue at Syracuse, 616; aids cause of negro abduction, 617; John Brown aided by, 673; becomes insane, 675

Smith, Green Clay: nominated for President (1876), 909

Smith, Hoke: Secretary of the Interior, 993 *note*

Smith, Hyrum: murdered by mob, 982

Smith, Jacob Hurd: court-martialed, 1043

Smith, John: sketch of, 58; explores coast of New England, 86

Smith, Joseph: founder of Mormonism, 982

Smuggling: in the Spanish-American colonies, 45; in New England prior to the Revolution, 205; under Jefferson's Embargo Act, 410; troubles in East Florida, 444

Smyth, Joseph, Mormon prophet: murdered by mob, 982

Smythe, Alexander: succeeds Van Rensselaer, 421

Smythe, Sir Thomas: appointed councilor, 57

Social Conditions: in the South previous to Civil War, 580

Social Democratic Party: Debs nominated President by, 1007

Socialist Labor Party: nominates Simon Wing for President, 991; Presidential nomination of 1904, 1007

Social Life: in colonies, 154; effect of strong sectional feeling on, 678
Society of Jesus: see Jesus, Society of
Sons of Liberty: of New York, propose general congresses, 222
Sothel, Seth: governor of Carolina, 74
Soto, Hernando de: explorations of, 42; death of, 43
Soulé, Pierre: minister to Spain, 625; Ostend Manifesto, 628; resigns as minister, 629; demands indemnity for Black Warrior Affair, 643
South, The: opposes government aid in internal improvements, 442; effect of cotton gin on conditions in, 450; protective tariff question, 457, 472; opposes "tariff of abominations," 473; comparison of population in time of Jackson, 479; attitude toward Carolina and nullification, 495; military governments withdrawn from, 870; political disabilities removed, 873; reclaimed from carpet bag rule, 873; becomes Democratic "solid South," 932; regard for McKinley, 1683; see also Confederacy, The
South America: Columbus first sees, 33; Spain's trouble with colonies in, 445; interference of Holy Alliance, 446; condition of black race in republics of, 469; revolt against Spanish rule, 1021
South Carolina: settlement of Port Royal, 47; colony planted in, 74; United with North Carolina, 74; separated and made royal province, 75; first permanent settlement 75; Scotch-Irish settle in, 127; slave code, 129; the cultivation of rice, 137; the cultivation of indigo, 137; colonial newspapers, 144; colonial suffrage laws, 148; Church of England established, 149; sends supplies to Boston, 222; refuses to surrender power of regulating commerce, 311; fails to pay her share of national government expenses (1781), 313; chooses delegates for Constitutional Convention, 323; ratifies the Constitution, 336; favors financial plans of Hamilton, 350; denounces protective tariff, 458, 472, 493; Ordinance of Nullification, 493; test oath for public office, 494; not represented in second Democratic national convention, 509; delegates oppose slavery clause in Declaration of Independence, 563; abolition literature taken from mails at Charleston, 576; opposition to compromise measures (1850), 610, 617; delegates withdraw from Democratic convention (1860), 679; secession, 684; Confederates seize Forts Pinckney, Moultrie and Sumter, 691; appoints commissioners to negotiate for delivery of government property to State authorities, 703; indignation over Major Anderson's occupation of Fort Sumter, 703; takes possession of Fort Moultrie, 704; legislature approves action of troops who fired on the *Star of the West*, 705; Sherman's march through, 806; loss of military population, 824; reconstruction effects, 864; negro franchise, 873; Presidential election of 1876, 910; collapse of the "negro carpet bag" government, 915
South Carolina Exposition: Calhoun's statement of nullification so called, 491
South Church, Old: see Old South Meeting House
South Dakota: part of Northwest Territory, 631; admitted to the Union, 985; Presidential election of 1892, 993; Presidential election of 1900, 1040
Southern Gentlemen: see Gentlemen, Southern
Southern Pacific Railroad: Gadsden Treaty, 641
Southhampton County, Virginia: slave uprising, 575
South Mountain, Battle of: see Boonsboro, Battle of
South Sea: see Pacific Ocean
South Sea Company of Sweden: abandons settlements on Delaware, 103; founds settlements in Delaware, 108
Southwest: development of, 442
Spain: Pinckney's treaty with, 364; cedes Louisiana to France, 395; boundary dispute with the United

States, 443; cedes Florida, 444; in joint intervention against Mexico, 876; Cuban insurrection (1868), 887; decline of her power in the Western Hemisphere, 1021; arbitration treaty of United States with, 1076
Spanish-American Colonies: extent, 43; government, 43; education, 45; commerce and trade, 45
Spanish-American War: Congress authorizes President to interfere in Cuba, 1025; first shot fired, 1026; President calls for troops, 1026; battle of Manila Bay, 1028; surrender of Santiago de Cuba, 1030; conquest of Porto Rico, 1030; protocol signed, 1031; treaty of peace signed, 1032; mismanagement of the commissariat, 1034
Spanish Armada: see Armada, Spanish
Spanish Succession, War of, 160
Special Legislation: evil of, attributed to Jackson, 489
Speedwell: carries Pilgrims from Leyden, 84
Spoils System: introduced by Jefferson, 391; development of, 937
Spoliation Claims: against France, 507
Spoliation Claims, Spanish: see Florida: purchase of
Spooner Act: passed, 1058
Spot Resolutions: introduced by Lincoln, 666
Spottswood, Alexander: governor of Virginia, 66
Spottsylvania Court House: battle of (1864), 789
Springfield, Ill.: Lincoln removes to, 666; Populist Party convention at, 1067
Spring Hill: battle of (1864), 803
Squanto: instructs Pilgrims in agriculture, 85; negotiates treaty with Massasoit, 85
Squatter Sovereignty, Doctrine of, 618, 647
Staempfli, Jacob: in Geneva commission, 885
"Stalwarts," The: Republican faction so named, 934; accession to power, 935
Stamp Act: proposed, 207; passed (1765), 210; opposition to, in America, 211; opposition to, in England, 212; repealed, 214
Standard Oil Trust: character of, 971
Stanley, Edward Henry Smith, Earl of Derby: opposes settlement of Alabama claims, 882
Stanton, Edwin McMasters: alarm over victories of Merrimac, 755; aids governor of Indiana, 818; announces Lincoln's death, 827; quarrel with President Johnson, 850; prepares veto message for Tenure of Office Act, 853; resigns as Secretary of War, 855; appointed justice of Supreme Court, 855; his removal causes breach between Johnson and Grant, 861
Stanwix, Fort: British attempt to capture, 254
Star of the West: sent to Charleston, 704
"Star Route" Frauds, 936
"Star Spangled Banner": written, 427
Stark, John: serves in expedition against Ticonderoga, 189; joins troops at Boston, 228; estimate of, 234; defeats British at Bennington, 253; made brigadier-general, 253
State, Department of: organized, 344
"Starving time" at Jamestown, 60
State Banks: government deposits in, under Jackson, 503
States: power limited in Constitution, 331; power of Congress to impose conditions on admission of, 452
States Rights: in Washington's administration, 367; reaction in favor of, 379; agitated in War of 1812, 432; indecisions of Supreme Court, 440; sovereignty maintained by Georgia, 471; Jackson's sympathy with, 488
Steamboat: invention of, 401; on western waterways, 479
Stearns, George P.: John Brown aided by, 673
Steele's Bayou: in Vicksburg campaign, 776
Stephen, General: at battle of Germantown, 260
Stephens, Alexander Hamilton: fathers Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 637; opposes secession of Georgia, 688; elected

president of Confederacy, 692; earlier career, 693; concludes convention with Virginia, 718; in Hampton Roads Conference, 809
Sterling, General: taken prisoner by English, 243
Steuben, Friedrich Wilhelm August Heinrich Ferdinand von, Baron: drills American soldiers, 262; his services to America, 269
Steuben, Baron von: in centennial of Cornwallis's surrender, 940
Stevens, John L.: recognizes the provisional government of Hawaii, 998
Stevens, Thaddeus: aids cause of negro abduction, 617; opposes Lincoln, 799; opposed to Lincoln's reconstruction plans, 836
Stevenson, Adlai Ewing: nominated for Vice President (1892), 989; nominated for Vice President (1900), 1038
Stewart, Alexander Turney: chosen by Grant for Cabinet, 861; declared ineligible, 861
Stewart, Robert, Marquis of Londonderry (until father's death was known as Viscount Castlereagh): quoted on Jefferson's Embargo Act, 411
Stith, William: historical writings of, 143
Stock-raising: in the colonies, 134
Stockton, Robert Field: sent to seize California, 548
Stoeckel, Baron: in Alaska purchase, 877
Stone, William: imprisoned by Puritans, 72
Stone Age, 6
Stone River: winter quarters of Bragg at Murfreesborough on, 774
Storms, Cape of: see Cape of Good Hope
Story, Joseph: describes Jackson's inauguration, 481
Stowe, Harriet Beecher: aids cause of negro abduction, 617; publishes "Uncle Tom's Cabin," 638
Strabo: believes the earth to be a sphere, 23
Straits of Magellan: discovered, 37
Strict Constructionists: origin, 352
Strong, Caleb: member of Massachusetts ratifying convention, 336; in first Congress, 342
Strong, William: member of the Electoral Commission, 903 *note*
Strong, William L.: reform administration of, in New York, 1069
Stuart, James Ewell Brown: commands Lee's advance, 764; commands rear guard, 778; mortally wounded at battle of Yellow Tavern, 788
Stuyvesant, Peter: Dutch governor of New Amsterdam, 103; surrenders to Duke of York, 104
Suffrage: New England qualifications for, 147; disfranchisement of free negroes, 480; general extension of, 480; see also Slaves
Sugar Act, British: evaded by colonists, 135; passed (1733), 203
Sumner, Charles: quoted on the nomination of Van Buren in 1848, 559; signs address against Douglas, 633; replies to Douglas's speech (1853), 634; assaulted by Preston Brooks, 650; opposed to Lincoln's reconstruction plans, 836; in Congress (1869), 862; advised of Alaska purchase, 878; breach with Grant, 880; supports Alaska treaty, 880; on Johnson-Clarendon treaty, 882; his speech on Republicanism v. Grantism, 890; joins liberal movement, 890; Lamar's tribute to, 916
Sumner, Edwin Vose: saves victory at Seven Pines, 758
Sumter, Thomas: sketch of, 273; in first Congress, 342
Superstition: in religious worship of New England, 147
Supreme Court of the United States: provided for, in Constitution, 333; elevated by Marshall, 390; denounced by the Democratic Party, 1014
Supreme Court Decisions: decision on limitation of powers of State, 440; decision on implied powers under Constitution, 440; Jackson combats United States Bank decision, 486; favoring Indians in Georgia suit, 487; on constitutionality of United States Bank, 501; the Dred Scott de-

cision, 658; sustaining negro disfranchisement in South, 873; respecting social rights of negro, 873; the Legal Tender Act, 899; against railroad merger, 972; sustains Act of Congress restoring State Prohibition laws, 972; sustains legislation against lotteries, 973; respecting Mormon polygamy, 983; constitutionality of Foraker Act, 1041; right of colonial subjects to trial by jury, 1045

Susan Constant: carries settlers to Virginia, 57

Sutter, Captain: discovers gold in California, 595

Swallow, Silas C.: Prohibition nominee for President, 1067

Swartwout: defaulter, 520

Sweden: commercial treaty with the United States, 347; appoints Behring Sea arbitrator, 980

Swedes: claims in Delaware, 107; invited to remain in Penn's colony, 111; in New Jersey and Delaware, 126

Switzerland: arbitration treaty of, with the United States, 1076

Syracuse, New York: rescue of negro (1851), 616; popular respect to Lincoln's remains, 827

T

Taft, William Howard: head of provisional government for Philippine Islands, 1043

Tallahassee: built in English shipyard, 882

Tallahatchie River: Grant attempts passage of, 776

Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de, Prince de Bénévent: American envoys refused audience with, 374; consents to receive ambassador, 375

Tallmadge, James W.: proposes amendment prohibiting slavery in Missouri, 453

Tallmadge Amendment: dispute over, 454

Tamasese: made king of Samoa by Germany, 977

Tammany Hall: in election of 1888, 968; returns to power in New York, 1069

Taney, Roger Brooke: appointed Secretary of Treasury, 503; in Dred Scott decision, 658; controversy with Lincoln, 816

Tanning Industry: started in the South, 823

Tappan, Lewis: secretary of American Anti-Slavery Society, 574

Tarascos: found in Mexico, 6

Tariff: Act of 1789, 347; demand for protection, 437; protective character of Act of 1816, 437; Webster opposes, 438; Calhoun advocates, 438; Clay advocates, 438; Act of 1824, 456; Tariff of 1824 causes dissatisfaction, 471; in Calhoun's theory of nullification, 491; measures of July, 1832, 493; reduced by Congress, 495; law of 1842, 530; law of 1846, 530, 554; in Democratic platform, 930; Act of 1864, 939; Act of 1870, 939; Act of 1872, 939; Act of 1883, 939; revision demanded by Republicans of the West, 939; issue in 1888, 963; Cleveland's views on, 963; protective character of McKinley Law, 968

Tarleton, Sir Banastre: at battle of Cowpens, 281

Tassels, the Cherokee: condemned for murder in Georgia court, 487

Taxation: equality of, granted in New York, 104; reserved to Parliament by Penn's charter, 111; tariff act of 1789, 347; on circulation of second United States Bank sought by Maryland, 440; Acts of 1870, 1872 and 1873, 898; tariff question in campaign of 1884, 940; Wilson Tariff Law, 995; revenue for Spanish-American War, 1026

"Taxation without representation": opposed in New Jersey (1680–1702), 109

Taylor, Richard: surrenders, 814

Taylor, Zachary (1784–1850), President of the United States, 1849–July 9, 1850: in command of army of occupation, 545; at battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, 547; at siege of Monterey, 548; occupies

Matamoras, 548; candidate for President, 557; election, 559; early life, 592; character, 593; inauguration, 593; recommends admission of California, 599; death, 609
Tecumseh: member of Shawnee tribe, 8; seeks to form Indian Confederacy, 416; killed at Battle of the Thames, 425
Tecumseh: destroyed in Mobile Bay, 798
Teller, Henry Moore: leader of Free Silver Republicans (1896), 1012
Temple of Music, Buffalo: McKinley shot during reception in, 1049
Teneriffe, Mount: see Mount Teneriffe
Tennessee: Scotch-Irish and Germans settle, 126; riflemen at New Orleans, 428; admitted, 451; slave state, 452; charges of legislature against Adams and Clay, 465; legislature repudiates President, and renominates Jackson, 474; Jackson's removal to, 477; Polk elected governor (1839), 540; separated from North Carolina, 567; Presidential election of 1860, 683; seceedes, 719; military operations in, 742, 773, 783; effort to draw Sherman into, 803; agriculture, 831; reconstruction policy of Lincoln, 833; reconstructed, 834; Ku-Klux-Klan said to have originated in, 868; Democrats regain control, 873; yellow fever epidemic, 923
Tennessee: Confederate frigate, 798
Tenure of Office Act: passed, 850; modified, 863; repealed, 951
Territorial expansion: national policy, 978
Territories: powers of Congress over, 452; exclusion of slavery from, 659; plenary powers of congress respecting slavery in, 660; Jefferson Davis's resolutions respecting slavery in, 678
Terror: placed in commission, 1008
Terry, Alfred Howe: in expedition against Sitting Bull, 905
Testaments, Old and New: see Bible
Texas: United States gives up claims to, 445, 531; refused annexation, 515; importation of slaves forbidden, 532; efforts of United States to purchase, 532; united with Coahuila, 532; revolts against Mexico, 534; declaration of independence adopted, 534; independence recognized, 534; annexation of, 535, western boundary dispute, 600; assumption of debt of Texas in Compromise of 1850, 601; boundary dispute with New Mexico in Compromise of 1850, 601; state elections of 1855, 646; delegates withdraw from Democratic convention (1860), 679; secession, 689; Confederates seize Fort Brown, 691; complies with Johnson's scheme of reconstruction, 845; under military rule, 847; readmitted, 848; in Presidential election (1868), 860; readmitted to representation, 863; Democrats regain control in, 873; end of carpet bag rule, 873
Thames, The: death of Tecumseh at, 416; battle of (1812), 525
Thayendanegea: see Brant, Joseph
Thayer, Eli: directs organization of Emigrant-Aid Society, 647
Thomas, George Henry: in Mexican War, 554; early army comrade of Lee, 760; at Stone River, 774; saves Federal victory at Chickamauga, 784; his generalship, 784; in Sherman's march to Atlanta, 794; sent to oppose Hood, 803; estimate of, 804
Thomas, Jesse B.: proposes Missouri Compromise, 455
Thompson, David: settles New Hampshire, 95
Thompson, George: mobbed in Boston, 575
Thompson, Jacob: influence over Buchanan, 696; resigns from Cabinet, 704
Thomson, Charles: organizes first United States Congress, 341
Thornton, Sir Edward: proposes Joint High Commission for Alabama claims, 883
"Thorough Scheme," 846
Thurman, Allen Granbery: in Democratic Convention, 800; in Congress (1869), 862; member of the Elec-

toral Commission, 913 *note*; nominated for Vice President, 905
Ticonderoga: built, 184; English fail to capture (1758), 189; captured by English (1759), 193; captured by Ethan Allen (1775), 228; recaptured by Burgoyne (1777), 252
Tientsin: attacked by allied forces, 1047
Tilden, Samuel Jones: in Democratic convention, 800; elected governor of New York, 807; early career, 908; nominated for President (1876), 909; election of 1876 claimed for, 909; declines Democratic nomination, 930
Tippecanoe: battle of (1811), 416, 525
"Tippecanoe and Tyler too," 524
Tithing-Man: duties of, 146
Tobacco Industry: in Virginia, 61, 136
Toledo: Wayne's victory near (1794), 366; Lincoln makes speech at, 706
Toleration Act, 71
Tompkins, Daniel D.: nominated for Vice President, 434
Toombs, Robert: opposes slavery prohibition in Territories, 595; Confederate Secretary of State, 694; votes against Crittenden's Compromise measures, 701; opposes project to attack Fort Sumter, 710
Topeka, Kansas: meeting of Free Soil convention, 649
Tordesillas, Treaty of (1494), 33
Tories: during the Revolution, 294; definition of, 295
Toronto: burned by Americans (1813), 425; British retaliate for burning of, 427
Torrey, Charles: aids slaves to escape, 617
Toscanelli: his correspondence with Columbus, 27
Totem Poles: elaborately decorated, 14
Town, New England: unit of government, 122
Town-meetings, 123
Townsend-Esch Bill: refused action by Senate, 1075
Townshend, Charles: attempts to enforce the Declaratory Act, 215; succeeded by Lord North, 216
Townshend Acts: enacted, 215; repealed, 216, 269
Townships in the Middle Colonies, 125
Trade, Board of: see Lords of Trade and Plantations
Trafalgar: battle of (1805), 406
Transportation: canal facilities, 480; railway facilities, 480
Transportation Act: passed, 221
Travel, Means of: in colonies, 151
Travis, Colonel: at siege of the Alamo, 533
Treasury, Department of the: organized, 344; Independent Treasury bill passed, 514; the "Whisky Ring," 894
Treaty of 1783: defects of, mended by Jay Treaty, 362; fishery privileges under, 420; Great Britain determined to enforce, 443
Treaty of 1819, 531, 541
Treaty of 1854, 641
Trent Affair, The, 728
Trenton: battle of (1776), 248; erects triumphal arch for Washington, 341; Lincoln makes speech at, 700
Trevett v. Weeden: case of, 315
Trial by jury: introduced in New York, 104; denied slaves, 615
Tribbles, T. H.: Populist nominee for Vice President, 1097
Trinidad: discovered, 33
Tripoli: war with, 393
Trist, Nicholas P.: authorized to negotiate treaty with Mexico, 551; concludes Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, 552
Troup, George McIntosh: resents United States interference in Indian trouble in Georgia, 470; condemns Tassels, the Cherokee, 487
True-blooded Yankee: American privateer, 424
Trumbull, Jonathan: in first Congress, 342
Trumbull, Lyman: joins liberal movement, 800; candidate for Presidential nomination (1872), 891
Trusts: legislation respecting, 971; recommendations in Roosevelt's message concerning, 1050; "publicity bureau" created for, 1052; legislation against, 1052
Truxton, Thomas: commands *Constellation*, 375

Tryon, William: defeated at battle of Alamance, 218
Tubman, Harriet: aids slaves to escape from South, 617
Tunis: immunity purchased from, 394
Turks: capture Constantinople, 20
Turner, George: in Alaskan boundary commission, 1055
Turner, Nat: heads slave uprising, 575
Tuscarora Indians: have survived surrounding tribes, 17; massacre settlers in North Carolina, 74
Tutuila Island: taken by United States, 978; annexed to the United States, 1034
Tuyl, Baron: Russian minister, 447
Tweed Ring, 897
Twenty-First Rule, 579
Twiggs, David Emanuel: surrenders army stores to Confederates, 691
Two-ninety: alias of the *Alabama*, 882
Two Penny Act: passed, 151
Tyler, John (1790–1862), President of the United States, April 4, 1841–1844: nominated for Vice President, 521; becomes President, 526; early career, 526; national bank question, 526; alienated from Whig Party, 528; settles dispute in Rhode Island, 530; annexation of Texas, 535, 538; renominated for President, 537; presiding officer of Compromise convention, 702; disapproves Nicaragua treaty, 1056
Tyngs, Captain: given charge of Pepperell's fleet, 165

U

Uncle Tom's Cabin: its effect, 638
Underground Railroad, 616
Union Pacific Railroad: built, 902
Unitarians: denied rights of Toleration Act, 72
United States, History of: aboriginal America, 3; discoveries and explorations, 19; the planting of the southern colonies, 56; the planting of the northern colonies, 83; colonial governments, 114; colonial life and institutions, 126; inter-colonial wars, 157; the French and Indian war, 167; the rupture with the mother country, 201; revolution and independence, 229; the war in the middle colonies, 242; the war in the southern colonies, 271; transition from colonies to states, 298; establishment of the republic, 321; the first eight years of the constitution, 340; the federalist supremacy, 370; Jeffersonian republicanism, 383; the second war with Great Britain, 413; the era of good feeling and industrial development, 434; rise of the democratic party, 459; the Jacksonian epoch, 477; the Whig ascendency, 519; Polk's administration and the war with Mexico, 540; rise of the slavery controversy, 561; Taylor and Fillmore administration, 592; Pierce's administration and the renewal of the slavery controversy, 623; administration of Buchanan, 657; secession of the southern states, 684; the outbreak of the Civil War, 714; the war in the west, 738; operations in the east, 754; Vicksburg and Gettysburg, 773; last year of the war, 786; general observation on the war, 815; Andrew Johnson and reconstruction, 830; the administration of President Grant and the results of reconstruction, 857; Grant's second term, 889; Hayes and the end of the southern question, 906; Garfield and Arthur, 925; the administration of Grover Cleveland, 942; the administration of Benjamin Harrison, 963; Cleveland's second term, 988; William McKinley — the war with Spain, 1011; administration of Roosevelt, 1049; progress of a century, 1086
United States: built, 375; captures *Macedonian*, 422
United States Bank: founded, 352; rechartered, 438; proposed, 439; Jackson opposed to re-charter, 485; account of Jackson's war on, 500; Democratic Party opposes the renewal of its charter, 522; reëstablishment question raised, 527
Utah: ceded to United States, 552; meeting of the Central and Union Pacific Railroads near Ogden, 902;

admitted, 984; Presidential election of 1900, 1040
Utica, New York: Barnburners' convention, 559
Utrecht, Treaty of (1713): disregarded by Spanish settlers, 77; terms of, 162; defect of, 163; boundary dispute arising from, 167; British claims and, 168

V

Vaca, Cabeza de: wanderings of, 41
Vallandigham, Clement Laird: in Democratic Convention, 800; arrested and banished, 816; defeated for governor of Ohio, 817
Valley Forge: headquarters for American army, 260
Valparaiso: attack on *Baltimore* crew in, 978
Van Buren, Martin (1782–1862), President of the United States, 1837–1841: opposes internal improvements, 467; aids Jackson, 475; in Jackson's Cabinet, 485; Jackson demands his nomination for President, 498; Jackson's satisfaction over nomination of, 509; elected, 510; sketch of, 511; inaugurated, 511; views on government deposits, 513; foreign relations, 514; secures independent treasury, 514; characterized, 516; renominated for Presidency, 522; refuses to annex Texas, 535; proposed as candidate for President (1844), 536; nominated for President (1848), 558; interest in Panama Canal during administration of, 1055
Van Dorn, Earl: at battle of Corinth, 774; attacks Holly Springs, 775
Van Ness, William P.: preceptor of Martin Van Buren, 511
Van Rensselaer, Stephen: riots on estates of, 103; estate of, 132; defeated at Queensland, 421
Van Twiller: governor of New York, 103
Van Wert, Isaac: aids in capture of André, 277
Vancouver, ——: discoveries, 541
Vanderbilt, Cornelius: stockholder in Accessory Transit Company, 626; Nicaragua Canal, 1056
Vane, Henry: governor of Salem Colony, 90
Vasco da Gama: see Gama, Vasco da
Vandrenil, French commander: 176
Venezuela: boundary dispute with Great Britain, 1000
"*Vengeance*," French frigate: captured, 375
Venice: leader in commerce with the East, 22; her commerce ruined, 25
Vera Cruz: siege of (1847), 549; arrival of European vessels to sequestrate revenues at, 876
Verazua, Duke of: at the opening of the World's Fair, 1010
Vergennes, Charles Gravier, Count de: promises aid to Americans, 265; suspicious conduct of, 287
Vermont: origin, 95; quarrel between New York and New Hampshire over, 312; paper-currency riots, 316; disorders in colony, 321; admitted, 357, 567; attitude toward War of 1812, 431; in Hartford Convention, 431; free state, 452; presidential election of 1848, 559; abolition of slavery, 563; election of 1854, 645; election of 1896, 1018; election of 1904, 1072
Verrazano, Giovanni: searches for the Northwest Passage, 46
Versailles, Treaty of (1778), 267
Vespucci, Amerigo or Americus Vespucius: first to call America a new world, 35
Vice President of the United States: election and powers, 333; salary, 346; succeeds to office of President, 526
Vice President of the Confederacy: term of office, 605
Vicksburg: campaign against, 775; siege of (1863), 777; turning point in Civil War, 783; election battle of 1874, 872 *note*; yellow fever epidemic, 923
Victoria, Queen of England: issues proclamation of neutrality toward American belligerents, 723

Victoria, one of Magellan's vessels: completes the circumnavigation of the world, 37
Vigilance Committees: agreed upon by first Continental Congress, 224; search mails, 576; California, 597; recommended by Nashville convention, 611; compared to Ku-Klux-Klan, 871
Vilas, William Freeman: Postmaster-General, 950 *note*
Villiers, French commander: succeeds Jumonville, 172
Vincennes: in French claims, 168
Vinland the Good: Northmen visit, 19
Virgin: miraculous appearance to Mexicans, 552
Virginia: named, 53; colony planted, 56; liberties insured by first charter, 56; Colonial government of, 56, 115; population at beginning of the Revolution, 126; slave uprising (1687), 129; status of indented servants, 131; tobacco industry, 136; educational methods as a colony, 141; printing press introduced (1729), 143; colonial newspapers, 144; franchise denied Catholics, 148; colonial suffrage laws, 148; Church of England established, 149; religious persecutions, 149; clergy made subject to laws, 150; salary of clergy paid with tobacco, 150; postal system established, 153; Cohabitation Act, 155; territory granted to colonization companies, 170; opposition to Stamp Act, 211; opposes the Townshend law, 216; appointment of a committee of correspondence, 218; proposes first Continental Congress, 222; adopts a constitution, 238; proposes a declaration of independence, 239; cedes to United States her claims to western lands, 302; gives up claims to Northwest Territory, 317; commissioners appointed to decide Potomac commercial policy, 321; chooses delegates for Constitutional Convention, 322; ratification of the national Constitution, 337; opposes financial schemes of Hamilton, 349; rank as to population, 479; opposes R. M. Johnson's nomination, 510; Declaration of Rights, 564; slavery regarded with disfavor, 564; abolition societies formed, 571; slave uprising in Southhampton County, 575; John Brown plans raids from, 673; Presidential election of 1860, 683; Confederates seize Norfolk navy yard, 692; calls a compromise convention, 702; gathering of Confederate troops, 716; secedes, 717; Arlington Heights and Alexandria taken by Federals, 731; Grant's plan for campaign in, 787; sword presented to Lee by legislature of, 812; Booth shot, 826; reconstruction policy of Lincoln, 833; under military rule, 847; readmitted, 848; in Presidential election (1868), 860; readmitted to representation, 863; Democrats regain control in, 873; negro franchise, 873
Virginia, University of: founded by Jefferson, 383
Virginia Dynasty, 434
Virginia Gazette: founded, 144
Virginia Military Institute: Jackson resigns from faculty of, 772
Virginia Plan, 325
Virginius: captured by Spanish, 887
Voltaire (François Marie Arouet): quoted, 172

W

Waddington, Joshua: sued by Elizabeth Rutgers, 309
Wade, Benjamin Franklin: signs address against Douglas, 633; opposed to Lincoln, 838; popularity of, 855; in San Domingo commission, 880
Wade-Davis Bill, 837
Wadsworth, Captain: story of rebuff of Fletcher, 93
Waedseemüller: first calls the New World, America, 35
Waite, Morrison Reinick: counsel in Geneva commission, 885
Walker, Sir Hovenden: sent to conquer Canada, 161
Walker, John G.: chairman of canal commission, 1057

Walker, L. P.: Confederate Secretary of War, 604
Walker, Robert James: Secretary of the Treasury, 554; governor of Kansas, 602; denounces Lecompton constitution, 662; resigns, 663
Walker, William: filibustering expedition, 626; president of Nicaragua, 627; second attempt to establish republic, 627; third attempt, 627
Wall, E. C.: in Democratic Presidential nomination, 1065
Wallace, Lew: at siege of Fort Donelson, 744; at battle of Pittsburg Landing, 747; defeated by Early, 792
Walloons: name of Protestant refugees, 102
Walpole, Horace: quoted on Washington's military capacity, 250
Wampum Belts: used to record treaties, 12
War, Department of: organized, 344
War of 1812: causes, 414; *Little Belt* captured by *President*, 416; hostilities declared, 417; failure of land operations 420; naval victories, 422; success of land operations (1813), 424; capture of Washington, 426; defense of New Orleans, 427; Treaty of Ghent, 429; cost of war, 430; political results, 433; military results, 433; compared to the Revolution, 435; economic results, 435
War of Austrian Succession: extends to American colonies, 163
War of Spanish Succession: see Spanish Succession, War of
War of the Palatinate: spreads to colonies, 157
Ward, Artemas: appointed major-general, 231; at siege of Boston, 231
Warren, Commodore: in Louisburg expedition, 165
Warren, Dr. Joseph: appointed to wait on governor of Massachusetts, 225; head of committee of safety, 225; death, 233
Warwick: united to Providence Plantations, 94
Washburne, Elihu Benjamin: in Grant's Cabinet, 861; minister to France, 862; defeated for Vice President, 929
Washington: admitted to the Union, 986; Presidential election of 1900, 1040
Washington, D. C.: planned, 350; condition of, when made seat of government, 300; taken by British, 426; garrisoned, 730; defended from Confederate attack, 758; threatened by Early, 792; Union armies reviewed at, 814; Grange movement organized, 917
Washington, Booker T.: makes speech at opening of the Atlanta Exposition, 1010
Washington, Bushrod: president of American colonization Society, 571
Washington, George (1732–1799), President of the United States, 1789–1797: member of Ohio Company, 170; sent to warn French fort, 171; in expedition against Fort Du Quesne, 190; delegate to first Continental Congress, 223; delegate to second Continental Congress, 229; appointed commander-in-chief of the army, 230; takes command of army, 233; besieges Boston, 235; opposed to independence of colonies, 237; abandons Long Island, 243; refuses to receive Howe's message, 242; at battle of White Plains, 244; retreats across New Jersey, 246; recrosses the Delaware, 247; escapes from Cornwallis at Trenton, 249; goes into winter-quarters at Morristown, 250; at battle of Brandywine, 259; his campaign in New Jersey against Howe (1777), 259; at battle of Germantown, 260; establishes headquarters at Valley Forge, 280; Conway Cabal attempts to secure removal of, 281; orders arrest of Lee, 293; reprimands Arnold, 279; sends Greene to succeed Gates, 279; goes to Yorktown, 284; plot to make him king, 306; in Constitutional Convention, 323; president of Constitutional Convention, 327; elected first President of the United States, 340; inauguration, 341; inaugural

address, 343; signs bill for a National Bank, 352; annoyed with the "National Gazette," 356; reëlection, 357; character of second administration, 357; criticism of, 365, 373; refuses third term, 368; farewell address of, 368; stately manner of, 371; death of, 380; Stuart portrait of, rescued by Mrs. Madison, 427; his principles reflected in Monroe Doctrine, 449; only president to receive unanimous vote, 459; quoted on slavery in Virginia, 564; precedent regarding third terms, 926
Washington, William: at battle of Guilford Court House, 281
Washington, Treaty of (1871), 959
Wasp: captures the *Frolic,* 422
Waterloo: battle of (1815), 405
Watling Island: discovered by Columbus, 31
Watson, Thomas E.: nominated for Vice President (1896), 1015; Populist nominee for President (1904), 1067
Wayne, Anthony: at battle of Brandywine, 259; succeeds St. Clair, 365; victory in Northwest aids immigration, 442
Weaver, James B.: Greenback Party nominee (1880), 930; nominated for President (1892), 991
Webb, James Watson: favors Taylor for Presidency, 557
Webster, Daniel: quoted on government of Northwest Territory, 318; opposes tariff for New England, 439; defends Monroe Doctrine, 449; opposes protective tariff, 457; describes Jackson's inauguration, 481; on question of Jackson's appointments, 482; replies to Hayne, 489; favors United States Bank, 502; offered nomination for Vice President, 521; makes campaign speeches (1840), 523; member of Harrison's Cabinet, 525; negotiates settlement of Northeast Boundary Dispute, 529, 530; attempts to settle Northwest Boundary Dispute, 542; opposes Mexican War, 554; candidate for President, 557; refuses nomination for Vice President (1848), 558; opposes election of Taylor, 593; opposes Calhoun's resolutions, 595; summary of his career, 605; his Seventh of March speech, 605; candidate for Presidential nomination (1852), 620; death, 620; his communication to Austrian diplomat, 639
Webster, Noah: in American literature, 481
Webster-Hayne Debate: account of, 489
Weed, Thurlow: opposes nomination of Clay for Presidency, 520; quoted on nomination of Tyler, 521; decides to nominate Taylor for Presidency, 557; opposes Lincoln, 799
Weehawken: duel ground of Hamilton and Burr, 402
Weitzel, Godfrey: enters Richmond, 811
Wells, David Ames: joins liberal movement, 890
Wells, Gideon: Lincoln's Secretary of the Navy, 708
Wesley, Charles and John: missionaries and preachers, 81
West, Benjamin: celebrated painting of, 112
West Florida: see Florida
West India Company, Dutch: powers of, under charter, 102
West Indies: French possessions in threatened, 357; British restrictions on trade with, 362; England closes ports to American commerce, 471
West Point: command of, given to Arnold, 276
West Virginia: colonized by Ohio Company, 170; refuses to secede, 731; admitted to the Union, 733; railroad strikes (1877), 919; Blaine's campaign speeches (1884), 947; Presidential election (1896), 1018; Presidential election (1904), 1072
Western Reserve: created, 318; agitation over Fugitive Slave Law, 672
Weston, Thomas: founds commercial settlement on Massachusetts Bay, 85
Weyler, Valeriano: sent to Cuba, 1022; recalled, 1023
Weymouth, George: explores New England coast, 54
Wheat: raised in the Middle Colonies, 136

Wheaton, Henry: American diplomat and jurist, 481
Wheeler, Joseph: commands Confederate cavalry, 805; appointed major general, 1028; in Santiago campaign, 1029
Wheeler, William A.: nominated for Vice President (1876), 907; elected Vice President (1876), 913
Wheeling, West Virginia: loyalist convention at, 731; state Constitutional Convention, 732
Wheelright, John: in Salem colony, 90
Whig Party: organized, 520; convention at Harrisburg, 520; alienated from Tyler, 528; convention at Baltimore (1844), 536; convention meets at Philadelphia (1848), 556; convention at Baltimore (1852), 620; dissolution, 637; remnant in Constitutional Union Party, 680
Whigs: origin, 434; named, 510
Whisky Rebellion: in Pennsylvania, 367
Whisky Ring, The, 894
Whisky Tax (1791): imposed, 348; repealed, 348
White, Andrew Dickson: in San Domingo commission, 880
White, Horace: joins liberal movement, 890
White, Hugh Lawson: nominated for Presidency, 510
White, John: leaves a colony in Virginia, 53
White City: see Columbian Exposition, World's
White House, The: burned by British, 427
White Pass, The: awarded to the United States in Alaskan boundary dispute, 1054
White Plains: battle of (1776), 244
Whitefield, George: missionary and preacher, 81
Whitman, Dr. Marcus: saves Oregon for the United States, 542
Whitman, Walt: his poem on death of Lincoln, 827
Whitney, Eli: increases value of slavery to the South, 128; invents cotton gin, 450
Whitney, William Collins: Secretary of the Navy, 950 *note*
Whittier, John Greenleaf: in American literature, 481; secretary of American Anti-Slavery Society, 574; joins liberal movement, 890; his Centennial Hymn sung, 903
Wickes, Lambert: naval exploits of, 290
Wilderness, The: battle of (1864), 787; political effects of, 891
Wilkes, Charles: in the *Trent* Affair, 729
Wilkinson, James: betrays Burr, 403
Willard, Samuel: notable divine, 139
William and Mary, Rulers of England: accession, 72, 157; unfavorable to Lord Baltimore, 72; efforts at military unity in colonies, 93; yield to colonies, 101; proclaimed in New York, 105
William and Mary, College of: founded, 141; graduates of, in Constitutional Convention, 323
Williamette, The: settlements made on, 542
William Henry, Fort: captured by French, 186
Williams, Mrs.: captivity among Indians, 160
Williams, David: aids in capture of André, 277
Williams, Ephraim: in the French and Indian Wars, 183
Williams, George Henry: in Joint High Commission, 883
Williams, James: killed at battle of King's Mountain, 270
Williams, John Sharp: in Democratic convention (1904), 1004
Williams, Roger: sketch of, 89; founds Providence, 94; early colonial author, 142
Williamsburg: reached by Washington on return from Fort le Boeuf, 171; battle of (1862), 758
Williams' College: founded, 183
William the Conqueror, King of England: erects Palatinate of Durham, 68
Willis, Albert L.: minister plenipotentiary to Hawaii, 998
Willis, Nathaniel Parker: in American literature, 481
Wilmington: taken, 809

Wilmot, David: proposes the Wilmot Proviso, 551
Wilmot Proviso: proposed, 551; effect on South, 594; Lincoln votes for, 666
Wilson, Henry: member of Buffalo convention (1848), 558; nominated for Vice President (1872), 891
Wilson, James: in Constitutional Convention, 324; wins ratification of Constitution in Pennsylvania, 335; absent from first Congress, 343
Wilson, William L.: Postmaster-General, 993 *note;* introduces a bill to change McKinley Tariff, 995
Wilson Tariff Law: passed, 995
Wilson's Creek: battle of (1861), 739
Will's Creek: Washington withdraws to, 173
Winchester: occupied by Johnston, 734; battle of (1864), 760; Sheridan's ride from, 793; political effect of victory at 801
Winchester, James: defeated at River Raisin, 424
Winder, General: fails to defend Washington, 426
Windom, William: in Garfield's Cabinet, 932 *note;* investigates charges against the railways, 956
Windsor: founded, 92
Wing, Simon: nominated for President (1892), 991
"Winning of the West": published, 1069
Winslow, Josiah: expels Acadians, 180
Winthrop, John: removes colony to Boston Harbor, 88; disputes over rights of colonists, 88; sent to England, 93; early colonial author, 142
Winthrop, John, Jr.: founds Saybrook, 92
Winthrop, Robert Charles: opposed for Speaker of House, 598; at centennial of Cornwallis's surrender, 940
Wirt, William: nominated for President, 498; quoted on Jackson's popularity, 499
Wisconsin: mounds of the Mound Builders in, 5; part of Massachusetts, 317; Presidential election of 1892, 992
Wise, Henry Alexander: opposes Slade in Congress, 578
Witchcraft: made capital offense by "Body of Liberties," 91; persecutions at Salem, 91
Witherspoon, John: British soldiers pillage house of, 250
Wolfe, James: at siege of Louisburg, 188; attacks Quebec, 194; death, 196
Wolfe's Cove: origin of name, 195
Wollaston, Captain: founds commercial settlement, 85
Women: first arrival in American colony, 62
Women, Status of: among Aztecs, 7; heard by proxy in Indian councils, 13; excluded from Colonial colleges, 142
Wood, Leonard: in Santiago campaign, 1029; transfers government of Cuba to Cuban authorities, 1046
Woodford, Stewart Lyndon: leaves Spain, 1025
Woodruff, Wilford: issues manifesto respecting Mormon polygamy, 984
Wool, John Ellis: colonel in War of 1812, 421; assembles volunteers at San Antonio, 548; joins Taylor, 549
Woolman, John: arouses Quakers against slavery, 130
Worcester, Dean Conant: member of the Philippine commission, 1042
Worden, John Lorimer: commands the *Monitor*, 756
World's Columbian Exposition: see Columbian Exposition, World's
Wright, Silas: defeated for governorship of New York, 555
Wyoming: affected by Missouri Compromise, 456; Northwest Territory includes part of, 631; admitted to the Union, 986; Presidential election of 1892, 993; Presidential election of 1900, 1040
Wyoming Valley: massacre of (1778), 296; quarrel between Pennsylvania and Connecticut over, 312
Wythe, George: elevates the legal profession, 138; preceptor to Jefferson, 383

X, Y, Z

"X. Y. Z. Dispatches": [illegible] French intrigue, 374
Yale, Elihu: makes bequests to Yale College, 140
Yale University: founded, 140
Yamassees: attack on [illegible], 77; expense of war with, 78
Yancey, William Lowndes: [illegible] Northern Democrats, [illegible]
Yates, Richard: war governor of Illinois, [illegible]
Yazoo River: Sherman [illegible], 776
Yeamans, Sir John: [illegible] from Barbadoes, 72; [illegible] South Carolina, 75
Yeardley, Sir George: governor of Virginia, 63
Yellow Fever Epidemic (1878), 923
Yellow Tavern: battle of (1864), 788
Yerger, Judge: quoted on state [illegible], 568
York, Maine: attacked by French and Indians, [illegible]
York, Pennsylvania: meetings of Congress at, [illegible]
York [illegible]
Yorktown, Virginia: Cornwallis's surrender (1781), [illegible]; [illegible] 75[illegible]; [illegible] campaign, 774 [illegible]
Young, Brigham: [illegible] Mormon [illegible]
Young, [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
Zenger, Peter: and freedom of the press, 107

DOMINION
WASHINGTON
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
NEVADA
IDAHO
MONTANA
WYOMING
UTAH
ARIZONA
COLORADO
NEW MEXICO
NORTH DAKOTA
SOUTH DAKOTA
NEBRASKA
KANSAS
OKLAHOMA
TEXAS
MEXICO
PACIFIC OCEAN
GULF OF CALIFORNIA
LOWER CALIFORNIA
Vancouver
Seattle
Olympia
Portland
Salem
Eugene
Astoria
Spokane
Walla Walla
Lewiston
Helena
Butte
Great Falls
Missoula
Boise
Pocatello
Salt Lake City
Ogden
Provo
Cheyenne
Denver
Pueblo
Colorado Springs
Santa Fe
Albuquerque
Phoenix
Tucson
Yuma
Los Angeles
San Diego
San Francisco
Sacramento
Fresno
Bismarck
Pierre
Lincoln
Topeka
Wichita
Oklahoma
Amarillo
Austin
San Antonio
Corpus Christi
Laredo
Rio Grande City
Matamoros
Monterey
Durango
Chihuahua
Guaymas
Culiacan
Juarez
El Paso
Rio Grande
Pacific Ocean

CANADA
UNITED STATES
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
CUBA
BAHAMA ISLANDS
LAKE SUPERIOR
LAKE MICHIGAN
LAKE HURON
L. ERIE
LAKE ONTARIO
OTTAWA
Winnipeg
Lake of the Woods
Rainy L.
Red L.
ISLE ROYALE
Duluth
Bayfield
Marquette
Houghton
Sault Ste. Marie
Minneapolis
St. Paul
WISCONSIN
Madison
Milwaukee
Chicago
Green Bay
Oshkosh
Fond du Lac
Sheboygan
Racine
Kenosha
Dubuque
Rockford
Freeport
Galena
Rock Island
Davenport
Iowa City
Des Moines
Council Bluffs
Omaha
Atlantic
Sioux City
Fort Dodge
Mason City
Austin
Rochester
La Crosse
Winona
Red Wing
Albert Lea
Ottumwa
Burlington
Keokuk
Quincy
Hannibal
Moberly
Trenton
Chillicothe
St. Joseph
Kansas City
St. Louis
East St. Louis
Springfield
Jefferson City
Joplin
Carthage
Nevada
Cape Girardeau
Cairo
Paducah
Bowling Green
Evansville
Terre Haute
Indianapolis
Peoria
Bloomington
Decatur
Springfield
Danville
Lafayette
Logansport
South Bend
Fort Wayne
Kalamazoo
Grand Rapids
Muskegon
Saginaw
Bay City
Flint
Detroit
Ann Arbor
Toledo
Sandusky
Findlay
Mansfield
Akron
Cleveland
Youngstown
Erie
Buffalo
Rochester
Syracuse
Utica
Albany
Troy
Schenectady
Binghamton
Scranton
Wilkesbarre
Pittsburg
Harrisburg
Philadelphia
Reading
Trenton
New York
Long Island
Boston
Worcester
Providence
Hartford
New Haven
Springfield
Portland
Augusta
Bangor
MAINE
Quebec
Montreal
Ottawa
Kingston
Toronto
Hamilton
Niagara Falls
Columbus
Cincinnati
Dayton
Zanesville
Parkersburg
Huntington
Charleston
Ashland
Lexington
Frankfort
Louisville
Owensboro
KENTUCKY
Nashville
Murfreesboro
Knoxville
Chattanooga
TENNESSEE
Memphis
Jackson
Columbus
Corinth
Tupelo
Holly Springs
Grenada
Vicksburg
Yazoo City
Meridian
Jackson
Natchez
Brookhaven
Hattiesburg
Laurel
Mobile
Pensacola
Tallahassee
Apalachicola
Montgomery
Selma
Birmingham
Anniston
Gadsden
Rome
Atlanta
Macon
Columbus
Augusta
Milledgeville
Savannah
Brunswick
Fernandina
Jacksonville
St. Augustine
Daytona
Sanford
Orlando
Tampa
Tampa Bay
Key West
Florida Bay
Miami
Everglades
Palm Beach
West Palm Beach
Fort Pierce
Stuart
Jupiter
Cape Florida
Florida Strait
Bahama
Eleuthera
New Providence
Nassau
Andros I.
Watling I.
Cape Fear
Wilmington
Raleigh
Goldsboro
Greensboro
Winston-Salem
Durham
Salisbury
Asheville
Charlotte
Spartanburg
Greenville
Columbia
Sumter
Florence
Charleston
Georgetown
Pedee R.
Santee R.
Cape Hatteras
Cape Lookout
C. Henry
C. Charles
Norfolk
Portsmouth
Petersburg
Richmond
Lynchburg
Roanoke
Pocahontas
Elizabeth City
Currituck Sd.
Alexandria
Washington
Annapolis
Baltimore
Cumberland
Wheeling
Parkersburg
Clarksburg
Morgantown
Fairmont
Grafton
Martinsburg
Hagerstown
Chambersburg
Gettysburg
Lancaster
Harrisburg
Williamsport
Wilkesbarre
Easton
Allentown
Bethlehem
Pottsville
Shamokin
Sunbury
Lewistown
Altoona
Johnstown
Bradford
Titusville
Meadville
Oil City
Franklin
Warren
Jamestown
Dunkirk
Olean
Corning
Elmira
Ithaca
Auburn
Geneva
Rochester
Batavia
Lockport
Niagara Falls
Watertown
Oswego
Rome
Utica
Schenectady
Troy
Albany
Hudson
Poughkeepsie
Newburgh
Middletown
Port Jervis
Monticello
Kingston
Catskill
Hudson
Pittsfield
North Adams
Greenfield
Fitchburg
Worcester
Springfield
Holyoke
Northampton
Amherst
Lowell
Lawrence
Haverhill
Newburyport
Salem
Boston
Cambridge
Quincy
Plymouth
Fall River
New Bedford
Taunton
Brockton
Nantucket
Martha's Vineyard
Block I.
Newport
Providence
Pawtucket
Woonsocket
Hartford
New Britain
Bristol
Waterbury
New Haven
Meriden
Middletown
Norwalk
Stamford
Bridgeport
Danbury
Torrington
Winsted
Litchfield
New London
Norwich
Willimantic
Putnam
Brattleboro
Bellows Falls
Windsor
Springfield
Rutland
Burlington
Montpelier
Barre
St. Johnsbury
Newport
Lake Champlain
Plattsburg
Ogdensburg
Potsdam
Malone
Saranac Lake
Lake Placid
Adirondack Mts.
Mohawk R.
Hudson R.
Susquehanna R.
Delaware R.
Allegheny R.
Ohio R.
Tennessee R.
Cumberland R.
Mississippi R.
Missouri R.
Red R.
Arkansas R.
Rio Grande
Mobile Bay
Galveston Bay
Galveston
Mouths of the Mississippi River
C. San Blas
Apalachee Bay
Florida Keys
Andros I.
Eleuthera
C. Romano
C. Sable
C. Canaveral
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400
Canals

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
AA 000 071 960 9